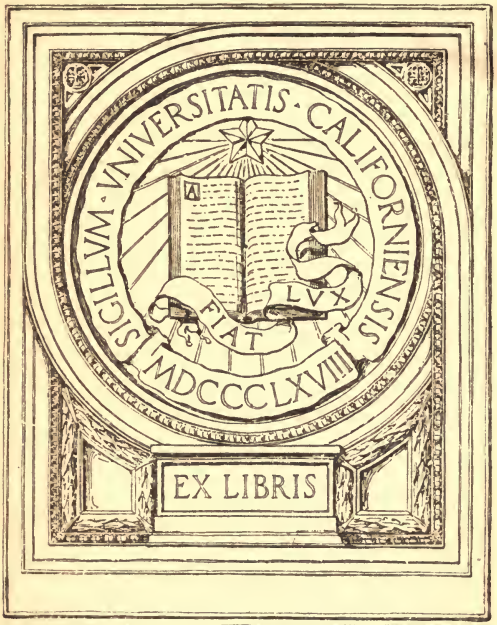
GIFT OF
MICHAEL REESE



AN APPEAL

FROM THE

JUDGMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

RESPECTING THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PART FIRST,

CONTAINING

AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

OF THEIR

MERITS AND WRONGS AS COLONIES;

AND

STRICTURES UPON THE CALUMNIES OF THE BRITISH WRITERS.

BY ROBERT WALSH, JR.

Quod quisque fecit, patitur: autorem scelus
Repetit, suoque premitur exemplo nocens.
SENEC.

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PUBLISHED BY MITCHELL, AMES, AND WHITE.

William Brown, Printer.

1819.

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REESE

Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That, on the twenty-third day of September, in the forty-fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1819, Mitchell, Ames, and White, of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States "of America. Part First, containing An Historical Outline of their Merits and "Wrongs as Colonies; and Strictures upon the Calumnies of the British "Writers. By Robert Walsh, Jr. Quod quisque fecit, patitur: autorem "scelus repetit, suoque premitur exemplo nocens. SENEC."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."—And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

DEDICATION.

To ROBERT OLIVER, Esq.

OF BALTIMORE.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

Dear Sir,

This is a clumsy volume, and its tenor may not be exactly in unison with your opinions and predilections. I could, therefore, have wished to attach your name rather to its intended adjunct, which may have higher claims to regard; but I am anxious to improve the first opportunity of bearing public testimony to a character, which an acquaintance of many years, has taught me to view as of uncommon worth and elevation. It is only a few months ago that your merits were commemorated in your native land, in a strain which those inhabitants of your adopted country, who know you well, cannot deem too lofty, nor hesitate to re-echo. In proclaiming you public-spirited, open-hearted, and munificently hospitable, the distinguished assemblage in Dublin spoke as our experience would have led us to speak. A remarkable strength of natural abilities, maintained in full exertion by an active, vehement spirit, and the favour of fortune seconding a sound judgment and steadfast faith in commercial dealings, have put you in possession of an ample estate, to which you daily vindicate your title by a noble use of it in the offices of beneficence and friendship.

I have another object in addressing you thus in my capacity of author. It is, to witness,—in opposition to the false relations of the British travellers,—that the native American is not backward in recognizing and honouring the estimable qualities and just pretensions of a fellow citizen of foreign birth. We make no distinctions and have no reserved feelings, where respect and confidence are abstractly due: if, blended and compounded as we are, the case could be otherwise, it would not certainly be so in reference to Irishmen. With them, the process of assimilation in all respects, is more easy and natural than with any other people. America owes them much. She cannot but sympathize deeply in the wrongs they have suffered at home. In the same nation in which *they* have always found a tyrannical mistress, *she*, throughout her colonial existence, found a jealous step-mother, and now finds a malevolent scold.

I am, dear sir,
truly and affectionately,
your obedient servant,
ROBERT WALSH, JR.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 1819.

PREFACE

OF THE AUTHOR.

1. About the end of the month of January last, I undertook to prepare for the press, a Survey of the institutions and resources of the American republic; and of the real character and condition of the American people. A work of this kind, wrought from authentic information, appeared to me to constitute the best refutation of the slanders, which are incessantly heaped upon us by the British writers. In assuming the task, I expected to be able to complete it in the course of the present summer; and accordingly set on foot such enquiries in the several divisions of the Union, as the design prescribed. After pursuing my first arrangements for a couple of months, I discovered that I had not duly measured the delays incident to the collection of facts, over so extensive a surface, and through the agency of gentlemen engrossed, for the most part, by professional affairs. Finding that I must allow a longer term than was at first proposed, for the accumulation of materials, I fell upon the plan of making up, in the interval, a preliminary volume, which should embrace a review of the dispositions and conduct of Great Britain towards this country, from the earliest period; and a collateral *retaliation* for her continued injustice and invective.

What I now submit to the public, is the fruit of the plan just mentioned. It is not offered as a digested book; but

as a series of Notes and Illustrations; and it could not be other, from the shortness of the time within which it has been composed. The immediate object required, indeed, nothing more. I have to apologize rather for the bulk of the volume, which exceeds my own expectation; and is owing to the impression under which I proceeded, that the quotations, instructive in themselves, and useful towards elucidation and proof, should not be curtailed for the sake of economizing a certain number of pages. As respects diction, I have aimed at clearness and significancy alone. What has been instantly transferred from the desk to the press, must necessarily be liable to the reproach of diffusion and roughness. It is not a model of style or of epitome that is wanting on such an occasion as the British writers have created, for the exertion of our faculties of literary defence, whatever these may be; but an aggregation of facts pointedly told, and the production in detail of whatever tends to rectify perverse, or propagate just opinions.

My purpose in this undertaking generally, is not merely to assert the merits of this calumniated country; I wish to repel actively, and, if possible, to arrest, the war which is waged without stint or intermission, upon our national reputation. This, it now appears to me, cannot be done without combating on the offensive; without making inroads into the quarters of the restless enemy.

I had long indulged the hope, in common with those Americans who were best affected towards Great Britain, that the false and contumelious language of the higher class at least, of her literary censors, would be corrected by the strong relief, in which our real condition and character were daily placing themselves before the world. We expected that another tone more conformable to truth and sound policy would be adopted, when we had on our side the degree of notoriety as to those points, which usually overawes and represses any degree of assurance in the spirit of envy and arrogance.

But the disappointment is complete, for every American who has paid attention to the tenor of the late British writings and speeches, in which reference is made to these

United States. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, have, within the twelvemonth past, by the excesses of obloquy into which they have given from the most unworthy apprehensions, put beyond question the insufficiency of any amount of evidence, and of all the admitted laws of probability and reasoning, to work the reformation to which I have alluded.

It was, too, believed by many, that the British writers would assign some bounds to their attacks, as long as we forbore to recriminate; and it was thought harsh and uncharitable to touch the sores and blotches of the British nation, on account of the malevolence and folly of a few individuals, or of a party, within her bosom. The whole is proved to be mere illusion. There is no intemperance of provocation, which could have excited more rancour, and led to fiercer and wider defamation, than we find in the two articles of the forty first number of the Quarterly Review, which treat of American affairs. The whig journals have begun to rail in the same strain: the Opposition have joined, with the ministerial party, even on the floor of parliament, in a hue and cry against "American ambition and cruelty;" and in affecting to credit the coarse inventions of Englishmen who have either visited us for the express purpose of manufacturing libels, or betaken themselves to this expedient on their return home, as a profitable speculation. It is enough, that the desire of emigrating to the United States should spread among the population of England, in an extent deemed invidious, or hurtful; that the territorial security of the Americans on one side should appear about being rendered complete, with some possible danger to the stability of the British empire in the West Indies, to throw the British politicians of every rank, and denomination, into paroxysms of despite and jealousy, and to enlist them in a common scheme of misrepresentation which may inspire the British farmer and artisan with a horror of republican America, and the nations of the world with a distrust of the spirit of her government.

We cannot defeat their purpose as far as their country-

men are concerned; but we may guard the better against the effects of the hatred and contempt which they labour to inculcate, by acquainting ourselves thoroughly with the true nature and scope of their designs. If we have, as I verily believe, a band of implacable and indefatigable foes, in those who direct the public affairs, and mould the public mind, of Great Britain, we should be fully alive to the fact, and alert in using the means in our power, of restraining the effusions of their malice. National antipathies are to be deprecated in themselves; to excite them wantonly, is an offence against humanity and religion; but we are not censurable, if they are produced incidentally, by the course which self-defence may require of us to pursue. It is the English writer who becomes doubly culpable, if his pertinacity in defaming the United States, be such as to leave to the American, whose right it is to check this as well as every other form of hostility, no resource for the purpose, but the exhibition of what is odious and despicable in the character, conduct, and composition of the British nation.

There is much truth in the old maxim of the schools—retorquere non est respondere: to retort is not to reply. The present case forms an exception, however; for the British writers and orators never throw out their reproaches against the United States, without putting Great Britain in glorious contrast; it is the excellence, the purity, and the liberty, and the comfort, which they see at home, that, they would fain have us believe, quicken their sensibility, and embitter the expression of their hate, to the evils and abuses abounding on this side the water. Thus, to expose their real spirit and aims, and to fortify the confidence in our relative merit, necessary to us in this struggle with systematic detraction, we are compelled to investigate and set forth the misery and turpitude by which they are surrounded, and the wrongs and insults of which we have had constantly to complain. This is not mere recrimination; it is resistance to degrading comparisons and injurious pretensions; we tear off one of the many disguises which our enemies assume to facilitate

their project of bringing us into disrepute with mankind.

It is, certainly, wretched sophistry to argue, as they do, from single instances of disorder and vice; and neither fair nor charitable to display only what is bad in a mixed system, in which the good may greatly predominate. We would not be entitled to follow this example, but for the purpose of repressing it, by shewing how severely Great Britain may suffer in her turn from its adoption elsewhere. Upon the principles of the logic which she has used against the United States, she might be proved to be the most miserable and wicked nation that has ever existed. The publicity which she gives to all her domestic transactions and circumstances; the discussion which her foreign policy and administration undergo, in and out of parliament, lay bare all her vulnerable points. Never before was such a mass of materials prepared for the satirist of national vices and distempers, as is to be found in the debates and reports of her legislature, and in the innumerable chronicles of her internal history, which, as we there have it, is but a tissue of the grossest enormities and the most cruel distresses.

In endeavouring to establish her invariable unkindness and injustice to this country, and her liability to reproach in an indefinite degree beyond ourselves, on the grounds of disparagement which she is never weary of repeating, it is not to *American* writers and travellers, to obscure and vulgar witnesses, labouring under the suspicion of national prejudice, personal pique, or gross venality, that I shall have recourse; but to *British* authorities of the highest standard; to British historians and legislators, and even to the very journals, which serve as the spiracles, through which the torrents of venom are incessantly spouted against the American people. Our accusers in Great Britain have built their charges upon *English* testimony, and that the least respectable of its kind. I shall be found, in impeaching her in return, to use not suspicious foreign, but, in almost every instance, unquestionable British statements; not the allegations of General Pillet—quite as

trustworthy as those of the Jansons and Fearons—but the records of Parliament and the oracles of the British empire. Here, it cannot escape the reader, how much more dignified and warrantable the retaliation, than the attack; and that, in repelling aggression with evidence derived from these sources, we do not descend to the level of those who bespatter us with ordure amassed by natural or hired scavengers of their own blood and temper.

"The libels of the present day," said Mr. Burke, in his retort upon the Duke of Bedford, "are just of the same stuff as the libels of the past. But they derive an importance from the rank of the persons from whom they come, and the gravity of the place where they are uttered. In some way or other they ought to be noticed." We think and reason thus, in respect to the calumnies with which we have been lately assailed in Great Britain. All that is accumulated, for instance, in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, in the articles which form the immediate provocation upon which I now write, is an old compost of vile ingredients and impure leven, in itself unfit to be handled, and much more unfit to be imitated. Those journals, however, exert an unrivalled influence over the British public; they are not without considerable authority on the continent of Europe, where they are widely circulated; they have credit and sway with numbers of readers, even in the United States: in the catalogue of their authors and special patrons we find men of eminence, both in letters and politics; some who have a material share in the public councils of their country, and whose writings, on other subjects than the affairs of America, possess a degree of excellence, which invests the pamphlets in question with a general character of great weight and value.

2. I will pass from the instance of these Reviews to another, worthy of particular observation, on many accounts; in which, also, the merest, most hacknied ribaldry respecting America, is rendered important and memora-

ble by "the rank of the persons from whom it came, and the gravity of the place where it was uttered."

Westminster school is one of the principal seminaries of classical education, for the sons of the British nobility and gentry; for those who are destined, either by birthright or custom, to become her legislators and rulers; to wield the national power, and give the tone to national sentiment. It has been long the practice, in this institution, to exhibit annually a Latin play, of which the characters are filled by the senior students, about to be translated to one of the great universities. The performance is attended by a crowd of great personages—by ministers of state, dignitaries of the church, and patrician families; and all the eclat is given to the occasion of which we can suppose it susceptible. A Latin prologue and epilogue, serving as specimens of scholarship, usually accompany the play. In an exhibition of the kind, which took place about the conclusion of our late war with Great Britain, the subject chosen for the epilogue was *emigration* to the United States. It was treated in the form of a colloquy between a person preparing to embark, and a patriotic Englishman attempting to dissuade him from the adventure. Nothing can exceed the terseness of the latinity, but the virulence of the abuse lavished upon America, in this piece. Whatever the writings of the British travellers could furnish, that was most injurious, and insulting to the American people, is here elaborately condensed, and imbued with a new and more active venom. The following is a translation of part of this classical lampoon.

"DAVUS TO GETA.

"Whither do you propose to fly? *Get.* To Hesperia (America). —*Da.* What! to that country which is beyond the ocean; a country barbarous in itself and inhabited by *Barbarians!* In that country Geta, Astræa is not a virgin, but a virago: sometimes, as report goes, she is a drunkard, often a pugilist; sometimes even a thief. Nor is it easy to say whether the tenor of their manners is more to be admired for simplicity or elegance: a negro wench, as we are told, waits on her master at table in native nudity; and a beau will stri pimself to the waist, that he may dance unincumbered, and with more agility. Do you love your glass, every hour brings with

it a fresh bumper. There you have the *gum-tickler*, the *phlegm-cutter*, the *gall-breaker*, the *antifogmatic*. No man is a slave there, for negroes are not considered as of the human species in America. Every man thinks what he pleases, and does what he pleases. The young men spurn the restraint of laws and of manners: his own inclination is there every man's sufficient diploma. *Bridewell and the stews supply them with senators, and their respectable chief justice is a worthless scoundrel.* Does a senatorial orator dexterously aim to convince his antagonist? he spits plentifully in his face; and that this species of rhetoric may be more efficacious, tobacco furnishes an abundance of saliva for the purpose. *The highest praise of a merchant is his skill in lying.* Then their amusements! to gouge out an eye with the thumb, to skin the forehead, *to bite off the nose!* and to kill a man, is an admirable joke. Believe me, Geta, even if the black vessel of transportation you embark in, should bear you safely to this elysium of yours, the very passage would exhaust all your funds, and your whole life would be held in pledge, never to be redeemed: your destiny at last would be to feed the rats of a prison. But come, think better of this scheme while you have it in your power. *Let the ruined man, the impious wretch, the outlaw, praise America;* if you are yet in your senses, Geta, stay at home."

The whole of the dialogue may be read in the Port Folio, into which it was copied in the year 1816, from the English *Gentleman's* Magazine for April, 1815, to which it was committed thus for circulation, three months after the signature of the treaty of peace and *amity* between Great Britain and the United States. The able writer who introduced it into the American journal, attached to it a commentary which equally deserves to be read entire, and of which I adopt the following passages, as speaking what is due from me to the occasion.

"Thus it is, that at an age when impressions are apt to take the strongest hold of the mind,—with the associations most calculated to give vividness and effect to the sentiments uttered—at the direction and under the superintendence of the reverend preceptors in the first school of classical education that Great Britain can boast—in the presence, and with the sanction of persons deemed highly respectable for rank, learning, character, and station—the young sons of the nobility and gentry of England are taught to pronounce, applaud, and give effect to, the most glaring and disgusting falsehoods, and the most virulent and vulgar abuse against this country and its inhabitants universally.

"There is nothing in the invectives of the Quarterly Review more abusive and flagitious than this epilogue. I am no advocate for keeping up national animosity, but I do not approve of the doctrine of non-resistance; nor do I feel the obligation upon Americans of submitting tamely to the insult, when the persons who have descended to these aspersions are themselves liable to the retort. Had this attack been the hasty effusion of a political partizan, or the witty scurrility of a writer whose sarcastic talent furnishes his daily bread, or had we been subjected even to the mistaken correction of a well-meaning observer, it might have been passed over: but this, the studied, deliberate composition of deep-rooted enmity, deserves no quarter. One style of reply to impartial and friendly reprehension, another to the sarcastic rancour of a 'proud and insulting foe.'

"It may be, as it seems to be, the intention in Great Britain, to educate their youth in sentiments of the most sarcastic and rancorous hostility towards America; and I dare say, the attempt will succeed; and I dare aver also, that it will be met, as it naturally must, by correspondent feelings on this side the water."

3. We were not altogether ignorant, in the United States, that much of the favour shown to us, since the commencement of the present century, by the whig party in parliament, and their connexions out of doors, arose from the relation of a minority or opposition, in which they stood in the British government. Yet we believed, that there was enough of real cordiality in their feelings, and of elevation in their sentiments, to prevent them, at all times, from countenancing gross misrepresentations of our condition and character, and raising groundless clamours against our political transactions and views; from setting us in a false or invidious light, merely to embarrass and discredit the ministry, or to promote some domestic ends, such as those of checking emigration, and counteracting extravagant plans of parliamentary reform. An attentive observation of the language concerning our affairs, held of late by the whig journals and the parliamentary opposition, has convinced me that we were deceived in supposing they had not always acted, in relation to this country, altogether from party feelings and aims, and would not readily sacrifice justice and truth, where it was concerned, to selfish considerations.

There is but one interpretation to be put upon the

course they have taken, in regard to the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, and the agreement between Spain and the United States for the transfer of the Floridas. It has been a system of exaggeration, not to say slander, designed to bring the ministry under the suspicion of pusillanimity and supineness, and to recommend the assailants to the nation as the truer Britons; the more spirited assertors and anxious guardians of her honour and interests. This accomplished, it was immaterial what feuds and ruinous strife, and what injustice to the United States, might follow, if their clamours raised a ferment among the British people, and thus forced the ministry to pursue to extremity an unattainable redress, and frustrate a fair and equitable arrangement. Remark the artificial tone and hyperbolical representation, so well, though not primarily calculated to produce discord and aversion between the two nations,—of leading members of the minority in both houses of parliament.

Mr. Tierney (House of Commons, May 19th, 1819).

"There was one foreign power to which he must direct the attention of the house, with the same view as he had mentioned France —he meant America;—she was out of the pale of confederation; with her we had a separate treaty of peace; *towards her we had long cast an eye of jealousy, and it well became us to be prepared for the worst.* Let the house consider only what had happened in the last three months. Two British subjects had been executed by an American commander. There might be circumstances warranting his conduct, and justifying, according to the law of nations, the approbation which his government had expressed; but he (Mr. Tierney) was old enough to remember the time when, had two British subjects been executed by a foreign state in time of peace, this country would not have put up with it quite so tamely. He knew the subject was a sore one, and he did not wish to press it farther.

"While the noble lord opposite was at congress, two German princes could not have exchanged a few meadows without important expresses being despatched to him. But America owned no congress: because she was a long way off, ministers seemed to think that danger could not be near, and she was accordingly allowed to take up a position on a vast continent, as injurious as possible to the colonial returns of this country, putting them in imminent and undeniable jeopardy.

"Let the house and the country reflect then, if it was not the

duty of the government to do something to prepare the empire for possible mischiefs that might arise even from France and America."

Sir Robert Wilson (June 4th, 1819)—"America aspired too much after her own aggrandizement. She had sent commissioners to South America to inspire hope and energy there. She had established a strong force in Texas, the province next to Mexico. America would next demand Cuba."

Mr. M'Donald (4th June, 1819)—"Such an aggrandizement of a powerful rival, as the acquisition of Florida, ought not to be passed over without a strict enquiry into the cause of this most extraordinary and unprecedented proceeding," &c.

And the Marquis of Lansdowne (in the House of Lords, May 11th, 1819)—

"Of all the events that could happen at this time, there was not one which so deeply affected the commercial interests of Great Britain as the cession of the Floridas to the United States. The possession of those provinces would enable the Americans to annihilate the British trade in the West India seas; and give them an opportunity of connecting themselves with the *black* governments there in a manner that might prove essentially injurious to our interests. The cession should have been guarded against at the congress of Vienna. No one at Vienna conceived it necessary to make any provision that should have the effect of preventing the aggrandizement of the United States. Hitherto there was a balance on which this country used to rely for her security, and it was an essential part of this balance to prevent the Floridas from being ceded to the United States. The conduct of General Jackson in the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot *was unparalleled in the history of civilized nations.* If at the time when Copenhagen was taken by the British troops, Lord Cathcart, who then commanded them, found that several persons belonging to neutral countries had been engaged in the defence of the place, and ordered them to be executed, on pretence that they had no right to take up arms against Great Britain, would not that act have been a gross violation of the laws of nations."*

It may be doubted whether any measures which could have been taken at the Congress of Vienna to guard against the severance of Florida from Spain, would have proved effectual: but the idea of a concurrence of the members of that Congress in precautions against the aggrandizement of the United States for the *security* of

* The language of the ministerial journals, concerning General Jackson, bordered on the infuriate. Thus we read in the London Courier of March 25, 1819. "General Jackson has the most villanous look ever beheld; he is never seen to smile. *The hero is worthy of the people, and the people of the hero.*"

Great Britain! has something of the marvellous, besides implying an extraordinary sort of equity. *We* had not been called on to explain how *our* security might be affected by her aggrandizement in the West Indies; or how the balance on which we might have relied, was destroyed by "the positions" she had "taken up," all over the world; positions commanding every sea of commercial importance;—Heliogoland; Malta, in addition to Gibraltar; the Isle of France; the Island of Ceylon; the Prince of Wales' Island; New South Wales; the Cape of Good Hope. "Our noble station at the Cape of Good Hope," says a late London paper, "commands the commerce of the globe; it is the natural key to India; *the bridle of America;* the surface which we might people with hardy Englishmen is upwards of 100,000 square miles. Make the Cape a free port for the nations of Europe, and *we banish North America from the Indian seas.*" The powers of the Continent may smile when they find Great Britain, while herself adding constantly new kingdoms to her dominions in the East, and grasping at every maritime station of consequence in the four quarters of the globe, exclaiming against American ambition and aggrandizement, because the United States had acquired a contiguous province, from which, if in foreign hands, they must be subject to the severest annoyance,—by fair negotiation, and with the relinquishment of large pecuniary claims, and well-founded pretensions to territory of much greater extent and intrinsic value.

The American government and people are as little likely "to demand the Island of Cuba," as they are "to connect themselves with the black governments of the West Indies." They want no slave islands; and to instigate the blacks of Hayti to foment and protect insurrection in the British islands (for this must be meant by the Marquis of Lansdowne) is an atrocity of which they must ever be incapable, though Great Britain, in her next war with us, should repeat the example which she has heretofore given, of exciting the negroes of the southern states to supplant and butcher their masters. The case

which the British Peer selected to illustrate the justness of his sentence upon general Jackson, is every way an unfortunate one for the purpose. His lordship and all his colleagues of the Opposition had denounced the attack upon Copenhagen as a heinous aggression; to be paralleled in treachery and outrage, only by Bonaparte's invasion of Spain. What parity of reason, then, in the supposed case of lord Cathcart putting to death the strangers whom he might have found assisting in the defence of the capital of a civilized power, a member of the European christian commonwealth, so unexpectedly and iniquitously attacked; and that of the American general pursuing a savage horde into an adjacent territory, from which it had issued to desolate the American frontier, and there executing two European adventurers, proved to be its instigators and accomplices? As the Danes did not follow the practice of massacreing their prisoners, the strangers who might have identified themselves with them, would not, when seized, have been subject to the punishment of death by retaliation, as were the allies of the Seminoles, even under the European law of nations. If the custom of Europe be determinative of that law in any particular, it may be confidently invoked in favour of the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, on the supposition that they were actually leagued with the Indians, as the British ministry have admitted; for, during the great wars of the Germans and Poles against the Turks, death was the immediate lot of the European christian found acting on the side of the infidels. So, there has never been the least hesitation in the Mediterranean waters and territories, about despatching at once the renegade, no matter of what christian country, taken in arms on board a Barbary corsair, or in a predatory descent upon the coast.

I find it difficult to reconcile the full knowledge which the Marquis of Lansdowne must possess of the history of the British empire in India, and in Ireland, with his declaration, that "the conduct of the American general was unparalleled in the history of civilized nations." This de-

claration, I deem the more remarkable, as it was only two months before (March 3, 1819,) that, on the occasion of the vote of thanks moved to Lord Hastings and the British generals in India, the Marquis of Lansdowne made, in the House of Lords, the following statement, including, as will be seen, a case of *at least* as criminal an aspect as that of the American general.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said: "He felt it his duty to observe, that there appeared on the face of the papers before their lordships, a transaction which could not be passed over in silence—a transaction which must be made the subject of some expression of censure, if thanks were to be generally voted to the whole army of India.—The transaction to which he alluded, was the execution of the Killedar of the fort of Talneir. It appeared, that after a vigorous resistance made by the fort, this commander had come out and surrendered. The garrison left in the fort, however, resisted. The fort was then attacked by the British army, and taken; and the whole of the garrison was put to the sword. However much he might regret such a proceeding, he did not make it the subject of complaint. Perhaps, under the circumstances of the case, it was unavoidable; but what must be their lordship's opinion of the transaction that followed. The Killedar, who had remained in the possession of the British commander, was deliberately put to death. It was impossible to leave this horrible circumstance out of view in any vote of thanks which their lordships should give. The despatch of Sir Thomas Hislop states, that whether the Killedar was accessory to the treachery of the garrison or not, he was justly punished with death on account of his rebellion in the first instance. There was no ground for concluding that this unfortunate commander had any concert with the garrison in their treachery; but, according to every rule of European war, some proof of that concert ought to have been exhibited, before the right of punishing him was assumed. As to the assertion, that he was guilty of rebellion in holding out after his master had submitted and concluded a treaty of peace, that was an offence over which a Britsh authority could have no legal cognizance. He was accountable for his rebellion to Holkar only. But how was he to know that he was in rebellion? How was he apprised of the conclusion of the treaty? He had no information of it but through the report of the British army. Would their lordships say that upon information received from an enemy the commander of a fortress was bound to surrender, or even to discontinue hostilities, and that he was liable to the punishment of death if he refused? If, indeed, he had been a party to the treachery of the garrison, he might have been, for that act, liable to punishment, after an inquiry before a regular military tri-

bunal; but with the other charge of rebellion the British commander could have nothing to do."

I am particularly struck with another example of disingenuousness and exaggeration on the part of our friends of the opposition, which I have now before me in a speech of Earl Grey, at the New Castle Fox dinner of the 31st. of December, 1818. This nobleman stands, with Lord Grenville, at the head of the old whigs; he was trained by the side of Fox, and deserved to be called the Diomedes of the band who waged so powerful a war in the House of Commons under that leader. His zeal for parliamentary reform even surpassed that of his colleagues; but, on his ascension to the House of Lords, his feelings and views on this subject underwent a material change; although he still continued inseparable in other questions from his first associations, and, in his American politics, ranked with the most strenuous antagonists of the ministerial system. As the imagination of a large proportion of the British politicians has been particularly affected with the extensive emigrations, that of his lordship is disturbed in an especial manner, with the cry for universal suffrage and annual parliaments; and he probably feels the more anxious to discredit these innovations, from having himself taken the lead in the House of Commons in arraigning the constitution of the British legislature. The example of America, as to the point of representation, seemed naturally to interfere with his object, and was therefore to be invalidated, not merely by being shown to have no application to the circumstances of Great Britain, but by being exhibited as of a most malignant and revolting character in itself. To this design I ascribe the use which he made, on the occasion above mentioned, of Fearon's "Sketches of America," and the character which he gave of the book and its author. I shall make the case better understood by transcribing that portion of the speech to which I allude, before I give, as I intend, some glimpses of the true light in which the Sketches are to be viewed, and must have been viewed,

in fact, by the noble Earl. After drawing a frightful picture of the state of England, he proceeded thus:

"But there is even *a more dreadful* instance than ours to be found in the history of a country whose popular constitution must furnish matter of much interesting observation to every lover of freedom. The constitution of America is free and popular in the largest sense. Now, what is the case in America? A *gentleman* was deputed by thirty-nine families, who had been driven by the necessities of the times to think of emigration—a melancholy proof of our present condition. On his report they were to depend, for the spirit of the country, and the inducements it might hold out to them. The *gentleman's* name is Fearon. He has published the report which he made to these persons, *and his book is full of the most valuable information, and is distinguished by the marks not only of an inquiring, observing, and intelligent mind, but of the greatest fairness and impartiality.* What does Mr. Fearon say of the operation of their laws and of this *boasted constitution?*"

His lordship then adduced, as decisive revelation, what Fearon has written concerning the process of election and the distribution of offices in America; and he concludes in these words—"This is Mr. Fearon's statement, and I should observe to you, that he is by no means a willing witness on the subject. Why do I repeat these things? Is it that I may depreciate the value of popular rights in your estimation? Far from it; I wish merely to show you that, under a system which may appear more perfect, similar, or *even greater abuses,* may still exist than in England."

We must conclude that the orator had actually read the work on which and its author, he pronounced so lofty a panegyric; which he thus held out to the world as the source of the most authentic information concerning American affairs. He has, in fact, by the latitude and emphasis of his recommendation, become the sponsor of the whole. It is a serious accountability; and I must confess that I am surprised at the boldness of the proceeding.

In the first place, as to the point of our elections and the distribution of public trusts, Fearon's allegations are confined to the affairs of two states only, New York and Pennsylvania, and the choice of one federal officer, the

chief magistrate. It happens that those are precisely and notoriously the parts of the union, in which the game of state politics, a comparatively insignificant one, bears the worst character and appearance. In them, there is more perhaps, of what, as long as human nature is not perfect with us, must exist in a certain measure, in the rest,—I mean paltry intrigue for petty offices, and interested effort to influence votes. Cases of some enormity may occur in the first line of abuse, and suffrages be sometimes given from mere party subserviency; but it is as absurd to compare what happens here in these respects, with what prevails in England, as it would be to compare the amount and description of the mendicity in our streets, or of the criminal delinquency on our calendars, with those of which we read in Colquhoun's Treatises and the late Parliamentary Reports.

Whoever talks of a degree of bribery and corruption, and undue influence in America, like that of the neighbourhood of the treasury of London, and the theatres of English suffrage, whether the shires or boroughs, deals in the most extravagant hyperbole. Fearon only repeats on this subject, what he pretends to have heard from two persons of his own country, Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hulme, both of whom, be it remarked, peremptorily disclaim the language which he imputes to them, and accuse him of an impudent imposture. He might, perhaps, have read it in some of the wild declamations, which are published among us during the heat of a contested election, and from the exaggerating spirit of party recrimination. But, nothing that has ever happened in this country, furnishes the least foundation for asserting broadly, that votes and places are bought and sold. Throughout the states, the right of suffrage is exercised, in general, with independence and integrity, by freeholders jealous of their prerogative, strangers to the want and very idea of a largess, and too proud to submit to any *dictation*. The elections in New England, for instance, are marked by a strictness of decorum, probity of spirit, and universal intelligence of action, such, as an European accustomed to view the

people every where as *populace,* would not be capable of imagining.*

On this subject, moreover, it is not what may be done or said in some of the large cities on the Atlantic coast, that furnishes a test of the practice among the mass of this nation.

With respect to disorder and corruption in the system of voting and appointing to office, under the general government, the oracle of Lord Grey says no more, from himself, than that "he became acquainted with facts in Washington which no man could have induced him to believe without personal observation." With more than common discretion, he abstains from telling what those facts are, but proceeds to give an account of what he there heard respecting the "appointment" of the president by the caucus of congress, which he represents, indeed, as a *mandate* issued to the electors in the different states, and never disobeyed. But Lord Grey could not have been so ignorant of the letter and whole analogy of our institutions, as to have understood this to be more, in form or fact, than a recommendation from a certain number of members of congress assembled extra-officially, to the people at large, to vote for a particular individual as their chief magistrate. The proceeding is, certainly, an irregularity, and unsafe as a precedent; yet, so far, it cannot be said, to have been of practical injury, or of any real

* "I have lived long in New England," said Dr. Dwight, the late distinguished president of Yale College, "and have never yet known a single shilling given to purchase a vote." This is the testimony of one than whom no person could have had better opportunities of knowledge. He describes thus the manner of a New England election.

"In New England, on the morning of an election day, the electors assemble either in a church or a town house, in the centre of the township, of which they are inhabitants.

"The business of the day is sometimes introduced by a sermon, and very often by public prayer. A moderator is chosen: the votes are given in with strict decency; without a single debate; without noise, or disorder, or drink; and with not a little of the sobriety, seen in religious assemblies. The meeting is then dissolved; the inhabitants return quietly to their homes, and have neither battles nor disputes. I do not believe that a *single woman, bound or free, ever appeared at an election* in *New England* since the colonization of the country. It would be as much as her character was worth."

Reply to the Quarterly Reviewers, 1815.

significance. I believe it is not doubted by any one, but that the personages who have been elected in succession to the office of president, and particularly the one who now fills it, would have succeeded equally with the people, without the forward counsel of such an assembly; and, it seems to me, no less certain, that it is not in the power of any cabal of whatever composition, to *impose* any man upon the people as their chief magistrate; to effect the adoption of one to whom the preference would not be given spontaneously.*

On the whole, all that is found in Fearon's book, touching these matters, does not, when fairly examined, implicate in general, "the laws and boasted constitution" of America; for, there is nothing that calls in question the conformity of the representation in congress, with the theory of those laws and that constitution. The "case in America" admitted of application to the project of parliamentary reform in England, only so far as it could be shewn, that the right of suffrage was not exercised honestly and independently in the election of *congress;* that this body was not free from corrupt dealings towards the people and within itself; and did not fully and fairly represent the nation. No accusations of the kind are hazarded by Fearon, and I am sure that whosoever might utter, would find it impossible to sustain them, in the opinion of impartial minds.

It may be worth while to obtain an idea of the general doctrines, concerning this country, of the book to which Earl Grey has so formally put his authoritative seal. I take at random, by way of specimen of that

* "We *know*," say the Edinburgh Reviewers, in their number for December, 1818, (article on Universal Suffrage) "that the leaders of the democratic party who now predominate in their caucus or committee at Washington, do, in effect, nominate to *all the important offices in North America*." It is inconceivable how such an assertion as this, could have been risqued in a publication likely to find its way into the United States. I scarcely need add that no one in this country ever before heard of a standing committee of the kind; and that no such nomination takes place, beyond the occasional recommendation to the president, by members of congress, or others, in their individual capacity, of persons who are soliciting offices, or on whom it is thought desirable that they should be conferred.

"most valuable information with which it is full," the following passages.

"No species of correction is allowed in the American schools; children even at home are perfectly independent. (p. 39.) A cold, uniform bigotry seems to pervade all religious sects. (p. 48.) Cleanliness is scarcely known on this side of the Atlantic. (p. 80.) The tradesmen here (Philadelphia) are less intelligent than men following the like occupations in England. (p. 161.) The Americans are most remarkable for complete and general coldness of character and disposition—a cold blooded callousness of disposition. (p. 166.) Whatever degree of religious intelligence exists is confined to the clergy. (p. 167.) The colour of the young females of Philadelphia is produced by art: the junior branches of the Society of Friends there, are not at all deficient in the practice of *rougeing*. (p. 168.) The dirk is the inseparable companion of all classes in the state of Illinois. (p 262.)—*The United States are cursed with a population undeserving of their exuberant soil and free government.* (p. 273.) The American lawyers are at least thirty-three and a third per cent. lower than their brethren in England. (p. 317.) The Americans, neglecting to encourage any pursuits, either individually or collectively, which may be called *mental*, they appear, as a nation, to have sunk into habits of indolence and *indifference:* they are neither lively in their tempers nor generous in their dispositions, &c.* (p. 362.) We do not meet in America with even an approach to simplicity and honesty of mind. (p. 363.) The nation at large dislike England, and yet, both individually and collectively, would be offended, should a hint be expressed that they were of Irish or of Dutch, and not of English descent. (p. 368.) No people are so vain as the Americans; their self-estimation and cool-headed bombast, when speaking of themselves or of their country, are quite ludicrous. (p. 368.) *Every man* in America thinks he has arrived at perfection. (p. 368.) *Every* American considers that it is impossible for a foreigner to teach him any thing, and that his head contains a perfect encyclopædia. (p. 369.) A non-intercourse act seems to have passed against the sciences, *morals*, and literature, in America. (p. 371.) The sexes seem ranked as distinct races of beings, between whom social converse is rarely to be held. A universal neglect of either mental or domestic knowledge appears to exist among the females here, as compared with those of England. (p. 377.) Such is the habitual indolence of the American people, and *their indifference with regard to public affairs*, that occurrences

* So Lieutenant Hall, in his book of Travels in America, says. "The Americans are habitually serious and silent; their spirits are seldom elevated!!" Apathy, taciturnity, are traits which we did not suspect to exist in our character

of first rate importance are known but by few individuals. (p. 385.) There would appear to be placed in the very stamina of the people a coldness, a selfishness, and a spirit of conceit, which form strong barriers against improvement." (p. 391.)

Every particular assertion in this medley is in the nature of antiphrasis; and the general allegations are slanderous. The extravagance of several of them betrays not only a libellous disposition, but an utter want of judgment, in the writer. I will illustrate further "that fairness and impartiality," which Earl Grey ascribes to him in the superlative degree. He states (p. 46,) that in New York all the churches (forty-five in number) are well filled on the Sunday. The fact being rather creditable to that community, it was necessary to give it another direction; and this is done by the following arbitrary, ridiculous, and malevolent interpretation. "The great proportion of attendants at any particular church *appear* to select it, either because they are acquainted with the preacher, or that it is frequented by fashionable company, *or their great-grandmother went there, before the revolution,* or because their interests will be promoted by so doing." We are not told the particular indication or circumstance by which this *appeared.* Wherever the religious worship and spirit of this country are brought into view, it is in the same strain that they are celebrated; and *ignorance of the scriptures* is perpetually charged upon the whole body of a people by whom the bible is, doubtless, more generally possessed and *read,* in family, than by any other on earth.*

Our traveller, when he cannot venture to affirm an opprobrious fact, as of his own knowledge, has recourse to this form of speech, "I have reason to believe"—a convenient mode of calumniating, when, as uniformly happens with him, the *reason* is not assigned. Thus, he says (p. 171), in relation to Philadelphia,—a city as remarkable for domestic neatness, order, morality, and

* It is used in all the schools in the interior, and these receive nearly every native white.

happiness as any which has ever existed,—"Although the eyes and ears of a stranger are not insulted, in the openness of noonday, with evidence of hardened profligacy, I have, nevertheless, *reason to believe* in its existence to a very great extent. *The habits of the people are marked by caution and secresy.* There is here a lamentable want of cleanliness, in such matters as are removed from the *public eye;* an ignorance of order and neatness in domestic life." Again, when in Kentucky, "I have not seen the *practice of gouging* occur, though I have good reason to believe in its existence;" and, when at New Orleans, "At a tavern opposite, I witnessed a personal conflict, in which *I suppose* one of the parties was dirked." Admirably "fair and impartial!"

According to this "enquiring, observing and intelligent *gentleman*" (p. 46, 373,) "conversation in American society, that even of the ladies, turns entirely upon the capture of the Guerriere, and the battle of New Orleans; the price of flour and cotton, and the bad conduct and inferior nature of '*niggars.*'" He dialogues much as he goes along, and all his American interlocutors, of whatever degree, talk in the same cant phrases of the most vulgar cacophony. Their language, on all occasions, is provincial and plebeian. This circumstance alone might have excited in the mind of Lord Grey a distrust of his gentleman's candour, or of the cast of his associations, both in this country and at home. The dramatic style of narrative, whether in an historian or traveller, is, at best, open to suspicion.

Mr. Fearon insists earnestly upon "the jealousy and dislike of foreigners rooted in the breasts of all the native Americans." He returns often to this topic, and will have it that, "throughout the states, there is a strong line of distinction drawn between *citizens of native and of foreign birth.*" (P. 347.) The ample portion which is enjoyed by persons of the last description, of whatever means of comfort, power, distinction this country affords—the manner in which we are consubstantiated and evened throughout the body politic and social, render it unneces-

sary for me to deny the absurd allegation; but I mention it, and the earnestness with which it is made, as striking particulars of the evidence which the sketches themselves offered to the British earl, of their being mainly designed to discourage emigration to the United States. The distinct, elaborate attempt which is made in them, to refute and disgrace the publications of Mr. Birbeck, is additional proof of this drift, which we can hardly believe could have escaped the observation of his lordship, though we should admit that he overlooked the sweeping calumnies and sinistrous interpretations with which the work abounds, and the constant solicitude of the author to qualify what favourable testimony he is compelled to bear, in such a way as to defeat its *allurement.*

But, it is not only of flippancy and rancour that we could convict this traveller, throughout: in several instances he might be shown to be guilty of deliberate, circumstantial falsehood. I will select one which may represent his whole book, and in which the Quarterly Review is implicated. In his report from Philadelphia, dated October 12, 1817, he writes thus:—

"Seeing the following advertisement in the newspapers, put in by the captain and *owners* of the vessel referred to, I visited the ship, in company with a bootmaker of this city.

'THE PASSENGERS

'On board the brig Bubona, from Amsterdam, and who are wil-'ling to engage themselves for a limited time, to defray the ex-'penses of their passage, consist of, &c. Apply on board of the '*Bubona*, opposite Callowhill street, in the river Delaware, or to W. 'ODLIN & Co. No. 38, South Wharves.'

"As we ascended the side of this hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. The eye involuntarily turned for some relief from the horrible picture of human suffering, which this living sepulchre afforded. Mr. ——— enquired if there were any shoemakers on board. *The captain advanced: his appearance bespoke his office; he is an American, tall, determined, and with an eye that flashes with Algerine cruelty.* He called in the Dutch language for shoemakers, and never can I forget the scene that followed. The poor fellows came running up with unspeakable delight, no doubt anticipating a relief from their loathsome dungeon. Their

clothes, if rags deserve that denomination, actually perfumed the air. Some were without shirts, others had this article of dress, but of a quality as coarse as the worst packing cloth. I enquired of several if they could speak English. They smiled, and gabbled, 'No Engly, no Engly,—one Engly talk ship.' The deck was filthy. The cooking, washing, and necessary department, were close together. *Such is the mercenary barbarity of the Americans who are engaged in this trade*, that they crammed into one of those vessels 500 passengers, 80 of whom died on the passage."

This account is quoted with evident satisfaction, in the Quarterly Review, for May, 1819, and the reviewer adds from himself—"The infamous traffic is confined, exclusively, to American vessels."

I have thought it worth while to ascertain the facts of the case, and they are as follows:—The Brig Bubona in question was a British vessel, from Sunderland, in England; she was British property, and navigated on British account; her crew was British, and her captain *an Englishman*, by the name of William Garterell. On arriving in the port of Philadelphia, he selected as his factors, the Messrs. Odlin and Co. merchants of that city, whom Fearon falsely represents as the *owners* of the vessel. The captain was not "tall," but about the middle size, or rather below it, and his countenance had an open, agreeable expression. What is more: of the vessels that entered the port of Philadelphia in the years 1816, and 1817, laden with redemptioners from the continent of Europe, the greater number was *foreign;* these amounted to ten, of which *five* were *British* in British employment; namely, the Brig Bubona, above mentioned; the ship Zenophon, captain Goodwin; the brig Constantia, captain Janson; the brig William, captain Arrowsmith, and brig William, captain Danton.* The condition of the redemptioners on board the British vessels was no better than in the others of whatever nation, engaged in the "infamous traffic."

I derive these particulars from unquestionable sources;

* The other foreign vessels (Prussian and Haneseatic) were, ship Vrow Cathrina, captain John Van Dyle; brig Bonifacias, captain Leitman; brig Concordia, captain Diedrickson; ship Vrow Elizabeth, captain Blankman, &c.

—the Mr. Woodbridge Odlin, who transacted the business of the Bubona; and Mr. Andrew Leinau, a respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia, who served as general agent for the foreign redemptioner ships, as they were styled, and who has in his hands official vouchers, which I have examined, of their respective national character, the number of their passengers, &c. It is known, moreover, that as soon as the abuses practised in the trade became notorious, the American Congress passed a law designed to prevent the recurrence of them, and remarkable for the humanity and efficaciousness of its precautions.

If Fearon really visited the Bubona, which may be doubted, he, an Englishman, could not have mistaken her national character, nor that of the captain. This "tall American, with an eye flashing Algerine cruelty," is a phantasm manifestly intended to heighten the injurious effect of the whole malignant fiction. So the use of the present tense by the Quarterly Reviewers, in their unwarrantable assertion, argues the design of giving it to be understood, that the trade is still carried on by American vessels, with the same abuses as existed before the passage of the preventive law.

Whether Earl Grey has found "the greatest fairness and impartiality" in the article of the Quarterly Review, on Fearon's Sketches, as well as in the latter, I know not; but it is certain that the noble lord and the reviewer differ much in their views of the character of the traveller. "We find Mr. Fearon," says the reviewer, "whenever England is concerned, venting his ignorant sneers, or indulging his spiteful *calumnies,* at the expense of decency and *truth:* he crouches with base servility before Cobbet; he grossly libels his fair countrywomen; he is solicitous to entice the poor of Europe from their country, by fallacies and *lies;* he has greedily seized upon every opportunity of traducing the best and bravest officers of England; his prejudices are rooted in the profoundest ignorance; he deals in flippant and frequent abuse of scripture; he is evidently a man of very limited faculties; he is in a state of

perpetual childhood; his total want of knowledge is sufficiently apparent, &c." It is a witness thus blackened, blighted, and stultified by themselves, and whom in fact, they convict, in their examination of his book, of gross inconsistency and prevarication, that the master critics of London bring forward to explode the pretensions of the United States to any degree of moral worth, intellectual dignity, or physical comfort. It is upon his testimony, "who violates truth and decency, *whenever* England is concerned," they affect to believe, and would have the world believe, besides what, I have quoted from him, and a multitude of other general imputations and particular calumnies, that—"the churches in America are filled by fanatics, hypocrites, and buffoons;" that "gain is the education, the morals, the politics, the theology, and stands instead of the domestic comfort of all ages and classes of Americans ;" that "the worst degree of corruption which the inventive malice of the worst Jacobin ever charged upon the government of England, is more than realized at the American capital;" that "every election in America, from the president downwards, is carried on by bribery, corruption, and intrigue."*

I cannot refrain, in dismissing Mr. Fearon and his compurgators, from offering to my American reader, some random testimony concerning the nature of those abuses in the system of British suffrage and representation, *greater* than which Lord Grey is pleased to believe, may or do exist under that of the United States.

In the year 1793, the honourable Mr. Grey, then a member of the House of Commons,—now Earl Grey, and a member of the House of Peers—made a motion in the Commons, for a reform in parliament, grounded upon a petition which he presented, and vehemently supported, and was understood to have himself composed. The following quotations are parts of that petition, and the

* The Edinburgh Reviewers have also so far forgotten their station, as to bestow on Fearon, the epithets "enlightened and intelligent," and to recommend his book, with the simple reservation that he is "a *little* given to exaggeration in his views of vices and prejudices." See their 61st number.

facts stated in them, which did not admit of denial, are equally true of the subject at the present day.

"Your petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers; that the majority of your honourable House, is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.

"The second complaint of your petitioners, is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it,

"They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in burghage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable House, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm, that in addition to the seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety-seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in Parliament by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm, that in addition to two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in Parliament for counties in Scotland, by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitious votes.

"They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs of Scotland, not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your petitioners are ready to prove. And in this manner, according to the present state of your representation, two hundred and ninety-four of your honourable members are chosen, and being a majority of the entire House of

Commons, are enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.

"Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant dissenters are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the right of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from being the electors.

"A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of householders in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland,) who pay all taxes, is 714,911, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the house and window taxes, is 284,459, as appears by a return made to your honourable House in 1785.

"In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives.

"Your honourable House knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half.

"From the peculiar rights of voting, by which certain places return members to serve in parliaments, eighty-four individuals do, by their own immediate authority, send one hundred and fifty-seven of your honourable members to Parliament, and your petitioners are ready to name the members and the patrons.

"Your petitioners are convinced that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole three hundred and seven, are returned to your honourable House, not by the collected voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals, added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of your honourable House.

"Your petitioners inform your honourable House, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect, that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable

members owe their elections entirely to the interference of peers; and your petitioners are prepared to show by legal evidence, that forty peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burghage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrolled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty-one of your honourable members.

"The means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow a seat in your honourable house, appear to have been increasing in a progressive degree of fraud and corruption. In the 31st year of the reign of his present majesty, the number of statutes found necessary to prevent bribery, had increased to sixty-five."

In confirming the allegations and pressing the object of the petition, the honourable Mr. Grey said, that "the evils of the American war were, in his mind, entirely owing to the unequal and corrupt representation in Parliament." And Mr. Sheridan made the following observations in the course of the debate, to which Mr. Grey's motion gave rise.

"As to the general challenge of proving the abuse which subsists in our government, he (Mr. Sheridan) had no delight in it; but as he must answer, he should say, that some of the abuses of which he complained, and of which a reform of Parliament was the only remedy, were, that Peers of the other house sent members to the House of Commons by nomination; that the Crown sent members into that house by nomination too; that some members of that house sent in members by their own nomination also—all these things made a farce of an election for the places for which these were returned; that men were created peers without having been of the least service to the public in any action of their lives, but merely on account of their Parliamentary influence—the present minister had been the means of creating a hundred of them. He did not blame him, but the fault was in the system of government; corruption was the pivot on which the whole of our public government affairs turned; the collection of taxes was under the management of wealthy men in Parliamentary interest, the consequence of which was, that the collection of them was neglected; that to make up the deficiency, excisemen must be added to the excise—this soured the temper of the people; that neither in the church, the army, the navy, or any public office, was any appointment given, but through Parliamentary influence; that, in consequence, corrupt majorities at the will of the minister.*

* See the Debate in the 30th vol. of the Parliamentary History.

The following parts of the debate of the House of Commons respecting the new taxes, which I extract from the London Courier of June 19, 1819, will show what degree of reformation that body has undergone since Mr. Sheridan's exposition of its character.

"The Marquis of Tavistock said, (June 18, 1819.)—Was it not grievous to reflect, that, when the minister had proposed an income tax, the house defeated his purpose—or, as the noble lord had expressed it, relieved themselves, and not the country? Was it not grievous to reflect, that the house had rejected with indignation the income tax; and that when other taxes were proposed, which fell upon the poor and distressed, they were passed with acclamations, and nothing was talked of but the triumphant majorities of ministers? (cheering). If any difficulty was felt in believing this to be a correct view of the case, let it be recollected, that when the income tax was refused in 1816, ministers gave up the malt tax, and the noble lord (Castlereagh) said, "Since Parliament has relieved itself from the income tax, I and my colleagues relieve the country by giving up the malt tax." Why did not ministers, entertaining this view of the different taxes, propose a renewal of the income tax, which they believed to be a burden upon the members of the house, and not upon the country, instead of the taxes which they had admitted to be felt by the country, and especially by the poorer classes? They acted so, obviously because they were afraid of a defeat in that house upon the income tax. But would they have last year proposed the taxes now required? If they had made the proposal, would it have been endured in the last year of the last Parliament? Was it surprizing that the people of this country should be discontented, when they saw their representatives sheltering themselves from an income tax? (Hear.)—When they saw those representatives at the same time laying further taxes on malt, on tea, and on wool?

"How happened it, that when the people called loudly and earnestly for retrenchment and economy, the ministers, backed by overwhelming majorities, answered them by imposing fresh taxes, and increasing their overpowering burdens? *The clear and indisputable cause was, that the majority of that house were returned by borough-mongering, and corruption, and that the Parliaments continued for seven years.*"

"Mr. Coke (of Norfolk) said—It was the duty of every man to oppose the attempt to arm ministers with new powers of collecting money. He was an old member of Parliament, and he had often seen and well knew the profligate mode in which the public money was squandered: he would not trust them with a single farthing. *He would go the full length of asserting that this was a corrupt house, from which no good could be expected.* Ministers had no-

thing to do but to summon their troops, and they had a majority instantly at their command; it is in fact a joke upon the country, and the people felt it to be so from one end of the kingdom to the other."

"Mr. Ricardo maintained, at some length, that the idea of there being a sinking fund was nothing but a delusion.

"Before he sat down, he could not help observing, that he concurred in every thing which had been said by the noble marquis, regarding the necessity of a reform in the representation of that house."

As Earl Grey has rendered this subject of British representation and election of importance to us, I will set it in a broader light by additional extracts from the debates of the House of Commons, as I find them reported in the ministerial newspaper, the London Courier. The speakers, with the exception of Lord Cochrane, are all members of considerable distinction.

"Mr. Tierney asked (Feb. 7th, 1817,) if the house recollected the number of holders of offices now sitting there. There were not less than sixty of these gentlemen, all of whom were liable to be dismissed at pleasure. If they deducted their number from some of the ministerial majorities, the result would appear, that the fair and free sense of the house was against the measures of ministers. Many members, too, were certainly connected by the ties of relationship to those who were in power."

"Mr. Brougham said (June 8th, 1819,) that the whole of that which gave the patronage of a borough in the county he had mentioned, which returned two members, and which had never been disputed, *was the gross and wilful abuse of a great charitable estate, intended strictly for the education of the poor.*"

"Mr. Brougham said (Feb. 17, 1818,) that in the last year of every Parliament, more benefit accrued to the public than during all the preceding years of its existence."

"Mr. Calvert said (Feb. 7th, 1817,) that he was one of six persons who had sent two members to Parliament, and for which, each member paid 4,500*l.*"

"Lord Cochrane said (June 20th, 1817,) he remembered very well the first time he was returned as a member to the house, which was for the borough of Hornton, and on which occasion the town bellman was sent through the town to order the voters to come to Mr. Townshend's the head man in that place, and a banker, to receive the sum of 10*l.* 10*s.* This was the truth, and he would ask, how could he, in that situation be called a representative of the people in the legitimate constitutional sense of that word?

"He had no doubt but there were very many in that house, who

had been returned by similar means. His motive, he was now fully convinced, was wrong, decidedly wrong; but as he came home pretty well flushed with Spanish money, he had found this borough open and he had bargained for it; and he was sure he would have been returned, had he been Lord Camelford's black servant, or his great dog."

"Sir Robert Heron said (May 19th, 1818,) that the necessity of reform had often been acknowledged by the house itself. Distinguished members had offered to prove at the bar its corrupt constitution, but no strong desire to proceed to those proofs had ever been manifested on the part of the house. The corruption was manifested by the Grenville act, which declared the house no longer fit to be trusted with the decision of its own elections—by the oaths and precautions which it declared to be absolutely necessary to prevent partial decisions."

"Mr. Lockart said (March 2d, 1818,) that he approved of the general principle of the (election laws amendment) bill, especially that part forbidding the distribution of cockades. He had known 30,000 cockades given away at an election, and this signal of party was thus made an engine of bribery, not to the multitude at large, but towards persons of particular trades."

"Mr. Wynn said that, at one election he knew that 8,000*l.* had been given to special constables. At another election 1,500 special constables had been engaged at half a guinea a day each."

Camelford election.—"Mr. D. W. Harvey observed (July 2d, 1819,)—the counsel who conducted the case before the committee, undertook to prove the existence of a conspiracy for procuring a corrupt return for the borough; and the report of the committee showed that that charge had been in a great measure substantiated. The facts were—that there were twenty-nine electors for Camelford—that that borough had been frequently the subject of sale or barter—and that it was now the property of a noble lord, whom he would not name, as those who had read the report of the committee must know that his lordship's name was no secret. Not long before the last election, a meeting of five of the electors was held at an inn near the borough, called the Allworthy, which meeting was joined by a certain *Reverend Divine*, who expressed to the individuals assembled a desire to return two members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Camelford. To this estimation the electors did not object. They annexed only one condition to their compliance with it, namely, that a large sum of money should be deposited for certain purposes which were mentioned in a whisper. It appeared that with that condition the *Reverend Divine* would not, or could not, comply. The five electors, however, did not abandon their design. Accordingly they met again at another inn near Camelford, called the Five Lanes, where a letter signed James Harvey was read, offering 6,000*l.* for the power of returning two members for the borough of Camelford, to be distributed among any fifteen (being a majority) of the electors.—This proposal was agreed to. The reply of the letter, containing the acquiescence in the proposal, was

addressed to Mr. Sibley, the partner of Mr. Hallett. It was proved before the committee that Mr. Hallett had held up 6,000*l.* before his partner, Mr. Sibley, and had said—"Sibley, do you think the Camelford electors will bite at this?" As a security for the money, it appeared that the half notes of the 6,000*l.* were deposited at Camelford. Ultimately, however, the conspiracy failed, and the election was lost. It did not appear, however, that the half notes had been returned; for it was proved that Hallet or Sibley had said —"What damned rogues those Camelford electors are! do you know I could not get back the half notes from them without making some compromise!"

Mr. Southey had informed us, in Espriella's Letters, that *Englishmen* regard all kinds of deceit as lawful in electioneering,—that they stop not at asserting the grossest and most impudent falsehoods;—that at a *Nottingham* election the mob ducked some, and killed others; that on such occasions no frauds, pious or impious, are scrupled; that any thing like an election, in the plain sense of the word, is unknown in England; that a majority of the members of the House of Commons are returned by the most corrupt influence; that seats in that house are not uncommonly advertised in the newspapers; that, although oaths are required of the voters, they are evaded by the grossest means; that votes are publicly bought and sold.*

All this is abundantly illustrated in the history of the English elections of the summer of 1818. Much of the time of the courts of justice and the House of Commons, since, has been occupied in the investigation of cases of bribery and corruption, involving the most audacious fraud and perjury. Besides that of Camelford, already mentioned, those of Grampound and Barnstaple may be cited as edifying specimens. The tactics of the boroughs are thus instructively explained, in the number of Bell's Weekly Messenger, of the 29th June, 1818.

"Among the various scenes now exhibiting in the progress of the business of the general election, there are one or two to be seen in some of the boroughs which deserve not only to be generally

* See Letter xlviii.

known, but which we should hope will not be soon forgotten. We deem it a duty to call particular attention to one of these elective bodies. Upon the arrival of their late member to repeat his canvass, he was met by the electors in a body, and the first question put to him was, whether he was willing to pay the usual gratuity of 40*l.* per man?—that is to say, to invite them all to a breakfast, where each should find a 40*l.* bank of England note under his saucer. The gentleman replied that he was really not rich enough to give this expensive breakfast to three hundred voters; but that he had rendered the borough such important services in their trade, roads, and harbour, that he trusted their gratitude would not seize the present occasion of turning him out; but if they insisted on the 40*l.* per man, they must seek for some one who was better able to buy them at that price."

"In another borough, the practice of the election we understand to be as follows:—The price of the worthy and independent electors is 50*l.* per head, and one of the principal men in the town being a banker, the money is to be paid in his notes, and at his bank. Upon the day preceding the nomination and return, the town crier gives public notice for all the electors to appear personally at the banking house of Mr. —— ——, to consult upon a suitable member for their independent borough. Each appears accordingly, and receives his fifty pounds. On the following day, the banker appears at the hustings or town hall, recommends very warmly Mr. such a one, and the electors immediately elect him. No questions are asked as to the fifty pounds, or from whom it came, and no one of course takes any blame to himself for having received a bribe from the worthy Mr. such a one. Each is willing to swear that he never saw his money. The vote is given only from good will to the banker, and it seems that the oath does not apply to gratuities from third persons."

"In a third borough, the money is given by the 'man in the moon,' who deputes an attorney for his agent. In a few days the same attorney produces a notice from the same man in the moon, that he could wish their respected and most independent borough to be represented by Mr. A. and Mr. B. two gentlemen with whose worth he is acquainted. The recommendation is adopted as a matter of course, and two persons as fitted for corruption as themselves are sent into Parliament. In a word, there is scarcely a slang term or a slang practice, which may not be found in the abominable practices of some of these boroughs, in which perjury is made a comedy, and the most atrocious roguery converted into a jolly pleasantry. All these things are going on before our eyes."

In scenes of disorder and violence, the late election was as rich as any former occasion of the kind. The treatment of Sir Murray Maxwell is not unknown to us on this side of the Atlantic. Such horrible outrage as

was practised in Westminster by the mob, and such ribaldry as was exchanged on the hustings by the rival candidates, "men of rank and fashion," might procure from those who write, within the Westminster uproar, some toleration for the occasional animation of our voters, and the rough declamation of our stump orators in the electioneering contests of the southern states.

The condition of things, in Ireland, with regard to the choice of legislators, is truly melancholy, as it is described in a late book of travels, possessing the highest authority.* "So far," says the author, "are the wretched tenants of the cabins from receiving benefit for their inapposite distinction of freeholders, that it operates a contrary way, and puts them to expense and loss of time, without the privilege of having any choice. Ruin would inevitably overtake him who should dare to presume to have any opinion but that dictated to him by his landlord; and the candidate who should solicit, or accept without solicitation, the vote of a tenant, against the will of his landlord, must answer the irregularity with his life, and incur the general odium of his own class of society. *Popular opinion has little or no influence in the election of the one hundred Irish members.* Election contests with us procure, for a time, some consideration for the lower ranks—what dignifies the English character debases the Irish. The magnitude of the evil is greater than can be conceived by those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing its effects. In the most venal places in England, besides the bribe, some condescension is expected: here the poor voter is only degraded by an additional link to the chain of his dependency. The representation of the town rests mostly in each body corporate, which seldom exceeds twelve members. The selecting for representation by the extent of the population was a farce, in which the people had no assigned part to act. The democratic part of the British constitution, *quoad* the Irish, had better not exist."

* Observations on the State of Ireland, written in a tour through that country, by J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P. London. 1818. Vol. II. Letter li.

"In some instances, the very favours granted the Catholics are considered as sources of aggravation, if not of insult—emblazoned badges of slavery! In conferring the elective franchise, they have been denied the exercise of a free choice, the proudest prerogative of Englishmen; and compelled to feel, in the discharge of the granted privilege, their own inferiority."

4. It is not in newspapers, reviews, and parliamentary speeches alone, that the United States are traduced in England. Her writers of formal treatises on subjects connected with general literature, and even with natural science, fall into preposterous digressions about the unworthiness of their "American kinsmen," and are not always inordinately scrupulous as to the accuracy of their disparaging statements. I have an instance at hand in the following passage of a late work, entitled "The History and Practice of Vaccination, by James Moore, Director of the National Vaccine Establishment at London, Member of the Royal College of Surgery, &c."

"The freedom that reigns in the United States of America, is incompatible with unanimity; consequently, the vaccine had to struggle there with a *long and violent* opposition, which was not much allayed by the exertions of the President, Mr. Jefferson, who patronized the new practice; yet by degrees it spread and was introduced even among the Indian tribes. It was in the year 1799, that this important benefit was conveyed to the United States from Great Britain. Indeed, except the produce of the soil, what that is valuable has not that nation received from us? Certainly their arts, literature, laws, and religion, the model of their political establishments, and even their love of liberty.—Yet when Great Britain was hard pressed by Napoleon, the United States submitted to the threats and depredations of the tyrant, &c. But let England forget this and rejoice in being able to add the vaccine to the other benefits conferred on the Americans. And may *our* physicians continue to instruct them to cure and prevent the diseases of *their* country; may our poets soften and delight them; and above all, may our philosophers improve their dispositions, and perhaps, in a future age, their animosity will cease, and there will spring up in that country some filial gratitude!"*

* C. 12.

All this objurgation in a history of the vaccine! The absurdity and malice of deviating into such topics on such an occasion, would be manifest, though the principal accusation should be acknowledged to be sustainable. But what are we to think of the member of the Royal College of Surgeons, when we reflect that it is unjust; that he must have known it to be so; and that it may be retorted upon England with tenfold force? There, had the vaccine to struggle with a longer and more violent opposition, than in any other of the countries into which it has been introduced. No heavier disgrace was ever brought upon the medical faculty, or the human mind in civilized life, than by the prejudices with which it was encountered among a part of the British population, and the pamphlets sent forth against it from the British press, in the names of London physicians eminent in their profession. The opposition to it amounted to phrenzy, even in such quarters; and in the protracted controversy, the foulest scurrility was mixed with the wildest raving. I need but mention Dr. Moseley's Essay on the Lues Bovilla, and the publications of Doctors Rowley, Squirril, Birch, Lipscomb, &c.

In the very book of the director, we have all the evidence we could desire against Great Britain on this head; and in the voluminous publication of Dr. Ring,* there is still more. I refer to this work particularly, because it was well known to our faithful historian, who read in it the reverse of what he has alleged against America. Dr. Waterhouse of Boston, acknowledges, indeed, in one of his essays, which Dr. Ring has quoted, that some incredulity was displayed, and some ridicule indulged, in New England, at the first annunciation of the discovery; but Dr. Ring furnishes the testimony of the same physician, and others of the faculty in the United States, to show with what rapidity it conciliated even

* Treatise on the Cow-Pox, containing the history of Vaccine Inoculation, by John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Part 2d, 1803.

the warmest zeal in its favour, and was carried into general operation. One of Dr. Waterhouse's statements to him, of 1801, says—"The arguments *thrown out in England* against this noble discovery and its application, are detailed here (in Boston,) but a great majority believe and will be saved." Ring writes thus himself—"Some unlucky cases, it seems, have damped the ardour of a people (the Americans,) who received the new inoculation with a candour, a liberality, and even generosity much to their credit." He recites the cases and adds, "This was enough to damp the ardour of any nation." A few pages onward, he mentions its signal progress throughout the United States; compliments the American government for communicating it so promptly to the Indian tribes; and subjoins the following remarks: "In England the public opinion is, at the time of my writing this (1803, *five* years after Jenner's promulgation of the discovery!) rather wavering. Falsehoods propagated by the most base and despicable characters, have been too successful."*

It occurred to me to place the extract from surgeon Moore's work, under the eye of Dr. Redman Coxe, the present learned professor of Materia Medica in the University of Pennsylvania; so honourably and deservedly mentioned in Dr. Ring's work as the physician to whom Pennsylvania is primarily indebted for the benefit of vaccination. Dr. Coxe has had the goodness to put into my hands a small paper of notes, which I copy as decisive testimony on the subject, since his knowledge of the progress and establishment of the discovery in the United States, is more direct and minute, than that of any other person.

"I am confident I am correct in asserting, that no novelty of equal importance to mankind, was ever received in any country, with more rapidity—more unanimity, or more extensively. It is true, the same cautious spirit which ought invariably to govern us in concerns of this nature, led many medical men (not to oppose

* P. 760. The controversy raged with unabated violence as late as 1806—7

its progress, but) merely to await the result of experiments, in order to determine their judgments. What opposition has this Jennerian blessing ever met with in this country, that equals even a tenth part of that which it received in Great Britain? Let Mr. Ring's elaborate production on the subject of vaccination clear us from the reproach thrown on us.—In that work, his pen has unfolded the opposition it encountered from almost every quarter of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain; an opposition, the effects of which have scarcely yet subsided there; whilst here, for many years, even a whisper against it has not been raised.—Were it necessary, I could give you perhaps one hundred letters from medical men in all parts of America, received within twelve months after I had introduced it here, earnestly applying for the infection, and requesting information respecting the disease. I saw, in fact, nothing like opposition;—I read of none in our medical journals. An uniform desire was every where evinced to spread the benefit as speedily as possible. A few miserable quacks alone, who depended on the small-pox for their daily bread, protested against it—and even of those, the greater part soon were obliged to yield to the popular opinion in its favour.

"Such are the facts which stifle the inconsiderate assertion of Mr. Moore—I need scarcely add to the number; which if necessary, I could easily do. The disease had fully established its reputation in America within two years from its first introduction here; and long before its claims were admitted freely in Great Britain."

There are some points at least, as to which "the freedom that reigns in the United States of America," would not seem to be incompatible with *unanimity*. If the whole population of those states were canvassed, perhaps not one individual would be found disaffected to the form and constitution of their government. The number malecontent with the system of administration, or distrustful of the ability and integrity of the present executive councils, is certainly so small as to disappear on a glance at the mass of citizens in the opposite temper of mind. FIRMISSIMUM IMPERIUM QUO OBEDIENTES GAUDENT.

How far has the freedom which reigns in Great Britain proved effectual to create unanimity as to her political institutions, and the composition and course of her national councils? Is not the monarchy itself odious to a multitude of her subjects? The mechanism of her legislature and cabinet, and the system of administration are matters of disgust and outcry through every rank and class of her

inhabitants. From the highest quarters we are informed, and, indeed, the fact cannot fail to be perceived, even at a distance, that the great majority of the British people have not the least confidence in the patriotism and disinterestedness of any of the parties in Parliament, or of the men in place; all are believed to aim only at the possession of power and patronage. Among the lower orders, sedition is declared to have a permanent abode, and to prowl without intermission. "There prevails," said Mr. Lamb, in the House of Commons (March 11, 1818,) "though to what extent I will not pretend accurately to define, in all the manufacturing districts, a spirit always active, inveterate, and implacable; not exasperated by suffering; not soothed by prosperity; not allayed by time; a spirit ever laying in wait, and in ambush, to take advantage of the disasters of the country."

We see fully verified at this moment, the creed of this member of Parliament, a whig leader: the habitual leven of insurrection only becomes the more active and expansive, as the rate of wages or the supply of food declines. It places the British government, in the season of ferment, as at present, under the horrible necessity of shedding, with the apparatus of war, the blood of the guiltless, perhaps loyal peasant, whom the want of occupation draws to the convention of starving manufacturers, and hairbrained, or counterfeit demagogues.* It leads—I cannot say obliges—that government, to resort to one of the most hateful of the devices of timorous despotism—the employment of spies and informers, who cannot execute their office, without, to a certain degree, studiously exasperating the discontents, and encouraging the delusions, against which it is the alleged object of their mission to guard. It does more: it throws the constitution off its poise; it creates a potential dictatorship in the ministry, who either do feel, or profess to feel themselves bound to consult the

* See the history of the Manchester meeting, of August, 1816, at which women and girls were cut and trampled down by corps of dragoons, and left mangled and weltering, to be conveyed in carts to the hospitals.

tranquillity of the state, or of particular parts of the kingdom, at the expense of the established forms and rules of law; counting upon what they are always sure to procure, indemnity by vote of Parliament.—What is there in the American republic comparable to this state of things?

This want of *unanimity*, this propensity to rebellious violence, among the lower orders, has placed the British rulers under another embarrassment, the most awful that can be imagined, and far outweighing any evil in our situation, produced or threatened by our negro slavery.

According to the best authorities, the system of the poor rates in England, is proceeding to take the whole produce of the land from the owner, with very little benefit to the poor. It already "amounts, with the land tax and tythes, in many parishes, to a disherison of the property of the landholder."* It "falls exclusively on lands and houses, the dividends (exceeding twenty-seven millions sterling) upon the unredeemed national debt, of eight hundred millions sterling, being wholly exempt."† Its operation is most oppressively partial, independently of this last circumstance, so unjust and invidious. It forms a tax thus characterized, which, according to some, must amount for the year 1818, to ten millions sterling,‡ perhaps to twelve; and this product is chiefly consumed in rearing the offspring of improvidence and vice. It is fast multiplying the already immense number of paupers, and widening the acknowledged degeneracy of the labouring classes.§ It exhibits, in short, to use the language of Colquhoun, *one ninth part of a numerous nation existing as paupers, vagabonds, idlers, and criminal offenders, at the expense of one third of the remaining population.*"‖ In the year 1812, the number of paupers who received parish relief, besides vagrants, was 1,208,125, out of a po-

* Report on the Poor Laws, from the Committee of the House of Commons, 1817. Appendix.

† Observations on the Poor Laws. By J. Lord Sheffield. London, 1818.

‡ Lord Sheffield.

§ See Note X. at the end of this volume.

‖ Treatise on Indigence. P. 262.

pulation of 10,653,000.* The proportion of really impotent paupers in the number just stated, was but one seventh, according to the ratio officially returned for 1804. "It will be found, on investigation," says Colquhoun, that, of a million and a half of paupers with their families, now living chiefly on the labour of others, *considerably more than half a million* are in the vigour of life, and whose labour, if well directed, ought to produce at least ten millions sterling beyond their present earnings; which sum is totally lost to the community, in addition to what is expended in affording them a feeble and scanty subsistence."† Since the termination of the last war, this wretched and noxious class of persons has been progressively increasing in number, and deteriorating in character.

The only true remedy for this manifold, portentous evil, is the abolition or great reduction of the poor rates. But the government, though it has before it the alternative of ultimate ruin to the country, dares not go beyond palliatives.‡ Near a million of sturdy beggars could not

* Clarkson's Enquiry on Pauperism. London, 1816.

† Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire. London, 1814.

‡ The late act of Parliament, (59 G. III. 1819,) "to amend the laws for the relief of the poor," aims only at mitigating, not eradicating, the evil. Very little confidence seemed to be entertained by Parliament, in its efficacy for any purpose. Mr. S. Bourne, the member most active on this question, had unsuccessfully proposed a bill, respecting the failure of which I find the following remarkable observations in Bell's Weekly Messenger of 17th May, 1819.

"The two great interests of the country, the agricultural and the manufacturing interests, are here in direct conflict. The complaint of the landed interest is, that they have to pay the poor-rates for the manufacturing labourers: That the manufacturers not only employ and wear out the men, but, as it were, produce and call into existence a mendicant population; and, after they have had the best days of the labourer, and encouraged him to marry and rear a large family, they return him unto the parish from whence they first took him

"The object of this bill was, that all who resided three years in any parish, should be settled in such parish, or, in other words, (for such was its purpose as well as its effect,) that the manufacturing towns and districts should support their own old and sick poor. Accordingly, all the manufacturing districts have, to a man, united in opposition against it, and, by a private address to every member of parliament singly, have actually succeeded in throwing it out, and this in a House of Commons, the majority of which is necessarily of the landed interest. We must confess that this issue of the bill has very much surprised us, and, we believe, neither Mr. Bourne himself, nor any of the committee, expected this event. The bill, however, is lost for the present session."

be starved with impunity; they would be provoked by absolute deprivation to persevering violence; such a nucleus for riot and rebellion, is not to be set in motion, to gather actively what no array of the military might be sufficient to crush, without extensive desolation. Colonization is now attempted as a means of relief; and the Cape of Good Hope is chosen as the theatre, in order that a double purpose may be answered: but this expedient, if any number of the vampyres can be drawn off, will be like tapping for a radical dropsy. The poor rates will continue, with the taxes* and the tythes, *generating pauper-*

* "It was acknowledged," said Lord Ebrington, in the House of Commons, (April 28th, 1819,) "that a labourer, whose income did not exceed 18*l.* a year, paid 27*s.* a year duty on the salt he consumed." Dr. Phillimore, in the course of his speech of the same date, respecting the salt duties, made this statement. "The bushel of salt is taxed at *forty* times its value, and the tax falls upon all the necessaries of the poor. No tax operates more on their morals; and it had been found, that wherever it prevailed, it was the sure forerunner of crime. It was distinctly stated in an address of the grand jury for the county of Chester, that the profit derived from selling untaxed salt was so great, and operated so powerfully, as to taint the morals of that part of the community. The evidence before the committee, derived from various sources, all tended to establish the same conclusion. The temptation to steal, and conceal what was stolen, was such as to cause the practice too generally to prevail."

The following quotations from the debates of Parliament will illustrate the operation of another single tax, upon the lower orders.

"Mr. Grattan said, as to the dangerous prevalence of the fever in Ireland being in part attributable to the confined air of the abodes of the poor, there could be no stronger proof than the relaxation granted by government, enabling the parties deprived of adequate ventillation, to open their windows without being liable to the window tax."

"If a single individual," said the Marquis of Dounshire (House of Lords, March, 1819,) "lived in a house, it became liable to the window tax; and owners therefore, in Ireland, crowded great numbers into one, and shut up others, to avoid paying the taxes."

"Sir John Newport said, (May 13th, 1818,) he wished to inform the house, that in comparing the accounts of 1814 and 1818, it was found that no less than one-tenth of the windows of the kingdom of Ireland, within that period, had been closed up to avoid the tax, and he should appeal to the house whether such a circumstance was not calculated to have a most injurious effect, particularly on the poorer classes, by depriving them of air and light. Taxation in Ireland had, within a short period, increased with a rapidity which was grievously felt."

"Mr. Robert Shaw asked, (April 21st, 1818,) are gentlemen aware, that under the present act (for taxing windows,) the collectors can demand an entrance into every room in every house in Ireland, from eight in the morning until sunset, and insist upon admission, under a penalty of 20*l.*?

"Mr. Shaw stated, (May 6th, 1819,) that in the part of Dublin called the liberties, the houses were large enough to be subject to the window tax, and were inhabited by the poor and miserable. The government had felt that so deeply, that it had announced, that wherever windows had been opened to faci-

ism; and, above all, the exorbitant system of manufactures, which perpetually throws back upon the agricultural districts, as mendicants and desperadoes, those labourers whom it received from them originally, in that happier condition of body and mind, which is the regular effect of agricultural life. It is this operation, resulting from the English law of settlement as to paupers, along with other adventitious causes,* which makes the returns of mendicity and criminality from some of the agricultural counties of England, larger than those from the manufacturing districts, and thus libels, as it were, that state and occupation most favourable to the moral and physical welfare of our species.

To revert to Surgeon Moore. His suggestion about *filial gratitude* will be found fully answered in the body of this volume, as well as the chiding remark of the Quarterly Review, in the article on Fearon's Travels—that "the American colonists grew up in prosperity, maintained and *fostered* by a *liberal* parent, who saw, with heartfelt satisfaction, her offspring increase in strength and stature, and advance with firm and rapid steps towards maturity." I rely upon the facts and statements which I adduce in my first sections, as sufficient to dispel this hallucination of the reviewers.

The other topic upon which the surgeon has touched, —the animosity of the Americans against Great Britain, which her philosophers are to correct, in lapse of time, by improving our dispositions, is a favourite one with the travellers and reviewers, and is treated by them with the more emphasis, because it serves to promote their main

litate the circulation of air and prevent infection, the tax would be remitted. It would no doubt be urged that but few had availed themselves of this offer; but that was because they had unfortunately too little confidence in the veracity of government. They did not possess besides the means of opening those windows. This was proved by the report of Dr. Parker in 1807 and 1812, and confirmed by the number of windows closed, according to the notices given. Those notices amounted for the last three years to thirty-two thousand, four hundred and twenty-four, of which 3,501 came from Dublin alone, and it might be inferred that the distress was great which would thus drive men to deny themselves the light of Heaven and a free circulation of air."

* See Colquhoun's Treatise on Indigence, p. 273, 4. and Treatise on the Resources of the British Empire, p. 12.

object of raising aversion and distrust in the breasts of their countrymen.

On this score, as well as every other, great injustice is done to the Americans. No small number of them are entitled to consider the imputation as a sort of ingratitude on the part of a Briton. I will venture to assert that in no nation, foreign to Great Britain, had she, until the second year of our last war, so many warm, firm friends, and *blind* admirers, as in the American. A great party, the Federalists, forming a decided majority in seven or eight states, numerous in most of the others, and having a full proportion of the desert, intelligence, and wealth of the country, were contradistinguished by their veneration for her character, and the deep, affectionate interest which they took in her prosperity. They exulted in her successes over France, even at the time when she was waging war upon their own firesides. This was not merely because they detested and dreaded the ascendancy of the French military despotism, but because much of the old positive kindness and reverence towards her remained. She might have revived it entirely by a course of generosity and justice; by teaching her philosophers to attempt the "improvement of our dispositions," and her politicians to regulate their language and conduct, upon a different system from that which they have pursued.

Habitual ejaculations of contempt and ill-nature, joined to a new state of things, have a sure tendency to produce total alienation. The new state of things to which I allude consists in the prostration of the Gorgon in France, by which so many of us were petrified; the consequent restoration of our powers of vision and reflection, in regard to its colossal antagonist; and the remission of those intestine heats which, having their origin, in part, in an inordinate preference of the cause of one or the other European belligerent, conduced in turn to aggravate that preference. The *Anglo-mania* has, I believe, almost universally subsided; but, notwithstanding the studied contumelies and injuries to which no American can be insensible, it has not yet been replaced in the same

breasts by sentiments of hostility. We lament that perilous crisis at which England has arrived; when, with a crushing apparatus of government, a most distorted and distempered state of society, no reform can be admitted, lest it should run, by its own momentum, to extremes, and produce general confusion; when her statesmen, overpowered by the very aspect of so much morbidness and obliquity, are compelled to exclaim, *Nec vitia, nec remedia pati possumus.* We cherish and esteem the English individuals whom we possess, and, without coveting the presence of more, we are ready to entertain the same feelings, to practise all the charities, towards those who may come among us at any time, provided it be not for the purpose of holding us up to the scorn and derision of the world.

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"Let us read, and recollect, and impress upon our souls, the views and ends of our own more immediate forefathers, in exchanging their native country for a dreary, inhospitable wilderness. Let us examine into the nature of that power, and the cruelty of that oppression, which drove them from their homes. Recollect their amazing fortitude, their bitter sufferings! the hunger, the nakedness, the cold, which they patiently endured! the severe labours of clearing their grounds, building their houses, raising their provisions, amidst dangers from wild beasts and savage men, before they had time, or money, or materials for commerce! Recollect the civil and religious principles, and hopes, and expectations, which constantly supported and carried them through all hardships, with patience and resignation!"

Essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, by John Adams, Esq. 1765.

"If we do not, my lords, get the better of America, America will get the better of us. We do not fear, at present, that they will attack us at home; but consider, on the other hand, what will be the fate of the sugar islands, what will be the fate of our trade to that country. That, my lords, is a most valuable, important consideration; it is the best feather in our wing. The people of America are preparing to raise a navy; they have begun in part; trade will beget opulence, and by that means they will be enabled to hire ships from foreign powers."

Lord Mansfield, House of Lords, 1775.

"It hurts me to hear a proposition urged in this house, so destructive to the welfare of Britain, as American independence. Would not the independency of America be the eve of their advancement *into a flourishing naval power?* Their situation commanding a species of superiority over all the earth, they would soon rival Europe in arts, as well as grandeur, and their power in particular would rear itself on the decay of ours. Are we, then, so lost to all the feelings of patriotism, that, with a wanton hand, we would lay the foundation stone of a blockade against our own existence?

Mr. Pulteney, House of Commons, 1777.

"We have heard, indeed, the prosperity of America declared, by Lord Sidmouth, when he was minister of state, to be an awful warning to Great Britain, never hereafter to colonize a new country. Merciful Heaven! that the brethren of our ancestors should have founded a mighty empire, indefinite in its increase—an empire, which retains, and is spreading, all that constitutes "country" in a wise man's feelings, viz. the same laws, the same customs, the same religion, and, above all, the same language; that, in short, to have been the mother of a prosperous empire, *is to be a warning* to Great Britain! And whence this dread? Because, forsooth, our eldest born, when of age, had set up for himself; and not only preserving, but, in an almost incalculable

proportion, increasing the advantages of former reciprocal intercourse, had saved us the expense and anxiety of defending, and the embarrassment of governing a country three thousand miles distant! That this separation was at length effected by violence, and the horrors of a civil war, is to be attributed solely to the ignorance and corruption of the many, and the perilous bigotry of a few."—*No.* 24, *Edinburgh Review.*

"Let our jealousy burn as it may; let our intolerance of America be as unreasonably violent as we please; still, it is plain that she is a power, in spite of us, rapidly rising to supremacy; or, at least, that each year so mightily augments her strength, as to overtake, by a most sensible distance, even the most formidable of her competitors."

No. 49, *Edinburgh Review.*

"In one of my late rambles, I accidentally fell into the company of half a dozen gentlemen, who were engaged in a warm dispute about some political affair; which naturally drew me in for a share of the conversation.

"Amongst a multiplicity of other topics, we took occasion to talk of the different characters of the several nations of Europe; when one of the gentlemen, cocking his hat, and assuming such an air of importance as if he had possessed all the merit of the English nation in his own person, declared that the Dutch were a parcel of avaricious wretches; the French a set of flattering sycophants; that the Germans were drunken sots, and beastly gluttons; and the Spaniards proud, haughty, and surly tyrants; but that, in bravery, generosity, clemency, and in every other virtue, the English excelled all the rest of the world.

"This very *learned* and *judicious remark* was received with a general smile of approbation by all the company—all, I mean, but your humble servant."

GOLDSMITH'S ESSAYS—*Essay XI.*



PART I.

SECTION I.

OF THE POLITICAL AND MERCANTILE JEALOUSY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

SECT. I.

"AMERICA is destined, at all events, to be a great and "powerful nation. In less than a century, she must have a "population of at least seventy or eighty millions. War can- "not prevent, and it appears from experience, can scarcely "retard, this natural multiplication. All these people will "speak English; and, according to the most probable conjec- "ture, will live under free governments, whether republican "or monarchical, and will be industrious, well educated, and "civilized. Within no very great distance of time, there- "fore,—within a period to which those who are now en- "tering life may easily survive,—America will be one of "the most powerful and important nations of the earth; "and her friendship and commerce will be more valued, "in all probability, than that of any European state." Such were the speculations of the Edinburgh Review, in the year 1814. In looking forward to what this journal predicts,—to the supremacy in power and character which the North Americans are destined to reach,—there is something not only curious, but instructive, in the fact, that they have been and are more contemned and defamed, than any other people of whom history has kept a record. Compared with our fate in this respect, that of Bœotia among the ancients, severe as it was and sufficiently unjust, may be described as condign and lenient. It was not alone in their exemption from political and commercial dependence, that the colonies

PART I. of Greece may be said to have been more fortunate than those of modern Europe. Neither enlightened Greece,—nor even imperious Rome, or rapacious Carthage whose colonial policy bore a nearer resemblance to the modern,—made perpetual war upon the *reputation* of its emigrant offspring. The parent state was sometimes exorbitant in its demands, and tyrannical in the exercise of its superior force; but the colony had not to contend with a system of universal detraction;—to serve as a mark for the arrogance, spleen, or jocularity of orators, poets, and reviewers.

The wise man of Europe—*homo sapiens Europæ*—not satisfied with sneering and railing at these distant settlements, conspired, at one time, to decry nature herself in her operations on the new continent: and the theories of Buffon, Raynal, and De Paw, so fashionable and authoritative during a certain period, though now so entirely exploded, are to be cited in illustration of the state of the European mind towards the Western World. The feature not the least remarkable, belonging to this case is, that the particular mother-country which might have been expected to be most tender of the feelings and character of her colonies, out of a due regard to justice, gratitude, and her own interests, was, at times, the most scornful in her tone, and the loudest in the chorus of obloquy. GREAT BRITAIN continued to throw out sarcasms and reproaches against her North American kinsmen, after the continent of Europe had adopted the opposite style, and had even passed into an enthusiastic admiration. We may pardon vapouring, and invective, and affected derision, at the juncture when her authority was directly questioned, and her colossal power braved by the thirteen pigmy communities of *provincials;* and some allowance is to be made for the play of passions strongly excited, during and immediately after the struggle, by which she lost so valuable a portion of her empire: But the same course has been pursued without any abatement of virulence or exception of topics, towards these *Independent United* States; it has not been abandoned after a second war, and after a development of character, resources, and destinies, which would seem sufficient to silence malice and subdue the most sturdy prejudice. When the "plantations" had grown into colonies, England still thought and spoke of them as the plantations:—since the colonies have transformed themselves into an independent and powerful nation, it is the *colonies*, with an imagery to which increased jealousy and despite have added new and more hideous chimeras, that are yet seen in the English speculum.

SECT. I.

We know that some of the states of antiquity harboured a mischievous jealousy of the prosperity, spirit, and aims of their colonies; but it was only when the latter had become truly formidable; had attained to an equality of strength, and given unequivocal evidence of indifference, estrangement, or hostility. But among the modern colonies, the Anglo-North American, were precisely those which stood the farthest from this relation,—which, in all stages of their existence, whether we consider their dispositions, or the general circumstances of their condition, presented the least cause of distrust or alarm to the powerful parent. One of a truly magnanimous and judicious character would have seen, as I hope to prove, abundant reason for treating them with the utmost latitude of indulgence and "ceremonious kindness." England, however, is the mother country, who, although perpetually proclaiming the weakness, as well as insulting the origin, and vilifying the pursuits of her *plantations*, conceived the earliest fears for her supremacy; who displayed, throughout, the *keenest political and mercantile jealousy*. It is true, that the other European powers established and maintained in their settlements on this continent, a stricter commercial monopoly, and more arbitrary systems of internal administration. It is equally true, however, that England always sought to secure to herself the carriage of the produce of her North American colonies; to engross their raw materials, and to furnish them with the articles of every kind which they required from abroad: That if, from the cupidity or indifference of her monarchs, charters of a liberal genius were granted to the first settlers—if, from a like cause, or national embarrassments, commonwealths thus cast in the mould of freedom, were suffered to acquire consistency, and to become identified as it were with their first institutions—she made incessant attempts to destroy those charters, and substitute a despotic rule. Her writers on the trade and general politics of the empire, her colonial servants, civil and military, continually called for a more rigorous monopoly and subjection. It was owing to extraneous events, and to the firmness, vigilance and dexterity of the provinces, that they remained in possession of their liberties. I scarcely need remark in addition, that it was a scheme of administration, tending to place them on the level of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, which impelled them to attempt and achieve their independence.

The main purpose of this work imposes upon me the task, of adducing some portion of the abundant evidence which books afford, in support of the general assertions made above:

PART I. And it appears to me not unadvisable on other grounds, to refresh the memory of the public, with respect to the early dispositions and proceedings of Great Britain, towards these North American communities. I will begin with the point to which I have last adverted—her *political and mercantile jealousy.*

1. This feeling was coeval with the foundation of the colonies. Nothing similar is to be traced so high in the colonial history even of Spain or Portugal. We have the following testimony in Hume's Appendix to his account of the reign of James I. "What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the English colonies in America; colonies established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation."

"Speculative reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting those remote colonies; and foretold, that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America."

In the excellent article on the British colonies, of Postlethwayt's Universal Dictionary of Trade, there is a more particular statement to the same effect.

"It is certain that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our English colonies, and his associates, first projected these establishments, there have been persons who have found an interest in misrepresenting or lessening the value of them. When the intention of improving these distant countries, and the advantages that were hoped for thereby, were first set forth, there were some who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous: They not only insinuated the uncertainty of the success, but the depopulating the nation. These, and other objections, flowing either from a narrowness of understanding or of heart, have been disproved by experience," &c. &c.

"The difficulties which will always attend such kind of settlements at the beginning, proved a new cause of clamour; many malignant suggestions were made about sacrificing so many Englishmen to the obstinate desire of settling colonies in countries, which produced very little advantage. But, as these difficulties were gradually surmounted, those complaints vanished. No sooner were those lamentations over than others arose in their stead; when it could no longer be said that the colonies were useless, it was alleged that they were not useful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes they were absolutely free; that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence. This produced customs and impositions on plantation commodities," &c. &c.

Within little more than a generation after the commencement of the plantations, the royal government anxiously began

those formal inquiries into their population and manufactures, which were so often renewed until the period of our revolt, and of which the results, as to manufactures, served to place the jealousy that provoked them in a ludicrous and pitiable light. In the reign of Charles I. commissioners were deputed to ascertain the growth and dispositions of New England: And we find her agent in London, in the time of Cromwell, informing one of his constituents, that, even then, there were not wanting many in England, to whom her privileges were matter of envy, and who eagerly watched every opportunity of abridging her political liberties and faculties of trade. Besides emissaries of the description just mentioned, the ministry of Charles II. despatched spies to watch over the conduct and views of the royal governors in America. From the same motive, printing presses were denied to the plantations. We are told by Chalmers, that "no printing press was allowed in Virginia;" that "in New England and New York there were assuredly none *permitted*," and that "the other provinces probably were not more fortunate."* When Andros was appointed by James II. captain-general of all the northern colonies, he was instructed "to allow of no printing press." In an official report of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, dated 20th June, 1671, there is the following characteristic passage:—"I thank God we have no free schools, nor any printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government: God keep us from both." Accordingly, every effort was made to shut out the pestilent tree of knowledge. On the appointment of Lord Effingham to the government of Virginia, in 1683, he was ordered, agreeably to the prayer of Sir William Berkeley, "to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever."

The erect port, and firm tone, of the legislature of the infant Massachusetts, not only filled the cabinet of Charles II. with alarm for the metropolitan sovereignty, but actually overawed them, so as to prevent the measures of repression which would otherwise have been pursued; and to maintain the province in the license of action necessary for its prosperity. Curious and remarkable evidence on these heads is extant in the Me-

* Political Annals of the United Colonies, chap. 15.

PART I. moirs of Evelyn,* who was one of the council of Charles II. His language deserves to be quoted.

"The 6th of May, 1670, I went to council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of *the best expedients as to New England*, on which there was a long debate; but at length 'twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of y^e present face of things, *since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependeuce on y^e crown.*"—Vol. i. p. 415.

"The first thing we did at our next meeting, was to settle the form of a circular letter to the governors of all his Majesty's plantations and territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government, *but what we most insisted upon was, to know the condition of New England, which, appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were*, there were great debates in what style to write to them; for the condition of that colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and *there was fear of their breakimg from all dependence on this nation.*"—Ibid.

"The matter in debate in council on the 3d of August, 1671, was, whether we should send a deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusetts, to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petitioned the council; this to be the open commission only, *but in truth with secret instructions to informe the council of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Maty, and declare for themselves as independent of the crowne*, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractorie. Coll. Middleton being called in, assur'd us they might be curb'd by a few of his Mat^ys first rate fregats, to spoile their trade with the Islands; but tho' my Lo: President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Maty to send commiss'rs with a formal commission for adjusting boundaries, &c. with some other instructions."—p 417.

"We deliberated in council, on the 12th of Jany, 1672, on some fit person to go as commisser *to inspect their actions in New England*, and from time to time report how that people stood affected."—p. 423.

When the real amount of the "riches and strength, and the power to resist," mentioned in these extracts, is traced in the returns made from New England at the era in question, it is difficult to think of the apprehensions of the British court, with any degree of seriousness.

2. The fisheries, shipping, and foreign West India trade of the colonies had scarcely become perceptible, before the British merchants and West India planters caught and sounded

* A work of a very interesting cast in all respects, published in London in 1818, in 2 vols. quarto. The article devoted to it in the Quarterly Review has, no doubt, made the most of my readers acquainted with its general character.

the alarm. As soon as the colonists, in the progress of wealth and population, undertook to manufacture, for their own consumption, a few articles of the first necessity, such as hats, paper, &c, a clamour was raised by the manufacturers in England, and the power of the British government was exerted to remove the cause of the complaint. The Discourse on Trade, of Sir Josiah Child, a work published in 1670, but written in 1665, and long considered as of the highest authority, expresses, in the passages which I am about to quote, the prevailing opinions of the day. "Certainly it is "the interest of England to discountenance and abate the "number of planters at Newfoundland, for if they should in- "crease, it would in a few years happen to us, in relation to "that country, as it has to the fishery at New England, which "many years since was managed by English ships from the "western ports; but as plantations there increased, it fell to "the sole employment of people settled there, and nothing of "that trade left *the poor old Englishmen*, but the liberty of "carrying now and then, by courtesy or purchase, a ship load "of fish to Bilboa, when their own New English shipping are "better employed, or not at leisure to do it."

"New England is the most prejudicial plantation to this "kingdom.—I am now to write of a people, whose frugality, "industry and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws "and institutions, promise to them long life, with a wonderful "increase of people, riches and power; and although *no men "ought to envy that virtue and wisdom in others, which themselves "either can or will not practise*, but rather to commend and ad- "mire it; yet I think it is the duty of every good man primarily "to respect the welfare of his native country; and therefore, "though I may offend some whom I would not willingly dis- "please, I cannot omit, in the progress of this discourse, to "take notice of some particulars, wherein Old England suffers "diminution by the growth of the colonies settled in New "England." * * *

"Of all the American plantations, his majesty has none so "apt for the building of shipping as New England, nor any "comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only "by reason of the natural industry of that people, but princi- "pally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries; and in "my poor opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in "prospect more dangerous to any mother kingdom, than the "increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, or pro- "vinces," &c.—Chap. 10.

Illustrations of the spirit testified in these extracts

PART I. from Child, may be collected from the work of Joshua Gee, "On the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain," published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and also held in great estimation. This writer proposed plans "for making the plantation trade more profitable to England, by strengthening the act of navigation," but suggested, at the same time, the expediency of suffering some of the *plantation commodities* to be carried directly to the straits of the Mediterranean. He thought it necessary too, to assign many reasons why the "plantations" neither sought nor could acquire independence. The following passages are from his thirty-first chapter.

"But before I proceed to show the great advantage those additional materials would be to carry on the aforesaid manufactures, I think proper to take notice of an objection made by some gentlemen, which is, that if we encourage the plantations, they will grow rich, and set up for themselves, and cast off the English government."

"I have considered those objections abundance of times, the oftener I think of them, the less ground I see for such doubts and jealousies."

"It must be allowed, New England has shewn *an uncommon stiffness*. We think, however, all judicious men, when they come to examine thoroughly into their fears, will see they are groundless; and that as it seems impossible for the other colonies to joyn in any such design, so nothing could be more against their own interest: For if New England should ever attempt to be independent of this kingdom, the stopping their supplying the sugar islands, and coasting and fishing trade, would drive them to the utmost difficulties to subsist as aforesaid; and of consequence the part they have in that trade would fall into hands of other colonies, which would greatly increase their riches. But if some turbulent spirited men should ever be capable of raising any defection, a small squadron of light frigates would entirely cut off their trade, and if that did not do, the government would be forced, contrary to their practice, to do what other nations do of choice, viz. place standing forces among them to keep them in order, and oblige them to raise money to pay them. We do not mention this with any apprehension that ever they will give occasion, but to shew the consequences that must naturally follow."

"Some persons who endeavour to represent this colony in the worst light, would persuade us they would put themselves under a foreign power, rather than not gratify their resentments," &c.

"Now as people have have been filled with fears, that the colonies, if encouraged to raise rough materials, would set up for themselves; a little regulation would remove all those jealousies out of the way, as aforesaid," &c.

"It is to be hoped this method would allay the heat that some people have shewn (without reason) for destroying the iron works in the plantations, and pulling down all their forges; *taking away in a violent manner, their estates and properties, preventing the husbandmen from getting their plough shares, carts, or other utensils mended*; destroying the manufacture of ship building, by depriving them of the liberty of making bolts, spikes, or other things proper for carrying on that work; by which article, returns are made for purchasing woollen manufactures, which is of more than ten times the profit that is brought into this kingdom by the exports of iron manufactures."

"The present age is so far unacquainted with the cause of the increase of our riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and instead of enlarging, lay hold of some small trifling things, which they think may touch their private interest, rather than promote the general good; and if they think any commodity from the plantations interferes with something we have at home, some hasty step is taken to prevent it; so that for the sake of saving a penny, we often deprive ourselves of things of a thousand times the value."

The report made in 1731, at the command of the British parliament, by the Board of Trade and Plantations, concerning the "trades carried on, and manufactures set up, in the colonies," betrays much disquietude, and recommends that, "some expedient be fallen upon to direct the thoughts of the colonists from undertakings of this kind; so much the rather, because these manufactures in process of time, may be carried on in a greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress." The report carefully notes that in New England "by a paper mill set up three years ago, they make to the value *of* £200 *sg. yearly.*" The measures adopted by the parliament in 1732 and 1733, were symptomatic of the morbid sensibility common to all classes of politicians as well as traders. By the act "for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America," the interests of New England were sacrificed to those of the sugar planters.

The petition of Rhode Island and Providence, against the sugar colony bill, occasioned a debate in the House of Commons in 1733, some parts of which deserve to be copied as interesting in a double point of view.

"Sir John Barnard moved for leave to bring up the petition.—"

"Sir Wm. Yonge said, I must take notice of one thing which I have observed in the petition. They therein tell us, that as to the bill now depending before us, they apprehend it to be against their charter. This, I must say, is something very extraordinary; and in my opinion, looks very like aiming at an independence, and disclaiming the authority and jurisdiction of this House, as if this House had not a power to tax them, or to make any laws for the regulating the affairs of their colonies; therefore if there were no other reason for our not receiving the petition, on this single account I should be against it."

"Mr. Wennington—I hope the petitioners have no charter which debars this House from taxing them as well as any other subjects of this nation. I am sure they can have no such charter."

"Sir John Barnard alleged that the language of the petitioners was 'that they humbly conceive, that the bill now depending, if passed into a law, would be highly prejudicial to their charter.' It may be that this House has sometimes refused to receive petitions from some parts of Britain, against duties to be laid on; but this can be no reason why the petition I have now in my hand should be rejected. The people in every part of Britain have a representative in this House, who is to take care of their particular interest—and they may, by means of their representative in this House, offer what reasons they think proper against any duties to be laid on. But the people who

PART I. are the present petitioners, have no particular representatives in this House, therefore, they have no other way of applying or offering their reasons to this House, but in the way of being heard at the bar of the House, by their agent here in England. Therefore, the case of this petition is an exception."

"The question being put for bringing up the petition, passed in the negative."—*(Parliamentary History.)*

The trade of the northern colonies with the foreign West India Islands, would have been totally prohibited, according to the prayer of the sugar planters, had not the parliament apprehended distant consequences, of a nature incompatible with the general British policy as to France.* The spirit of the legislation under review, is strikingly exemplified in the law of 1732, to prevent the 'exportation of hats out of the plan-'tations in America, and to restrain the number of appren-'tices taken by the hat makers, in the said plantations, &c.' So also, in the act of 1750, prohibiting, under severe penal-ties, the erection of any slitting-mill, plating-forge, or furnace for making steel, &c. Heavy complaints were made in Great Britain, that the people of New England "not satisfied with carrying out their own produce, had become carriers for the other colonies." The injustice of the restraints imposed or solicited, may be understood from the circumstance that New England had no staple to exchange for the British manufactures. "Hats," says the Account of the European Settlements,† "are made in New England, which in a clan-"destine way, find a good vent in all the other colonies. The "setting up this, and other manufactures, has been, in a great "measure, a matter necessary to them; for, as they have not "been properly encouraged in some staple commodity by "which they might communicate with their mother country, "while they were cut off from all other resources, they must "either have abandoned the country, or have found means of "employing their own skill and industry to draw out of it the "necessaries of life. The same necessity, together with their "convenience for building and manning ships, has made them "the carriers for the other colonies."

New England, Massachusetts particularly, was constantly

* See Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. ii. p. 179. Moreover, according to the same authority, "The northern colonies declared, that if they were deprived of so great a branch of their trade, it must necessitate them to the establishment of manufactures. For, if they were cut off from their foreign trade, they never could purchase in England the many things for the use or the ornament of life, which they have from thence, &c."

† Ibid, p. 175. A. D. 1757.

arraigned and threatened, for contempt of the act of navigation, and the subsequent regulations of a like purport, although, by the confession of the board of trade itself, in its reports, nature left them no alternative but disobedience, or a long and feeble infancy. These restraints,—those relating to manufactures, at least,—were as unnecessary, as vexatious and unjust. Our experience since the separation, has demonstrated the extravagance of the apprehensions of the mother country, when referred to New England at the beginning of the last century. The selfishness must have been extreme, the jealousy exquisite, which generated the phantoms of an independent empire and rival manufactures in that quarter, at so early a period. The opinions of Adam Smith, concerning the British legislation generally, in the case of the American colonies, carry with them an authority not to be resisted, and belong especially to an exposition, such as the one in which I am engaged. I am the more strongly tempted to adventure upon pretty copious extracts from the seventh chapter of his fourth book, in which he particularly treats of that legislation, since most of our domestic historians, inattentive to the cry, if I may be allowed the phrase, of the very facts which they relate, talk volubly of the "wise and liberal policy," of Great Britain.*

"The policy of Europe has very little to boast of, either in the original establishment, or so far as concerns their internal government, in the subsequent prosperity of the colonies of America."

"Folly and injustice seem to have been the principles which presided over, and directed the first project of establishing those colonies; the folly of hunting after gold and silver mines, and the injustice of coveting the possession of a country whose harmless natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, had received the first adventurers with every mark of kindness and hospitality."

"The adventurers, indeed, who formed some of the later establishments, joined to the chimerical project of finding gold and silver mines, other motives more reasonable and more laudable; but even these motives do very little honour to the policy of Europe."

"The English Puritans, restrained at home, fled for freedom to America; and established there the four governments of New England. The English Catholics, *treated with much greater injustice*, established that of Maryland; the Quakers, that of Pennsylvania, &c. &c."

"The government of England contributed scarce any thing towards effectuating the establishment of some of its most important colonies in North America."

"When those establishments were effectuated, and had become so considerable as to attract the attention of the mother country, the first regulations which she made with regard to them had always in view to keep to herself the monopoly of their commerce; to confine their market, and to enlarge her own at their expense, and *consequently rather to*

* See Ramsay—Colonial History, chap. i.

PART I. *damp and discourage, than to quicken and forward the course of their prosperity.* In the different ways in which this monopoly has been exercised, consists one of the most essential differences in the policy of the different European nations with regard to their colonies. *The best of them all, that of England, is only somewhat less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of the rest.*"

"England purchased, by some of her subjects who felt uneasy at home, a great estate in a distant country. The price indeed was very small, and instead of thirty years purchase, the ordinary price of land in the present times, it amounted to little more than the expense of the different equipments which made the first discovery, reconnoitered the coast, and took a fictitious possession of the country. The land was good and of great extent, and the cultivators having plenty of good ground to work upon, and being for some time at liberty to sell their produce where they pleased, became, in the course of little more than thirty or forty years, (between 1620 and 1660) so numerous and thriving a people, that the shop-keepers and other traders of England, wished to secure to themselves the monopoly of their custom. Without pretending, therefore, that they had paid any part, either of the original purchase money, or of the subsequent expense of improvement, they petitioned the parliament that the cultivators of America might, for the future, be confined to their shop; first, for buying all the goods which they wanted from Europe; and, secondly, for selling all such parts of their own produce as those traders *might find it convenient to buy*, for they did not find it convenient to buy every part of it. Some parts of it imported into England might have interfered with some of the trades which they themselves carried on at home. Those particular parts of it, therefore, they were willing that the colonists should sell where they could; *the farther off the better; and, upon that account*, proposed that their market should be confined to the countries south of Cape Finisterre. A clause in the famous act of navigation established this truly shop-keeper proposal into a law."

"The maintenance of this monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly, perhaps, the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies. It is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency. Whatever expense Great Britain has hitherto laid out in maintaining this dependency, has really been laid out *in order to support this monopoly.*"

"While Great Britain encourages in America the manufactures of pig and bar iron, by exempting them from duties, to which the like commodities are subject, when imported from any other country, she imposes an absolute prohibition upon the erection of steel-furnaces and slit-mills in any of her American plantations. She will not suffer her colonies to work in those more refined manufactures even of their own consumption; but insists upon their purchasing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind which they have occasion for."

"She prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land on horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woollen goods, of the produce of America; a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures, as a private family generally makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbours in the same province."

"*To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest*

violation of the most sacred rights of mankind. Though they had not been prohibited from establishing such manufactures, yet in their present state of improvement, a regard to their own interest would, probably, have prevented them from doing so. In their present state of improvement, those prohibitions, perhaps, without cramping their industry, or restraining it from any employment to which it would have gone of its own accord, are only *impertinent badges of slavery,* imposed upon them, without any sufficient reason, *by the groundless jealousy of the merchants and manufacturers of the mother country.*"

"Of the greater part of the regulations concerning the colony trade, the merchants who carry it on, it must be observed, have been the principal advisers. We must not wonder, therefore, if, in the greater part of them, their interest has been more considered than either that of the colonies or that of the mother country. In their exclusive privilege of supplying the colonies with all the goods which they wanted from Europe, and of purchasing all such parts of their surplus produce as could not interfere with any of the trades which they themselves carried on at home, the interest of the colonies was sacrificed to the interests of those merchants."

"If the whole surplus produce of America in grain of all sorts, in salt provisions, and in fish, had been put into the enumeration, and thereby forced into the market of Great Britain, it would have interfered too much with the produce of the industry of our own people. It was probably not so much from any regard to the interest of America, as from a jealousy of this interference, that those important commodities have not only been kept out of the enumeration, but that the importation into Great Britain of all grain, except rice, and of all salt provisions, has, in the ordinary state of the law, been prohibited."

"The non-enumerated commodities could originally be exported to all parts of the world. Lumber and rice having been once put into the enumeration, when they were afterwards taken out of it, were confined, as to the European market, to the countries that lie south of Cape Finisterre. By the 6th of George III. c. 51. all non-enumerated commodities were subjected to the like restriction. The parts of Europe which lie south of Cape Finisterre, are not manufacturing countries, and we were less jealous of the colony ships carrying home from them any manufactures which could interfere with our own."

3. As the plantations advanced in numbers, strength, wealth, and manufactures, they awakened a still more lively distrust, and jealous vigilance, in the mother country. In 1715, a bill was brought into the House of Commons to abolish all the charter governments; against which tyrannical project, the agent of Massachusetts, Dummer, published an elaborate and masterly pamphlet. One of the sections of his "Defence of the New England Charters," is headed thus,—"The objection that the charter colonies will grow great and formidable, answered:"—and the author details, with much anxiety, the circumstances which, in his opinion, established the probability of the reverse. He begins his argument with stating, "There is one thing I have heard often urged against the "colonies, and indeed, it is what one meets from people of "all conditions and qualities. 'Tis said, that their increasing "numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from

PART I. " Great Britain, will give them an opportunity, in the course " of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, " and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time. " I have often wondered to hear some great men profess their " belief of the feasibleness of this, &c."* The House of Commons continued, as may be seen, from the portion given above, of their debate of 1733, on the petition from Rhode Island, to be tremblingly alive on this point. It displayed its sensibility even in a more marked way, a few years after. In 1740, it voted, upon the complaint preferred by the general court of Massachusetts, against governor Belcher, for denying to them the disposal of the public monies,— " That the complaint, contained in the New England " memorial and petition, was frivolous and groundless; an " high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to " shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this " kingdom, to which, by law and right, they are and ought to " be subject." When the general court ventured to censure one of their agents, Mr. Dunbar, for giving evidence before parliament on the bill for the better securing the trade of the sugar colonies, the House of Commons voted, nem. con.— " That the presuming to call any person to account, or pass a censure upon him; for evidence given by such person before that House, was *an audacious proceeding*, and an high violation of the privileges of that House."

The fate of the Albany plan of union, familiar to the memory of all who have read our history, affords additional proof of the temper which it is my object to illustrate. A confederacy of the colonies for the purpose of defence against the French and Indians, was at first instigated by the British government; but it could tolerate no arrangements except such as were incompatible with their liberties. It finally preferred leaving them exposed to the most formidable dangers, and itself to the cost and trouble of their protection, rather than acquiesce in any scheme of coalition, in the execution of which, they might, to use the language of Franklin, " grow too military, and feel their own strength."† In the pamphlet which this great statesman published, in 1760, to show the impolicy of restoring Canada to the French, there is a section allotted to the question, " whether the American colonies were dangerous in their nature to Great Britain." He found it necessary, on every occasion, when an advantage was sought for them, to set in formal array, all the considera-

* Page 73.

† See Memoirs of Franklin, p. 142, American edition.

tions which pleaded against the bare supposition, of their being disposed or able, to effect their independence.

To lessen the danger, or obviate new hazards, for her sovereignty and monopoly, England embraced the policy, of confining the settlements in North America as much as possible to the sea coast. The great points of preventing the French power from being immoveably established at their back, and over the whole vast interior; of securing the Atlantic provinces not only from this evil, but from their cruel scourge—the Indians; of opening the fruitful and beautiful countries beyond the Appalachian mountains to English cultivation and empire, were all postponed to views, of which it is difficult to say whether they were more selfish or short sighted. The plan of a colony on the Ohio, for the salutary and noble purposes just enumerated, was conceived in America in the middle of the last century, submitted fruitlessly to the British government in 1768, and offered anew by Dr. Franklin, in 1770, with the engagement on the part of the projectors, to be at the whole expense of establishing and maintaining the civil administration of the country to be settled. A few extracts from the two Reports* of the Board of Trade and Plantations, on the subject, to the Lords of the privy council, will explain the favourite system in relation to the plantations.

"The proposition of forming inland colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new: it adopts principles in respect to American settlements, different from what have hitherto been the policy of this kingdom, and leads to a system which, if pursued through all its consequences, is, in the present state of that country, of the greatest importance."

"And first with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your lordships of that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his majesty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, viz. the confining the western extent of settlements to such a a distance from the sea coast, as that those settlements should lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the strength and riches of it depend; and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies, in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country; and these we apprehend to have *been two capital objects of his majesty's proclamation* of the 7th of October, 1763, by which his majesty declares it to be his royal will and pleasure, to reserve, under his sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the *use* of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are described therein, as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which shall fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and by which all persons are forbid to make any purchases or settlements whatever, or to take possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special license for that purpose."

* Fourth vol. Franklin's Works, article Ohio Settlement.

PART I. "The same principles of policy, in reference to settlements at so great a distance from the sea coast as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, continue to exist in their full force and spirit; *and though various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in consequence of this extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government*, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) *yet the dangers* and disadvantages of complying with such proposals have been so obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution."

"The effect of the policy of this kingdom in respect to colonizing America, in those colonies where there has been sufficient time for that effect to discover itself, will, we humbly apprehend, be a very strong argument against forming settlements in the interior country; more especially when every advantage derived from an established government would naturally tend to draw the stream of population; fertility of soil, and temperature of climate, offering superior incitements to settlers, *who, exposed to few hardships, and struggling with few difficulties, could, with little labour, earn an abundance for their own wants, but without a possibility of supplying ours with any considerable quantities.*"

"Admitting that the settlers in the country in question are numerous as report states them to be, yet we submit that this is a fact which does, in the nature of it, operate strongly in point of argument against what is proposed—for if the foregoing reasoning has any weight, it certainly ought to induce you to advise his majesty to take every method to *check* the progress of these settlements, and *not* to make such grants of land as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them."

The language of the royal servants of North America was of the same tenor with that of the Lords of Trade. The commander in chief of his majesty's forces there, wrote in 1769, to lord Hillsborough, who presided over the colonial department.

"As to increasing the settlements to respectable provinces, and to colonization in general terms in the remote countries, I conceive it altogether inconsistent with sound policy. I do not apprehend the inhabitants could have any commodities to barter for manufactures, except skins and furs, which will naturally decrease as the country increases in people, and the deserts are cultivated; so that in the course of a few years, necessity would force them to provide manufactures of some kind for themselves; and when all connexion upheld by commerce with the mother country shall cease, it may be expected that an independency in her government will soon follow. The laying open new tracts of fertile country in moderate climates might lessen the present supply of the commodities of America, for it is the passion of every man to be a land holder, and the people have a natural disposition to rove in search of good land, however distant."

The governor of Georgia, above named, is quoted with great deference by the Lords of Trade, as having written to them thus:

"This matter, my lords, of granting large bodies of land in the back parts of any of his majesty's northern colonies, appears to me in a very serious and alarming light; and I humbly conceive, may be attended with the greatest and worst of consequences; for, my lords, if a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen, who

really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain; and I apprehend, they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves; that they will soon have manufactures of their own, &c. in process of time, they will become formidable enough to oppose his majesty's authority," &c.

It is curious, and demonstrative of the sense commonly entertained of the views of the British government, that some of the advocates for the project of interior settlements, insisted, that such establishments would serve as a check upon attempts, on the part of the old colonies, to become independent, by draining them of their population. There is, in fact, much plausibility in the suggestion, which is made in one of the memorials on the subject, of the year 1767—that of general Lyman. "The period will doubtless come, when North "America will no longer acknowledge a dependence on any "part of Europe. But that period seems to be so remote, as "not to be at present an object of rational policy or human "prevention, and it will be rendered still more remote by "opening new scenes of agriculture, and widening the space "which the colonists must first completely occupy."*

I shall not be considered as going wide of my subject, if I advert here, to the fact, that the British government has pursued, with respect to India, a policy similar to that recommended in the foregoing extracts, in relation to North America. I need only appeal to the authority of Mills, who, in his "History of British India," uses this emphatic language. "If it were possible for the English government to learn wis-"dom by experience, which governments rarely do, it might "at last see, with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, "cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken "the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of "Englishmen; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if al-"lowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke!"

"It is wonderful to see how the English government, every "now and then, voluntarily places itself in the station of a "government existing in opposition to the people, a govern-"ment which hates, because it dreads the people, and is hated "by them in its turn. Its deportment with regard to the resi-"dence of the Englishmen in India, speaks these unfavour-"able sentiments with a force which language could not "easily possess."†

The Edinburgh Review, in quoting the first of these para-

* See Macpherson's Annals of Commerce. Quarto Ed. vol. iii. 469.
† B. 6. vol. iii. p. 334, 336.

PART I. graphs, affects, indeed, to doubt whether " the obstructions " which have been thrown in the way of colonization in In- " dia, have arisen *mainly* from the idea that another nation of " Englishmen would spring up there, who might take upon " them to govern themselves;" and it cannot admit that " any " Englishman would be base enough not to wish to *see another* " *America arise* at a distance, which might relieve Britain " from the fear of *her rivality.*"* But no one that has read the masterly work of the historian whom I have just cited, will hesitate between his opinions on the subject, and those of any anonymous critic; and there is a corroborative circumstance too notorious to be questioned: I mean the attempt sanctioned in the same quarter, to prevent the diffusion of Christianity among the Hindoos, from an apprehension of danger to the British power.† I am myself unable to devise a juster or stronger commentary upon the policy towards the North American colonies, than is furnished in the following general observation of the Edinburgh critics, in allusion to the case of India. " We cannot conceive any thing more discreditable " to a government, than to place itself in opposition to a mea- " sure, conducive, and almost essential to the prosperity of a " great empire, merely because it would be attended with a " chance, at some distant period, of a curtailment of the ex- " tent of its dominions."

It is not easy to forget that at the commencement of the negociations at Ghent, in 1814, a policy was betrayed by the British government, in the demands of its commissioners, touching a new Indian boundary, akin to that which discountenanced the plan of the Ohio settlement. Nor ought we to forget the eloquent condemnation of the pretension of 1814, pronounced by Sir James Mackintosh, in the House of Commons,—a condemnation equally due to his majesty's proclamation of the 7th October, 1763, and to the system of the Lords of Trade. " The western frontier of North American cultivation is the " part of the globe in which civilization is making the most " rapid and extensive conquests on the wilderness. It is the " point where the race of man is the most progressive. To

* No. 61.

† See the " Christian Researches in Asia," of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan.—The writer adduces a letter to himself, dated May 14, 1806, from Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, which contains the following passage: " Twenty years and more have now elapsed, since in a sermon before the House of Lords, I *hinted* to the government the propriety of paying regard to the propagation of Christianity in India; and I have since then, as fit occasion offered, privately, but *unsuccessfully*, pressed the matter on the consideration of those in power."

" forbid the purchase of land from the savages, is to arrest the " progress of mankind.—More barbarous than the Norman " tyrants, who afforested great tracts of arable land for their " sport, ministers attempted to stipulate that a territory quite as " great as the British islands, should be doomed to an eternal " desert. They laboured to prevent millions of freemen and " Christians from coming into existence. To perpetuate the " English authority *in two provinces*, a large part of North " America was for ever to be a wilderness. The American " negociators, by their resistance to so insolent and extravagant " a demand, maintained the common cause of civilized men."*.

4. Emigration to the colonies proved, from the outset, a subject of alarm for the mother country. Her apprehension from it was two-fold; of her own depopulation, and the translation and decline of her manufactures.

" The barbarism of our ancestors," says the author of the European Settlements in America, " could not comprehend " how a nation could grow more populous by sending out a part " of its people. We have lived to see this paradox made out " by experience, but we have not sufficiently profited of this " experience; since we begin, (in 1757,) some of us at least, " to think that there is a danger of dispeopling ourselves, by " encouraging new colonies, or increasing the old."

Precautions were taken against too great an efflux from the kingdom, to America, even in the time of James I. and were renewed on several occasions in that of his successor. The circumstance is noticed by Hume in the following terms:— " The Puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves " off for America, and laid there the foundations of a go- " vernment, which possessed all the liberty, both civil and " religious, of which they found themselves deprived in their " native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they " should any where enjoy ease and contentment, and dread- " ing, perhaps, the dangerous consequences of so disaffected " a colony, prevailed with the king to issue a proclamation, " debarring these devotees access even into those inhospitable " deserts."†

In 1637, a proclamation was issued by Charles I. " to re- " strain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects to " the colonies without leave;" and in 1638, another, " com- " manding owners and masters of vessels, that they do not " fit out any with passengers and provisions to New England,

* Speech on the Treaty with America—April 1815.
† Chapter 52.

PART I. "without license from the Commissioners of Plantations." One incident of the operation of this interdict has attracted the notice of all the historians, and is thus strikingly told by Robertson.

"The number of the emigrants to America drew the attention of government, and appeared so formidable, that a proclamation was issued, prohibiting masters of ships from carrying passengers to New England, without special permission. On many occasions this injunction was eluded or disregarded Fatally for the king, it operated with full effect in one instance. Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and some other persons, whose principles and views coincided with theirs, impatient to enjoy those civil and religious liberties, which they struggled in vain to obtain in Great Britain, hired some ships to carry them and their attendants to New England. By order of council, an embargo was laid on these when on the point of sailing; and Charles, far from suspecting that the future revolutions in his kingdoms were to be excited and directed by persons in such an humble sphere of life, forcibly detained the men destined to overturn his throne, and to terminate his days by a violent death."*

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the alarm of depopulation, and trans-atlantic manufactures, from the removal of British subjects to the colonies, had increased, and become the theme of much political speculation. Sir Josiah Child thought it necessary to investigate minutely the reality of the danger, and devoted to the question a considerable section of his work on Trade. Some few of his phrases will explain the state of the case. "Gentlemen of "no mean capacities are of opinion, that his majesty's plan- "tations abroad, have very much prejudiced this kingdom by "draining us of people.** I do not agree that our people in "England are in any considerable measure abated, by reason "of our foreign plantations. This, I know, is a controverted "point, and I do believe, that where there is one man of my "mind, there may be a thousand of the contrary," &c.† Child argued the question upon the true principles of political economy, and among other particular views gave the following:— "I do acknowledge, that the facility of getting to the plan- "tations, may cause some more to leave us than would do, "if they had none but foreign countries for refuge: but then, "if it be considered, that our plantations spending mostly our "English manufactures, and those of all sorts almost imagi- "nable, in egregious quantities, and employing nearly two- "thirds of all our English shipping, do therein give a con- "stant sustenance to it, may be 200,000 persons here at "home; then I must needs conclude, upon the whole matter,

* Fourth vol. History of America.
† Chapter 10.

" that we have not the fewer, but the more people in Eng- SECT. I.
" land, by reason of our English plantations in America."*

Notwithstanding the complete refutation of the error by this and other liberal writers, lively alarms continued to recur. We find the political economists of England engaged, in 1756, and at later periods, before and after the American revolution, in warm controversies respecting the decline of the British population, from various causes, emigration included.† The government acted uniformly upon the received prejudice. The Lords of Trade, in the official report of 1770, which I have quoted above, refer to the doctrine also quoted, of the governor of Georgia, in the following terms:—" And there is " one objection suggested by governor Wright, to the extension " of settlements in the interior country, which, we submit, " deserves your lordship's particular attention, viz. the en- " couragement that is thereby held out to the emigration of his " majesty's subjects; an argument which, in the present pe- " culiar situation of this kingdom, demands very serious con- " sideration, and *has for some time past had so great weight* " *with this Board, that it has induced us to deny our concur-* " *rence to many proposals for grants of land, even in those* " *parts of the continent of America, where, in other respects,* " *we are of opinion, that it consists with the true policy of the* " *kingdom to encourage settlements.*"

On the recognition of our independence, the panic respecting emigration returned, in England, with double violence. Nothing short of complete depopulation, from the temptations which the seeming natural advantages, or the designing legislation, of the new republic might offer to his majesty's liege subjects, was apprehended by the privy council of the home department. Lord Sheffield set himself at work to medicate the imagination of his countrymen, by depicting this land as one of multifarious wretchedness, and in almost the last stage of atrophy. He represented emigration as the resource only of the culprit, and of those who had

* Chapter 10.

† To discourage it, the device was early employed, which has been so often resorted to, in relation to the United States. The following title of a work, which appeared in the mother country in 1753, will explain what I mean: " America dissected; being a *true* and full account of all the American Colonies: shewing the intemperance of the climates; badness of money; danger from enemies; and the danger to the souls of the poor people that remove thither, from the heresies that prevail there. By a Rev. Divine of the Church of England, Missionary to America, and D. D.—*Published as a caution to unsteady people, who may be tempted to leave their native country.*"

PART I. made themselves the objects of contempt. "America would prove the bane of all others;" "*not above one emigrant in five*, to that country, succeeded so as to settle a family;" "the better sort of them were begging about the streets of Philadelphia; Irishmen went there *to become slaves to negroes*," &c.* Expedients more effectual than this phantasmagoria, were adopted by the government, particularly in 1794, in the shape of prohibitory laws. We had a remarkable instance of its feeling in 1817, in the act of parliament of that year, by which British and foreign vessels were allowed to carry passengers from Great Britain and Ireland to the United States, in the proportion of one passenger only to every five tons, whereas the British vessels were permitted to convey them *to other countries* in the proportion of one for every two tons.

The government of England would seem, at this time, to have relapsed into that particular "barbarism of our ancestors," mentioned in the quotation from the European Settlements. The report of the parliamentary proceedings for May, 1818, furnishes the following paragraph:—"In answer to a "question of a member from a manufacturing town, respecting the increased progress of emigration, lord Castlereagh "replied, that it was the earnest object of government to termi- "nate *this most mischievous evil*, and that they were meditating "means for this purpose." I have had already occasion to notice some of the means which appear to have been meditated by his lordship; but in looking at the British statute book, and the repository of orders in council, I find it difficult to conjecture what means could be contrived in the nature of penal regulation, in addition to those already provided, at different eras in the British history. The transportation of machinery is still punishable with death. On the 6th of February, 1817, lord Lauderdale made his lament in the House of Peers, that the law interfered to prevent a poor artisan from leaving his country, and transferring his industry elsewhere; and that persons who attempted to export machinery were subjected to capital punishment. We have recently seen these "poor artisans" stealing their way at double expense, to the sea ports of France, in order to escape thence with impunity, to the only country which holds out to them the probability of a tolerable lot. The statute book and ministry lag behind even the Quarterly Review in illumination on this subject, if we may judge from this passage, of the number of that Journal, for April, 1816:—"It is vain to imagine, that im-

* See Observations on the Commerce of the United States, by John Lord Sheffield, 1784.—p. 190, 96.

" improvements in machinery can, for any length of time, be " confined to the country in which they are invented; and at- " tempts to prevent manufacturers from emigrating, by penal " statutes, are not only oppressive, but inefficacious."

The historians relate, that the acts of Charles I. restraining emigration, " increased the murmurs and complaints of the " people, and raised the cry of double persecution, *to be* " *vexed at home, and not suffered to seek peace abroad.*" This cry is again heard in England, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, and that jealousy which, in part, furnished the cause for it at the earliest period, has now a larger share in its production with a still greater certainty of disappointment.

Nothing remains for the British government, but to pursue the course which Ovid has indicated as the reproach of the Argives among the nations of antiquity.

—Prohibent discedere leges
Pænaque mors posita est patriam mutare volenti.

5. The reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg, in 1745, by the colonial troops,—the twenty-five thousand soldiers whom the colonies furnished and maintained in the war of 1755,—the four hundred privateers fitted out in their ports during the same period, to cruise against French property,—the large sums which they advanced, beyond their fair proportion, to the military chest,—the considerable aids in men and provisions, which they sent to the West Indies,—the important, principal share which they had in the overthrow of the French power in North America, and in the consequent, unexampled glory and aggrandizement of England,—these splendid efforts and services, of which I propose to speak particularly hereafter, extorted annual thanks from the British parliament, and encomiums from the ministry: But they awakened no real gratitude, and won no solid marks of favour. The old jealousy was irritated; and a keener cupidity excited, by such supposed evidences of power and wealth: The design so long formed, of discharging upon the colonies, a part of the load of taxation under which Britain groaned, and of fastening a military yoke upon their necks, was only confirmed and ripened, by their generous and excessive exertions, for the triumph of the mother country over her great rival. This effect was quickly visible in the stamp-act of 1764; and the scheme of subjugation, though intermitted for a moment, was soon made evident by the revival of that act, and the train of desperate attempts upon the liberties and spirit of the colonies, which the Declaration of Independence has engraven on the memory of every American.

PART I. The views and dispositions of the British ministry, from the year 1763, until the sword was drawn, and during the struggle, belong more particularly to another section of this volume. They are, indeed, so well known, as scarcely to call for illustration from history. It is alike notorious and confessed, that the majority of the British nation partook in them, and finally consented to the recognition of American independence, not from any change of feelings, but from momentary exhaustion and discouragement. As the determination of the colonies to resort to arms, became apparent, and after the rupture was complete, the jealousy of dominion and monopoly, and the dread of future rivalry, heightened into rage, and no longer restrained by immediate interest, were vented in every variety of passionate and resentful expression. "I must "maintain," said a ministerial leader in the House of Lords, in the debate of the 26th October, 1775, on the king's speech, "that it would have been better that America "had never been known, than that a great consolidated em- "pire should exist independent of Great Britain." Governor Johnstone, and his colleagues of the opposition, cried shame upon "the ignoble jealousies daily uttered in Parliament against the Americans."—just as an orator of the House of Commons found himself, in 1812, compelled to exclaim and protest against "the perpetual jealousy of America."* One of the passages which I have selected from the Edinburgh Review, to place at the head of this work, relates a fact, which may be said to speak volumes to the same purport. It were endless, and it is not within my present aim, to recount the demonstrations of this feeling, particularly as respects trade and navigation, given by England since her acknowledgment of our independence. Nor do I think it necessary to prove further her habitual temper, by quoting her conduct towards another of her dependencies—Ireland—whose strength, trade, and manufactures were so long and cruelly oppressed and crippled, while her domestic character and history were so grossly misrepresented and traduced.†

* Mr. Brougham's Speech on the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain.

† See a victorious work recently published in this country, and entitled *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, by Mathew Carey, Esq.—The sagacious and patriotic writer ought to pursue his well laid train of detection. The subject is not without attraction for Americans in general: and for Irishmen, and the descendants of Irishmen, it has the deepest interest.

SECTION II.

OF THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND MERITS OF THE COLONISTS.

SECT. II.

1. I HAVE said that England, is the particular mother country, which might have been expected, to be most tender of the feelings and character of her colonies, out of a due regard to justice, gratitude, and her own interests, as well as from the sympathies of blood, and the dictates of an enlarged philanthropy. This is a proposition, from which no candid man, acquainted with the history of the American continent, is likely to dissent, and which can be fully sustained by drawing upon the English writers. It is my intention to quote principally their acknowledgments in favour of the origin and character, and, as regards Great Britain, of the services and dispositions, of the North American colonies. An illustration of these points by such testimony, will set in a stronger light the injustice and folly, of the sarcasms and contumelies, which have been directed against the Americans from the same quarter.

"There are few states," says the Quarterly Review,* "whose origin is on the whole so respectable as the Ameri-"can—none whose history is sullied with so few crimes. "The Puritans who had fled into Holland to avoid intoler-"ance at home, carried with them English hearts. They "could not bear to think that their little community should "be absorbed and lost in a foreign nation: they had forsaken "their birth place and their family graves; but they loved "their country, and their mother tongue, and rather than their "children should become subjects of another state, and speak "another language, they exposed themselves to all the hard-"ships and dangers of colonizing in a savage land. *No "people on earth may so justly pride themselves on their ances-"tors as the New Englanders.*"

Although it has been repeated with great complacency, in

* 4th Number—Review of Holmes' Annals.

PART I. the work just quoted, that *the Adam and Eve of the colonies came out of Newgate*, yet it has been admitted, not only in England, but nearly throughout Europe, that the first settlers, and all the European generations of British America, were, in every respect, more worthy of esteem and encouragement, than those of the other parts of this continent. The Quarterly Review itself,* has drawn a comparison which is every way to my purpose.

"The original settlers from England, in North America, were for the most part, an austere, frugal, and industrious people,—the hardships and privations of their early establishments, were not endured with the inspiring feelings of military adventurers, but borne with the patience of religious submission; the purity of their morals, tinged with no small portion of the fanaticism which caused their emigration, kept them from promiscuous intercourse with the female Indians; and hence an unmixed race was continued, among whom there was no distinction of cast or complexion, to introduce a difference, or political contention. As no great inequality of property, the principal cause of political power, existed, there was no great inequality of education among those born in the country; none were so destitute of knowledge as the mass of the laborious in most countries of Europe."

"Comparing the population of Spanish with that of British America, we shall, at every step, be struck with the wonderful difference in origin, in progress, and in present situation. The conquerors from Spain, instead of the frugal, laborious, and moral description of our English settlers, partook of the ferocity and superstition of an earlier and less enlightened period. The warriors who had exterminated the Mahomedanism of Granada, were readily induced to propagate their own religion by the sword. As few or no women accompanied the first settlers of South America, their intercourse with native females produced a race of successors of a most anomalous character, and these, in a few generations, mixing with the slaves imported from Africa, still further increased the different classes, who, in process of time, more by the rules of society than by the influence of the laws, assumed a variety of ranks, according to their greater or less affinity to the white race. The education of the lower orders in South America, has been totally neglected."

In the list of English authors who, although not exempt from gross errors of opinion, display a laborious study and discriminating knowledge of the formation and character of the settlements on this continent, I may safely class Mr. Brougham, distinguished also among the writers of the Edinburgh Review, and among the leading statesmen of the British Parliament. In his excellent work on Colonial Policy, he has advanced, and successfully maintained, doctrines concerning the thirteen British colonies, some of which deserve to be set apart for our history. I shall avail myself of them as the occasion offers. To begin with the following passages.

* July, 1817, Article on Spain and her Colonies.

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"The first settlers of all the colonies, were men of irreproachable characters; many of them fled from persecution; others on account of an honourable poverty; and all of them with their expectations limited to the prospect of a bare subsistence, *in freedom and peace*. All idea of wealth or pleasure was out of the question. A set of men more conscientious in their doings, or simple in their manners, never founded any commonwealth. It is indeed the peculiar glory of North America, that, with a very few exceptions, its empire was originally founded in charity and peace."*

"The new emigrants who, at various times, continued to flock to this extensive country, as it became open and improved, were not of the same description as the first settlers. They were of a various race, of different ranks, but chiefly needy men; of different sects, but of no perceptible religion; and of different nations, in which, however, the English greatly predominated. Some of them were persons of desperate fortunes and dissolute characters. No combination of circumstances can be figured, to contribute more directly to the reformation of the new cultivators' character and manners, than that which was found in the situation of the North American colonies."†

"The mixture of various population was, by the influence of those simple manners, which are formed by an agricultural life, soon blended into one nation of husbandmen, whose character has communicated itself, in a great degree, to the most profligate of those, whom compulsion or despair from time to time introduced. While the purity of manners was in this way preserved, that firmness of principles in religion and politics was maintained, which had so eminently contributed to the establishment of colonies. Sentiments of freedom might find an asylum in America, when even in Switzerland it should no longer be lawful to think beyond the rules"†

The "Account of the European Settlements in America," published in London, in the middle of the last century, and ascribed to Edmund Burke, has always possessed a great and deserved authority. It holds the following language, besides much more in the same strain, to which I may hereafter advert.

"The Puritans established themselves at a place which they called New Plymouth. They were but few in number; they landed in a bad season; and they were not at all supported but from their private funds. The winter was premature, and terribly cold. The country was covered with wood, and afforded very little for the refreshment of persons, sickly with such a voyage, or for the sustenance of an infant people. Near half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate; but they who survived, were not dispirited with their losses, nor with the hardships they were still to endure; supported by the vigour which was *then* the character of the Englishmen, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm, they reduced this savage country to yield them a tolerable livelihood, and by degrees a comfortable subsistence. This little establishment was made in the year 1631. It was in the year 1629, that the colony began to flourish in such a manner, that they soon became a considerable people. By the close of the ensuing year they had built four towns, Salem, Dorchester, Charlestown, and Boston, which has since become the capital of New England."

"Their exact and sober manners proved a substitute for a proper subordination, and regular form of government, which they had for

* Book I. Section I. † Ibid.

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some time wanted, and the want of which, in such a country, had otherwise been felt very severely. The people, by their being generally freeholders, and by their form of government, acquired a very free, bold, and republican spirit.

"The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the space of about seventy years, from a beginning of a few hundreds of refugees and indigent men, has grown to be a numerous and flourishing people, a people, who from a perfect wilderness, have brought their territory to a state of great cultivation, and filled it with wealthy and populous towns; and who, in the midst of a fierce and lawless race of men, have preserved themselves with unarmed hands and passive principles, by the rules of moderation and justice, better than any other people has done by policy and arms."—Vol. ii. p. 196.

The "Political Annals of the United Colonies, by George Chalmers," are remarkable for authentic and ample details, and were published in the course of our revolutionary war, under the auspices of the British government. The author displays throughout, the design of discrediting the American cause, particularly the pretensions of New England. He is a witness whom I shall often produce, and whose evidence, when given *in favour of the colonies*, is entitled to especial weight, not only on account of his political aims and prejudices, but from the strength of his understanding, the nature of the records to which he had access, and the diligence of his researches. Of the settlement of New England he speaks thus:—

"When New Plymouth consisted only of two hundred persons, of all ages and sexes, it repulsed its enemies, and secured its borders with a gallantry worthy of its parent country, because it stood alone in the desert, without the hope of aid."—p. 494.

"Though religious matters engaged much of the attention of the first planters in Massachusetts, they seem to have been extremely industrious in temporal affairs. All their laws had a natural tendency to exclude luxury, and to promote diligence. When the civil wars commenced, they had already planted fifty towns and villages; they had erected upwards of thirty churches, and ministers' houses; and they had improved their plantations to a high degree of cultivation."

"At the same time that these colonists (the people of New England) very prudently preferred the blessings of peace, they were not afraid of the disasters of war. They easily repelled an unprovoked attack of the neighbouring Indians, with a becoming bravery. They soon after made a peace with that people, which does equal honour to their justice and good sense: and they long enjoyed all the blessings of a government conducted at once with prudence and vigour."—p. 89.

"Notwithstanding the long train of public disputes with the mother country, New England flourished prodigiously. She promoted successfully the operations of agriculture, she augmented her manufactures, and extended her commerce, and she acquired wealth and population in proportion to the greatness of all these; because the rough hand of oppression had not touched the labours of the inhabitants, or interrupted the freedom of their pursuits."—p. 416.

2. The composition of the first settlements, particularly that of Virginia, was early, and continues to be, the theme of

much raillery, and serious accusation. The coarse jest, which I have before noticed, has been received and treated in England as an historical fact.* Yet, nothing is better established, than that the Puritans by whom New England was originally inhabited, and successively replenished, were, not only such, in their moral character and domestic habits, as they are described in the quotations I have made, but, for the most part, men of substance, and of a respectable rank in life. In the year 1630, ten ships were sent to Massachusetts from England, with several hundred passengers, many of whom, says Macpherson, in the second volume of his Annals of Commerce, were "*persons of considerable fashion.*" The leader of the congregation of dissidents, who founded the new commonwealth at Plymouth, in 1620, is described, even by the enemies of his sect, "as a person of excellent parts, and of a most learned, polished, and modest spirit."—And it is impossible to read the terse and touching language used by those virtuous exiles, in applying to their intolerant countrymen for a patent, without acknowledging, that they must have been of a superior cast of mind in all respects.—"They were well weaned from the delicate milk of their "country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: "They were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by vir-"tue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the "good of each other, and of the whole: It was not with them "as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or "small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again," &c. &c. SECT. II.

It is accurately stated by Ramsay,† that the first settlers of New England in general, had been educated at the English Universities, and were imbued with all the learning of the times; that not a few of the early emigrant ministers possessed considerable erudition; and that numbers of clergymen of this description, came over nearly together, in consequence of the parliamentary act of uniformity, passed in 1662, when upwards of two thousand Puritan ministers were, in one day, ejected

* "The Americans are the modern Jews, possessing all the qualities of the ancient, under different masks. They pervade every country on the face of the earth, and with the phrases of liberty, morality, and religion, they deceive the most wary, and the most hypocritical. Mr. Fox has had ample experience of the tribes of Israel; let him beware of the refined and complicated cunning of *that race, whose Adam and Eve emigrated from Newgate.*"—Critical Review, third series, vol. iii. 1806.

"The Americans are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them, short of hanging."—Dr. Johnson—ap. Boswell, vol. ii.

† Colonial Civil History, p. 235.

PART I. from their livings in England.* The Massachusetts plantation may be considered as the parent of all the other settlements in New England. There was no emigration from the mother country to any part of the continent northward of Maryland, except to Massachusetts, for more than fifty years from the birth of this colony.†

Among the one hundred and five adventurers who sailed from England with Captain Newport, in 1607, and founded Jamestown, in Virginia, several officers of high family connexions, and of much personal distinction, are designated by the historians. The first accession of females, to the Virginia settlement, may be cited by the Virginian of the present day, without a blush for his lineage. "In order," says Chalmers, "to settle the minds of the colonists, and to induce them to make Virginia their place of residence and continuance, it was proposed to send thither one hundred maids, as wives for them: ninety girls, 'young and uncorrupt,' were transported in the beginning of the year 1620; and sixty more, 'handsome and recommended for virtuous demeanour,' in the subsequent year.‡" Robertson is still more particular in noticing the respectability of these females. The descent from mothers of this character, is at least as reputable as from the "maids of honour" of the court of Charles II.—and the fathers who reclaimed the wilderness and built up a free state, transmitted a blood which might be deemed as pure and noble, as any that runs in the veins of the progeny of the debauched and venal parasites of that monarch. We are told by Robertson,§ that, in the time of the Commonwealth, many adherents to the royal party, and among these, some gentlemen of good

* Hume notices this transaction, in his History, in the following terms: "However odious Vane and Lambert were to the Presbyterians, that party had no leisure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached, the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them, declaring their assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the Presbyterian ecclesiastics, to refuse the subscription; in hopes that the bishops would not dare at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The king, himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to increase this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made very strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the Presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About two thousand of the clergy in one day relinquished their cures; and, *to the great astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets.*"—Chapter 63.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts—Preface.

‡ Page 46.

§ History of America, vol. iv.

families, in order to avoid danger and oppression, to which they were exposed in England, or in hopes of repairing their ruined fortunes, resorted to Virginia. Lord Clarendon bears testimony to this fact in his History of the Rebellion. "Out of confidence in Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, who had industriously invited many gentlemen and others thither, as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves with all the estate they had been able to preserve."* Chalmers may be quoted to a similar purport, and to the general character of the early Virginians. "The "instructions of Charles I. gave large tracts of land to indi- "viduals, men of consideration and wealth, who roused by "religion, or ambition, or caprice, removed to Virginia, and "the population of that colony had increased to about twenty "thousand souls at the commencement of the civil wars."—p. 125.

"The Virginians being animated by timely supplies from "England, displayed a vigor in design and action, which men, "when left to themselves amid dangers, never fail to exert. "They rejected the timid counsels of those, who advised them "to abandon their settlements, and retire to the eastern shore "of the Chesapeake. They not only resisted the attacks of "their implacable enemies, but, with the accustomed bravery "of Englishmen, pursued them into their fastnesses. And "now, for the first time, the aborigines receded from the "rivers, and from the plantations around; leaving their op- "ponents in possession of the territories that their swords had "won."—p. 63.

If we turn to Maryland, we may appeal to the same author with equal confidence.

"The first emigration to Maryland, consisting of about two hundred gentlemen of *considerable fortune and rank*, with their adherents, who were composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, sailed from England in November, 1632."

"The Roman Catholics, unhappy in their native land, and desirous of a peaceful asylum in Maryland, emigrated in considerable numbers. Lord Baltimore laid the foundation of his province upon the broad basis of security to property, and of freedom in religion; granting in absolute fee fifty acres of land to every emigrant; establishing Christianity agreeably to the old common law, of which it is a part, without allowing pre-eminence to any particular sect."—p. 208.

"In order chiefly to procure the assent of the freemen of Maryland to a body of laws which the proprietary had transmitted, Calvert, the

* Vol. iii. p. 706.

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governor, called a new assembly in 1637-8. But, rejecting these with a becoming spirit, they prepared a collection of regulations, which demonstrate equally their good sense and the state of their affairs."—p. 211.

"The assembly of Maryland endeavoured, with a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace of the church; and, though composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, it adopted that measure, which could alone prove absolutely successful. The act which it passed, 'concerning religion,' recited, 'that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practised.' And it enacted, *that no persons believing in Jesus Christ shall be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof,* or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion, against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire not against the civil government: that persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets, shall pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary: *That those reproaching any with opprobrious names of religious distinction,* shall forfeit ten shillings to the persons injured."—p. 218.

Maryland derived a part of her population from the other provinces. The Puritans persecuted by the established church in Virginia, the Quakers oppressed by the synod of Massachusetts, and the Dutch expelled from Delaware, sought and found a generous protection, and entire freedom of religious worship, in the Roman Catholic colony. New York was first settled by the Dutch, at the time when they had just shaken off the yoke of Spain; when they displayed national energies and virtues of the highest order, and pursued a more liberal and enlightened policy, with respect to civil liberty, religion, and trade, than any other people of Europe. The emigrants from Holland to North America, brought with them, the characteristic industry and sobriety, the tolerant spirit and sound economics, of the commercial republic. The original population of New Jersey was composed of Swedes and Hollanders, and of emigrants from the northern colonies: That of Pennsylvania needs not be celebrated by a reference to the parent state. The commonwealth, which the wise and humane associates of Penn, the laborious, frugal, and orderly Germans, and the intelligent, active, and generous Irish, formed, and brought to beauty and solidity, in so short a time, is a monument, eloquent enough in itself; a creation, upon which no European writer has looked steadily, without bursting into expressions of admiration. Even the austere loyalty of Chalmers, is relaxed by it, and the following emphatic testimony extorted from his convictions.

"As a supplement to the *frame* of government for Pennsylvania, there was published a body of 'laws agreed upon in England by the Adventurers,' which was intended as a *great charter*. And it does great honour to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, to their spirit as colonists. A plantation reared on such a seed-plot,

could not fail to grow up with rapidity, to advance fast to maturity, to attract the notice of the world."—p. 643.

"The numerous laws, which were enacted at the first settlement of Pennsylvania, which do so much honour to its good sense, display the principles of the people; these legislative regulations kept them alive long after the original spirit began to droop and expire. Had Pennsylvania been less blessed by nature, she must have become flourishing and great, because it was a principle of her great charter, 'that children should be taught some useful trade, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want.' That country must become commercial, which compels factors, wronging their employers, to make satisfaction, and one-third over; which subjects not only the goods but the lands of the debtor, to the payment of debts; because it is the credit given by all to all, that forms the essence of traffic. We ought naturally to expect great internal order when a fundamental law declares, that every thing 'which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, shall be discouraged and severely punished.' And religious controversy could not disturb her repose, when none, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, could be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent and maintain any ministry whatsoever. To the regulations which were thus established as fundamentals, must chiefly be attributed the rapid improvement of this colony, the spirit of diligence, order and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians have been at all times so celebrated."—p. 643.

Swedes and Fins, a simple and virtuous race of men, opened the soil of Delaware, and were joined by the Dutch, and by emigrants of different nations, from the neighbouring provinces. New England, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, gave the first inhabitants to the Carolinas. In consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, a multitude of French Protestants of the most respectable families, established themselves in South Carolina. These were followed, at different intervals, by numbers of their own countrymen, and of Germans and Swiss, professing the same religious tenets. The character of the French settlers has been recently pourtrayed by a young American, in a language which I am proud to quote, as a specimen of what is produced in those literary societies, whose existence even, the European critics would not, in all likelihood, condescend to notice.

"History derives more than half its value from the moral parallels and contrasts, which it suggests. It is a singular coincidence of this sort, that between the years 1682 and 1688, at the very time that William Penn, the gentlest and purest of all rulers, was rendering his name for ever illustrious, by establishing, in America, a refuge for the wretched and oppressed of the whole earth; Louis XIV., one of the most gorgeous and heartless of sovereigns, was delivering up three hundred thousand families of his Protestant subjects to the atrocious tyranny of the fanatical Le Tellier, and the sanguinary Louvois; and by his ambition of universal empire abroad, and his bigotry and ostentation at home, was preparing for France those calamities which have since fallen upon her. The Huguenots were the most moral, industrious, and intelligent part of the French population, and when they were

PART I. expelled from their native country, they enriched all Europe with the commerce and arts of France. Many of the more enterprising of them, finding themselves shut out, by the narrow policy of the French court from Louisiana, where they had proposed to found a colony, turned their course to New York and to South Carolina, where they soon melted into the mass of the population.

"Certainly, we cannot wish to see perpetuated among us the old Asiatic and European notions of indelible hereditary excellence; and equally wild are those theories of a fantastical philosophy, which would resolve all the intellectual and moral qualities of man into accidental physical causes. But surely there is a point at which good feeling and sound philosophy can meet, and agree in ascribing the best parts of our character to the moral influence of a virtuous and intelligent ancestry.

"Considering the subject in this light, we may well look back, with pride, to our Huguenot forefathers. The modern historians of France have rarely done them full justice. The decline which the loss of their industry and arts caused in the commerce of their own country, and the sudden increase of wealth and power which England and Holland derived from them, are sufficient proofs that their general character was such as I have described. Nor are they to be regarded solely as prosperous merchants, and laborious and frugal artisans.

"The French character never appeared with more true lustre than it did in the elder protestants. Without stopping to expatiate in the praise of their divines and scholars, Calvin, Beza, Salmasius, and the younger Scaliger; Claude, Jurieu, Amylraut, and Saurin, nor on those of Sully, the brave, the wise, the incorruptible, the patriotic; I shall only observe, that though his own countrymen have been negligent of his glory, and choose to rest the fame of French chivalry on their Dunois, their Bayard, their Du Guescelin and their Crillon, we may search their history in vain for a parallel to that beautiful union of the intrepid soldier with the profound scholar, of the adroit politician with the man of unbending principle, of the rigid moralist and the accomplished gentleman, which is to be found in the life of the Huguenot chief, Mornai Du Plessis.

"Many of those who emigrated to this country, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were the companions, the sons, or the disciples of these men, and they brought hither a most valuable accession of intelligence, knowledge, and enterprise."*

A considerable number of Palatines rivalling the Dutch in habits of industry and order, settled in North Carolina, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The memorable ravages of war committed at that period in the countries of the Rhine, drove into England seven thousand of the ruined inhabitants, Palatines and Suabians. Three thousand of them were transported to New York, and a part of these found their way into the other provinces. It seems incredible, yet is matter of parliamentary record, that the expense incurred for their transportation,—not more beneficial to them, than to the colonies which received them—drew complaints from the British House of Commons. A body styling itself the citadel of

* An Anniversary Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, December 7, 1818, by Gulian C. Verplank, Esq.

Protestantism, and the refuge of the victims of Catholic bigotry, could, nevertheless, in a formal representation to Queen Anne, discourse querimoniously of "the squandering away great "sums upon the Palatines, a useless people, a mixture of all "religions, and dangerous to the constitution,"—with the declaration besides, that "it held those who advised the bringing "them over to England, as enemies to the queen and king-"dom." How different the conduct of the unpretending Quakers of Pennsylvania, by whom the portion of the wretched exiles that took shelter there, was—not defamed or stinted but, according to an English writer, most kindly entertained and assisted!* SECT. II.

The poverty and humble condition of a part of the emigrants to the middle and southern provinces, constitute the heaviest *reproach* to which they are liable, if we except, indeed, the circumstance,—notable in the case of Georgia particularly—of so many of them being Scotchmen; which forms, no doubt, a just subject of ridicule for the wits of Edinburgh. The general estimation in which our emigrant ancestors should be held, is proclaimed in the rapid growth, strength, order, and felicity of the communities, which they added to the British empire. The mighty difficulties which they vanquished—the conquests which they made over nature, and over a savage enemy greatly exceeding them in numbers and the means of annoyance†—the freedom and liberality of their institutions, and the integrity in which those institutions were preserved—the solicitude and success with which they laboured to render universal among them an acquaintance with the rudiments of learning—all these points which I propose to enlarge upon in the subsequent pages—demonstrate the noblest qualities; enterprize, industry, perseverance, valour, sagacity, humane, and broad views, setting them plainly above the mass of their cotemporaries in Europe.

The white population of Georgia consisted of only fifty thousand souls in the year 1775, and but forty-five years had then elapsed since the foundation of the colony: yet, though so weak, and though vulnerable and sure of being assailed, on every side, she joined, in that year, the confederacy against the mother country. The character of her founder, general Oglethorpe,—who lived to see her independence and sovereignty acknowledged—was such as to have hallowed that of the exiles who seconded his plans of civil government, and fought

* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 6.
† See Note A.

PART I. under his banners against the Indians and Spaniards. The Oglethorpes, the Robinsons, the Penns, the Roger Williams', the Smiths, the Calverts, may be placed at the head of the worthies to whom Adam Smith alludes, in the following passage of the fourth book of his Wealth of Nations. "It was "not the wisdom and policy, but the disorder and injustice of "the European governments, which peopled and cultivated "America. In what way, then, has the policy of Europe "contributed either to the first establishment, or to the pre- "sent grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way, and "in one way only, it has contributed a good deal. Magna "virûm *mater!* It bred and formed the men who were capa- "ble of atchieving such great actions, and of laying the founda- "tion of so great an empire; and there is no other quarter of the "world, of which the policy is capable of forming, or ever has "actually and in fact, formed, such men. The colonies owe "to Europe the education and great views of their active and "enterprising founders, and some of the greatest and most "important of them, so far as concerns their internal govern- "ment, owe to it scarce any thing else."

3. The occasional exportation to the plantations, of those whom the government of England chose to denominate convicts, vagrants, and "dissolute persons," is the most plausible ground for the language of contempt and derision, which has been so commonly indulged, with respect to the original stock of these States. The fact taken in the broad and unqualified manner in which it is usually announced, would exalt but little the generosity and justice of the mother country, if the character of the first and voluntary settlers be admitted to have been such as it appears in the foregoing pages, upon the testimony of the British writers. An impartial investigation of this subject gives it, however, a different complexion from that which it commonly wears.*

Franklin calculated in 1751,† that there were then one million or upwards of English souls in North America, and that scarce eighty thousand had been brought over sea. Among this number of emigrants, not one-eighth was of the description mentioned above, and it is certain, from the uniform acknowledgment of history, that those who were, did not adulterate, but imbibed, themselves, in a great degree, the character of their predecessors. Numbers became, in process of time, laborious and orderly citizens; anxious and exemplary fathers of families.

* Discourse on Trade, chap. x. † Essay on Population.

I have quoted in p. 27 some remarks made by Mr. Brougham in his "Colonial Policy," which bear upon the true theory of this point; and I may add here from the same work, "that if "the convicts in the colony of New Holland, though sur- "rounded on the voyage, and in the settlement, by the com- "panions of their iniquities, have, in a great degree, been re- "claimed, by the mere change of scene, what might not be "expected from such a change as that which the transported "persons experienced on arriving in America?"* SECT. II.

It is to be noted, that the real convicts were received by the colonists not as companions, but as servants; and if the circumstance of their comparative paucity did not render absurd a general reproach upon our descent, it is difficult to conceive why any generation in Great Britain should not be stigmatized in its origin, on account of the much more considerable proportion of "dangerous rogues," who remained at home. Chalmers tells us, that "it is to James I. that the "British nation and the colonists owe the policy whether sa- "lutary or baneful, of sending convicts to the plantations."— The excuse which this writer offers for the British nation would seem fitted to operate as efficaciously in favour of the colonies:—"The good sense of those days justly considered "that their labour would be more beneficial in an infant set- "tlement, which had an immense wilderness to cultivate, than "their vices could possibly be pernicious."†

But there are other considerations, of a nature, to render a Briton cautious, how he attempts to handle this topic offensively. When we find the term *convicts* used, in reference to the persons transported, during three-fourths of the seventeenth century, we are not to understand it in the opprobious sense in which it is generally received, and was tyrannically meant to be employed. The several parties who alternately gained the ascendency in the furious struggles of that era, in England, oppressed and exiled, under this appellation, the objects of their political resentment, or their religious intolerance. Chalmers even, confesses, that the only law which, in the time of James I. justified the infliction of expulsion, unknown to the common law, was the statute of Elizabeth, which enacted that "dangerous rogues might be banished out of the "realms;" and he adds that it is probable the obnoxious men were transported agreeably to the genius of the administration of the time—by prerogative.

The extent of the guilty abuse and cruel hardship to which

* Book I. Sect. I. † Chap. iii. Political Annals.

PART I. this assumption of power led, can be readily imagined, from the facility of sweeping off the obnoxious and distressed, under the denomination of vagrants, or "dangerous rogues." It may be worth while, in order to illustrate the point further, to refer to Sir Josiah Child's account of the peopling of the plantations, which, from its early date, carries with it a particular authority, and which, at the same time, furnishes a curious picture of the miserable state of things in England at the epoch in question. He relates, in the first instance,* that Virginia and Barbadoes were partly settled by a loose, vagrant people, who must, if there had been no English plantations, have starved at home, or "else have sold themselves for soldiers, to be knocked "on the head, or starved in the quarrels of England's neigh- "bours, as *many thousands of brave Englishmen* were, in the "Low Countries, as also in the wars of Germany, France, "and Sweden; or else, if they could by begging or otherwise "arrive to the stock of two shillings and six pence, to waft "them over to Holland, become servants, where none are "refused." Then come the following passages:—

"But the principal growth and increase of the aforesaid plantations of Virginia and Barbadoes happened in, or immediately after, our late civil wars, when the worsted party, by the fate of war, being deprived of their estates, and having some of them never been bred to labour, and others made unfit for it, by the lazy habit of a soldier's life; there wanting means to maintain them all abroad with his majesty, many of them betook themselves to the aforesaid plantations, and great numbers of Scots soldiers, of his majesty's army, after Worcester fight, were, by the then prevailing powers, *voluntarily sent thither.*"

"Another great swarm, or accession of new inhabitants to the aforesaid plantations, as also to New England, Jamaica, and all others his majesty's plantations in the West Indies, ensued upon his majesty's restoration, when the former prevailing party being, by a divine hand of Providence, brought under, the army disbanded, many officers displaced, and all the new purchasers of public titles, dispossessed of their pretended lands, estates, &c. many became impoverished, and destitute of employment; and, therefore, such as could find no way of living at home, and some who feared the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical laws, under which they could not live, were forced to transport themselves, *or sell themselves for a few years, to be transported by others to the* foreign English plantations.**And some were of those people called Quakers, banished for meeting on pretence of religious worship."

In noticing the prevalence of the practice of transportation, after the Restoration, Chalmers remarks, that it was probably upon the authority of the statute which empowered the king to send Quakers to the colonies.† This is the statute 13, 14, ch. ii. c. 1, "for preventing the dangers that may arise by "certain persons called Quakers, and *others refusing to take*

* Discourse on Trade, chap. x. † Chap. xv. Annals.

"*the lawful oaths.*" It enacted, that it should be lawful for his majesty, to cause such refractory persons to be transported beyond the seas. We are informed by Hume,* that Cromwell caused the royalists who engaged in conspiracies against his government, to be sold for slaves and transported. On the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion against James II., those of his followers who escaped judicial massacre, were treated in the same way. Chalmers furnishes, from the records of the plantation office in London, a letter from James to the governor of Virginia, which states, that the crown "had been "graciously pleased to extend its mercy to many rebellious "subjects who had taken up arms against it; by ordering their "transportation to the plantations;" and which directs the governor to propose a bill to the assembly for preventing the convicts, those rebellious subjects, from redeeming themselves by money, or otherwise, until the expiration of ten years at least. The assembly refused to co-operate in this scheme of royal vengeance, and the inhabitants of Virginia received the victims with the sympathy due to their situation.

Either from a sense of the futility of expostulation, or from the advantage which the labour of the convicts promised, or from a knowledge of the fact which must now be clear to all, that most of the persons transported were but the victims of misfortune, and of the tyranny or bigotry of their countrymen, the colonists did not at first condemn, or remonstrate against, the system of transportation. But it had not been pursued long after the Restoration, before open opposition was made. Maryland ventured even to legislate adversely, and drew upon herself, in consequence, the reprobation of the crown lawyers, who contended that every law of the colonial legislature, passed to restrain a measure that was allowed and encouraged by acts of parliament, was void ab *initio*. "Whe-"ther," says Chalmers, "from the too great numbers brought "into Maryland, or from an apprehension that their vices "might contaminate the morals of the colonists, the introduc-"tion of criminals was then deemed an inconvenience: and a "law was passed 'against the importation of convicted per-"sons into the province,' which was continued at different "times, till towards the beginning of the reign of Anne."†

The persistance of the British government in the practice of transporting real malefactors, after the colonies had grown into considerable commonwealths, and signalized themselves by the noblest qualities and most valuable services, was an

* History, chap. lxi. † Book I. chap. xv.

PART I. indignity, of which the impolicy must be as obvious, as the arrogance and ingratitude. If it could not extinguish their glowing loyalty, it was, however, deeply felt and resented. In Franklin's piece on the causes of the American discontents before 1768, he includes it in the list of their grievances, and employs this strong language. "Added to the evils which I "have enumerated, the Americans remembered the act au- "thorising the most cruel insult perhaps ever offered by one "people to another, that of emptying the English gaols into "their settlements. Scotland, too, has within these two years "(in 1766) obtained the privilege it had not before, of send- "ing its rogues and villains to the plantations." When the illustrious patriot expostulated, by the direction of his constituents, with the British minister on this head, he was told that England *must* be relieved of her moral putrefaction—and his laconic reply adumbrates the nature of the case. "What "would you say, if, upon the same principle, we sent you our "rattle-snakes." Fortunately, there was a virtue in the character and condition of the despised and outraged colonists, which secured them from the infection, and even converted the virus into wholesome nutriment for the state.

4. The love of liberty and independence is the trait which, if any, would seem to assure to a people, the admiration and applause of an Englishman, pursuant to his own boasted principles and perpetual claims. It is impossible to deny this merit to the North American colonists, even in the superlative degree; whatever doubts may be affected in relation to the other high titles asserted for them by their descendants. Hume, in noticing the commencement of their establishments, remarks that "the spirit of independency which was then "reviving in England, shone forth in America in its full lustre, "and received new accession of force from the aspiring charac- "ter of those who, being discontented with the established "church *and monarchy*, had sought for freedom amidst those "savage deserts."* To the early settlers, as well as to their posterity of 1775, the well known language of Mr. Burke, was strictly applicable. "In the character of the Americans, "a love of freedom is the predominating feature which marks "and distinguishes the whole. This fierce spirit of liberty, is "stronger in the English colonies than in any other people of "the earth."†

* Appendix to the reign of James I.
† Speech on Conciliation with the colonies.

SECT. II.

The first planters in Virginia called for arrangements of the most liberal character, and within fourteen years from the settlement, that constitution by which they became freemen and citizens, was fixed in its genius and permanent forms.* Freedom was the errand of the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts; and these, so properly styled, *republican dissenters*, framed accordingly, their body politic and social, upon principles of perfect equality. The complete organization of a republic in the representative form, within the same term after the landing at Plymouth, as that just mentioned in the case of Virginia, under circumstances so new and critical,—in defiance of the adverse habits, spirit, and scheme of rule, which predominated in the mother country,—has drawn forth expressions of wonder and homage from some of the more liberal of the British historians.

As the Puritans spread themselves over New England, they gave to the distinct communities which they established, constitutions still more democratical; and that, although bold and elevated in their plans, they were not visionary or rash, is proved by the duration and happy effects of those constitutions. After relating, that on the 14th January, 1639, all the free planters upon Connecticut river, convened at Hartford, formed a system of government, and after giving the substance of that system, the faithful historian of Connecticut, Trumbull, makes the following remarks, which all who read his work must feel to be just. "With such wisdom did our venerable ancestors provide for the freedom and liberties of themselves and their posterity. Thus happily did they guard against every encroachment on the rights of the subject. This, probably, is one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government which has ever been formed. The formation of it at so early a period, when the light of liberty was wholly darkened in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were so little understood in others, does great honour to their ability, integrity, and love of mankind. To posterity, indeed, it exhibited a most benevolent regard. It has continued with little alteration, to the present time, (1814). The happy consequences of it, which, for more than a century and an half, the people of Connecticut have experienced, are beyond description."†

* "Thus early," says Stith, "was the assembly of the colony studious and careful to establish our liberties; and we had here, in the eighth and ninth articles of its laws, a *Petition of Right* passed, above four years, before that matter was indubitably settled and explained in England."—History of Virginia, book 5.

† Vol. i. c. 6.

PART I. Chalmers, who wrote to prove the uniform "self-sufficiency, and rebellious dispositions of New England" represents with much chiding and lamenting, how "the first settlers of New Haven erected a system suitable indeed to their own views, but altogether independent on the sovereign state;" and how "there was established, in Rhode Island and Connecticut, a mere democracy or rule of the people; every power, as well deliberative as active, being invested in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates, and the supreme executive of the empire, by an inattention little honourable to the English statesman of those days, being wholly excluded."* Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts, traces, in a summary and striking manner, the operations of the spirit which gives so much umbrage to Chalmers. "It is "observable, all the colonies, before the reign of king Charles "the Second, Maryland excepted, settled a model of govern- "ment for themselves. Virginia had been distracted under the "government of presidents and governors, with councils, in "whose nomination or removal the people had no voice, un- "til in the year 1620, a house of burgesses *broke out* in the "colony, neither the king, nor the grand council at home, "having given any powers or directions for it. The governor "and assistants of Massachusetts, at first intended to rule the "people, and, as I have observed, obtained their consent for "it; but this lasted two or three years only; and, although there "is no colour for it in the charter, yet a House of Deputies "*appeared suddenly*, in 1634, to the surprise of their magis- "trates, and the disappointment of their schemes for power "Connecticut soon after followed the plan of Massachusetts "New Haven, although the people had the highest rever- "ence for their leaders, and for near thirty years, in judicial "proceeding, submitted to their magistracy (it must, how- "ever, be remembered, that it was annually elected,) without "a jury, yet in matters of legislation, the people, from the "beginning, *would have* their share by their representatives. "New Hampshire combined together under the same form as "Massachusetts. Lord Say tempted the principal men of "Massachusetts to make themselves and their heirs nobles "and absolute governors of a new colony, but under this "plan, they could find no people to follow them."†

In Maryland and Pennsylvania, the first assemblies established a popular representation, and, in all their political

* Page 290, 294, Annals.
† Vol. ii. p. 298.

regulations, proceeded upon broad views of civil freedom. The same remark may be extended to the Carolinas,* and to New York. The inhabitants of this province wrested from the patentee, the Duke of York, in 1681, privileges of self government similar to those assumed in the other plantations. No one of the proprietaries was able to establish, without modification, the constitution which he framed for his grant; all were compelled, in the end, to acquiesce in the more liberal order of things required by the assemblies of the people. In some of the provinces, no time was lost in abolishing primogeniture and entail, which Adam Smith so justly styles, "the two most unjust and unwise regulations that exist."

The first emigrants to Virginia, New England, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, would seem to have been universally, in their respective eras, much in advance of those whom they left at home, as regards not only private morals, but the love and *intelligence* of freedom. Whoever has studied the history of England, with the due attention to particular facts, must be convinced, that until the revolution of 1668, the theory of liberty was, except in the case of a few illustrious individuals, as little understood as practised; and in fact, we may descend much lower, without being greatly edified on this head. In the time of James I. the epoch of Virginia and New England —a slavish reverence of monarchy was nearly universal, and the system of administration altogether absolute and arbitrary. Of the social state, we may judge from the representations of Hume, who tells us, that "high pride of family then prevailed; that it was by dignity and stateliness of behaviour, that the gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people;" and that, "much ceremony took place in the common intercourse of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great." The concurrence of the colonists in the same political maxims and arrangements, the reverse of what prevailed in England, and throughout Europe,—the contentment and tranquillity which reigned among them, as to political doctrines, and forms of government, particularly in New England, are strikingly contrasted with the sanguinary and unprincipled struggles in the mother country; with that "continued fever in the domestic administration," and those "furious convulsions and disorders" which are so eloquently painted by Hume. The political distractions extant in the colonial history, were occasioned, almost universally, by the ambition and avarice of the proprietaries, or the violence

* See Note B.

PART I. attempted upon the charters by the English government and its representatives in America.

5. The preceding survey makes it sufficiently plain that no credit can, in strictness, be allowed to England for the institutions which the colonists framed, themselves, in the wilderness. Nor is any fairly due to her, for the liberal purport of the charters which they received. All the original charters, except that of Georgia, were granted between the years 1608 and 1688. It would be setting at defiance both history and reason, to ascribe to the house of Stuart, or to the Protectorate, any fond or liberal dispositions in favour of the cause of freedom in America, stripped of all gothic encumbrances. An English historian has remarked, on the subject of the patents accorded by the first James and Charles, that these monarchs were glad to get rid of the turbulent, republican religionists, *at any rate;* and freely invested them with any privileges, to be exercised on a desolate continent, at the distance of three thousand miles, where, as they supposed, it could never be of account to extend the arm of prerogative. The English Universal History makes the following statement, of the manner in which the congregation of Brownists, succeeded in their application:—

"Sir Robert Naunton was then one of the secretaries of "state, and the exiled Puritans, as they were then called, knew "him to be their friend.

"They applied to Naunton for leave to settle in those in-"hospitable wilds, where the Indians, savage as they were, "were more desirable neighbours than the tyrants from "whom they fled. Naunton had the address to persuade "James I., that it was bad policy to unpeople his own king-"doms for the benefit of his neighbours; and that whatever "exception he might have, he could have none in granting "them liberty of conscience, where they would still continue "to be his subjects, and where they might extend his domi-"nion. His majesty's answer was, that it was a good and "honest proposal, and liberty was accordingly granted."*

"At our first planting America," says the author of the European Settlements, "it was not difficult for a person who had "interest at court, to obtain large tracts of land, not inferior in "extent to kingdoms; and to be invested with a power very "little less than regal over them; to govern by what laws, and "to form what sort of constitution he pleased."† The same

* Vol. xl. p. 272. † Vol. ii. p. 298.

author remarks,* "that nothing of an enlightened and legislative spirit appears in the planning of the English colonies, and that the charter governments were evidently copied from some of the corporations at home." The patent of the council of Plymouth comprehended the continent of America, from New Scotland to Carolina. In less than eighty years, fifteen hundred miles of the sea coast were granted away: some of the grants,—that especially to lord Clarendon and others, of the whole tract of country lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude—extended to the Pacific Ocean: in several instances the same ground was embraced in different grants.

The acquisition of territory in America was the ruling passion of the times; and Charles II. found the gratification of this passion an easy mode of compensating his adherents, and feeding the rapacity of his courtiers. It is an observation of Macpherson, in his Annals, that "the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were carelessly given by a very careless monarch." The agent of Connecticut won the personal favour of the monarch, by presenting him with a ring of an extraordinary mechanism, the gift of Charles I. to the agent's grandfather. He found means, also, to secure the support of the chamberlain of his majesty's household, and of the lord privy seal, for the colony's petition.† Penn obtained his patent from the restored monarch, as Sir George Calvert had procured that of Maryland from James I.—by virtue of court patronage. It had been promised to his father, admiral Penn, a great favourite; and Clarkson relates, in his Life of the son, that it was allowed as payment of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds sterling, due from the royal government to the admiral. Calvert is said by Chalmers to have indited his own grant: Penn caused to be given to his the complexion required by his aims. Both of these illustrious men were actuated in the adoption of liberal provisions, by their love of freedom, as well as by a knowledge of their true interests. But the historians are unanimous in declaring that the other lord proprietors gave the pledge of civil and religious liberty from no other motive than that of alluring settlers; and the acknowledged necessity of this expedient bespeaks the high character of those, who, in that age, could be gained upon no other terms. Much stress is to be laid on the

* Vol. ii. p. 301.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, b. i. c. 12.

PART I. coincidence of Chalmers, with these views, and it may be asserted from the following passages of his Annals.*

"It was rather the example of the Spaniards, than the practice of the renowned nations of antiquity, which was copied by England in colonizing; because similar success and wealth was expected. Prompted by his ambition, perhaps more by his vanity, the primary designs of James I. were, to share in the gold and silver which were expected from mines, to rule the colonies in the same manner as he had proposed to govern Ireland, as territories belonging to his person, and therefore subject to his will, though his ultimate views are not so easily discerned. *The great corporations which have acquired the honour of planting the first permanent settlements, had no other object, probably, than the expectation of sudden gain from the working of mines,* a project, of all others the most delusive, the most to be discountenanced by nations which regard their own good." p. 675.

"The country which had been denominated Florida by the French and Spaniards, by the English Virginia, at length owed its final settlement as much to the rapacity of the courtiers of Charles II., as to the facility of a prince, who wished to reward those to whom he was so much indebted, with a liberality that cost him little. The pretence, which had been used on former occasions, of a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel among a barbarous people, who inhabited an uncultivated country, was successfully employed to procure a grant of that immense region, lying on the Atlantic Ocean, between the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude and the river Saint Matheo. On the 24th of March, 1663, this territory was erected into a province, by the name of Carolina. They, the lord proprietors, were invested with as ample rights and jurisdictions within their American palatinate, as any bishop of Durham enjoyed within his diocese. And the present charter seems to have been copied from that of Maryland.

"Thus was that colony established upon the broad foundation of a regular system of freedom of every kind; which *it was now deemed necessary to offer to Englishmen, to induce them to encounter all the difficulties of planting a distant country, covered with forests, and inhabited by numerous tribes, to endure the dangers of famine, and the damps of the climate.*"

When the nature and tendency of the colonial charters began to be understood at the British court, it was quickly resolved to attempt their destruction. As early as 1635, Charles I. assailed that of Massachusetts; and Charles II. repenting of his prodigal and heedless distribution of freedom, continued the warfare upon colonial liberties in general. All the charters of New England were vacated by James II., whose plan it was to reduce the colonies under one arbitrary government. By her new, and forced compact with king William, Massachusetts lost a valuable part of her original privileges; and in the reign of this monarch, Pennsylvania,—although, indeed, soon regained, by the indefatigable zeal and consummate address of Penn,—was, without any respect to her charter, annexed to New York, the province which had perpetually to wrestle with the royal government for the common rights

* Page 517.

of Englishmen. Early in the reign of queen Anne, a bill was brought into Parliament, which proposed the abrogation of the charters of New England, of East and West New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Carolina, upon the ground of their being prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of the kingdom, to her majesty's revenue, &c.* The bill failed from the weight of reasonings, looking to the interests of the mother country. In the year 1748, the ministry offered another bill, by which the king's instructions were to have the force of law in the colonies; but the plan involved an usurpation which, when displayed in full light, and traced in its consequences both to England and America, appeared to the majority of the Commons too gross and dangerous for immediate adoption. It swept away all the charters without trial or legal judgment.† Upon the occasion of the extension of the mutiny act to America, in 1755, the agent of New England, near the British government, Bollan, a man of sagacity and impartial mind, apprized his constituents of his possessing the best evidence, that it was meditated at the British court "to govern America like Ireland, by keeping up a body of standing forces with a military chest, under some act similar to the famous Poyning's law." SECT. II.

If more direct and determined efforts to effect the object were not subsequently made by the government, until the year 1764, it was because the enterprise had become too hazardous. The colonies had attained to considerable strength, and grown inflexibly tenacious of their liberties; their aid was indispensable for the destruction of the French power on this continent; and this circumstance made it of course eligible to preserve, or at least, not wholly to destroy, their good will and national sympathy. It was apprehended, moreover, in queen Anne's time, as may be seen by one of the quotations which I have made from Gee,—that they might, if chafed and disgusted, throw themselves into the arms of France, and turn the scales in favour of that hated rival. To considerations of this nature are we to ascribe the forbearance so fortunate for all parties; not to any tenderness for transatlantic freedom, or to a generous admiration of the noble spirit and carriage of the transatlantic kindred. Until the period when their enslavement was systematically and perseveringly attempted, circumstances had uniformly been such, as to render that course of proceed-

* For a particular account of this bill and the proceedings of the House of Commons thereupon, see Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. 4to. p. 47.

† See Minot's Continuation of the History of Massachusetts, p. 146. vol. i.

PART I. ing, incompatible with the prosecution of objects deemed of immediate necessity or higher importance. Had not this been the case, whig and tory would have alike assailed the constitutional privileges of British America. "*When the war is closed,*" said the elder Pitt to Dr. Franklin, during the struggle of 1756, between France and England, "if I should be in the ministry, I will take measures to prevent the colonies, from having a power, to refuse or delay the supplies, which may be wanted for national purposes."

6. The system of religious freedom, coeval with the establishment of some of the colonies, constitutes a proud distinction for the founders. There is a glory to be envied by the world, in the first, and continued recognition and enforcement of the rights of conscience, by constitutional law. Compared with it, the sublimest discoveries in science, the most useful inventions in the arts, the most majestic physical monuments, must appear as secondary, in the opinion of those who consider what would be the effect, for the dignity and happiness of our species, were the example universally followed; and what the evils that have flowed and continue to flow, from religious intolerance. This glory cannot be denied to the provinces of Maryland, Rhode Island,* and Pennsylvania; and it brightens with the reflection, how completely the human mind was elsewhere shut to the voice of reason and humanity. Religious equality was unknown to the codes of Europe; and persecution, adopting, wherever it prevailed, the injustice as well as terrors of the inquisition, raged in the countries claiming to be the most refined and enlightened. Even in the United Provinces, so often—to use the language of Hume, cited as models of toleration, though all sects were admitted, yet civil offices were only enjoyed by the professors of the established religion. I need not remind those who have read the work of this incomparable historian, of the state of things in England—of the mean and ignoble arts, as well as the sanguinary atrocities practised in the wars of the leading sects, which, as he remarks, throw an indelible stain on the British annals.† A single extract from his history will illustrate the progress of reason and humanity in the Scottish parliament, but a little before Penn organized his commonwealth, and nearly two generations after Maryland had taken the principles which I have quoted,‡ as the foundations of her polity. "In a session

* See Note C. † Chap. 68. ‡ Page 32.

June, 1673,) of the Scottish parliament, a severe law was enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houses; but field conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death, and confiscation of goods. Four hundred marks (Scots,) were offered as a reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were *indemnified for any slaughter* which they should commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And, as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that, whoever, being required by the council, refused to give information upon oath, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by imprisonment, or by *banishment to the plantations.*"* SECT. II.

The Catholics of Maryland, who had hoped to escape the fell spirit of triumphant bigotry, by renouncing their country, were not long suffered to remain undisturbed in their remote and hard-earned retreat. Their scheme of religious charity, was as incomprehensible, as hateful, to their old persecutors. Some of the most desperate and fanatical of the sectaries, who had repaired to the Catholic asylum, were instigated to disturb its tranquillity, and to set themselves in array against their magnanimous hosts. During the Commonwealth in England, the proprietary government of Maryland was subverted, and the affairs of the province put into the hands of commissioners, creatures of the protector. The spurious assembly which they convened, after recognizing Cromwell's "just title and authority," enacted, that "none who professed the Popish religion could be protected in the province by the laws of England!" The Catholic missionaries in Maryland, who from the year 1640, had begun to carry the light of the gospel among the Indians, were compelled to desist, on the ground that they aimed at forming a party against the English government, to enable themselves to become independent.

Things took nearly the same course after the reinstating of the proprietary by Charles II. "The troubles in Mary-"land," says Chalmers, "were made a foundation, whereon "were raised fresh complaints against the proprietary in Eng-"land for partiality to Papists. Lord Baltimore, in justifi-"cation of himself and the province, showed the act of 1649, "concerning religion, which had been confirmed in the year "1676, as a perpetual law, and which tolerated and protected "every sect of Christians, but gave special privileges to none.

* Chapter 66.

PART I. "It was in vain for him to represent, that he had endeavoured "to divide the offices of his government as nearly equal among "Protestants and Roman Catholics, as their abilities would "permit; that he had given almost the whole command of the "militia to the former, who were entrusted with the care of "the arms and military stores. The ministers of Charles II. "to throw the imputation of popery from their own shoulders, "commanded that all offices should be put into Protestant "hands."*

The Church of England was at length established by law in Maryland; and the Catholics were rewarded for the "mildest of laws," for "a moderation unparalleled in the annals of the world,"† by being disfranchised, and subjected anew to the restrictions and penalties, from which their charter had seemed to assure them a perpetual protection. The condition to which they were reduced, by the government of William, was not only a horrible injustice in itself, but a scandalous breach of national faith. The Protestant religion had been already established by law in Virginia, in 1661, and that colony converted, likewise, into a theatre of persecution. An attempt was made, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to give the same ascendancy to the Church of England, in Carolina; but it encountered a spirited and successful resistance from the inhabitants.

7. The excesses of bigotry, which were committed by the Puritans of New England, during the seventeenth century, can neither be disguised nor defended. They admit, however, of some extenuation, which is to be found in such considerations as the following, offered by one of their descendants:‡—"To vindicate the errors of our ancestors, were to "make them our own. It is allowed, that they were culpable; "but, we do not concede that, in the present instance, they "stood alone, or that they merited all the censure, bestowed on "them. Laws, similar to those of Massachusetts, were passed "elsewhere against the Quakers, and particularly in Virginia. "If no execution took place here, as it did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church, "(Jefferson, Virg. Query xviii). The prevalent opinion among "most sects of Christians, at that day, that toleration is sinful, "ought to be remembered; nor should it be forgotten, that the "first Quakers in New England, beside speaking and writing "what was deemed blasphemous, reviled magistrates and

* Chapter 15. † Chalmers.
‡ Holmes, in his American Annals.

" ministers, and disturbed religious assemblies; and that the SECT. II.
" tendency of their tenets and practices was to the subversion
" of the commonwealth, in that period of its infancy. (See
" Hubbard, MS. N. Eng. Hazard Coll. i. 630; ii. 5, 96; and
" the early historians of New England.) In reviewing the
" conduct of our revered ancestors, it is but just to make
" allowance for the times in which they lived, and the occa-
" sions of their measures."

Any accusation or sarcasm on this head, comes with a wretched air from Great Britain. Her cotemporary history is a tissue of all that can be conceived most atrocious, or malignant, or preposterous, in the hostilities and extravagances of fanaticism; it cannot be surpassed in the annals of those enormities and follies, which provoke alternately laughter and tears, scorn and horror. On comparing the condition and pretensions of the English and Scotch *nations*, (for the reproach attaches to the whole,) with those of the zealots of New England, every one will perceive at once on which side lies the greater load of guilt and shame. Massachusetts had no assembly or synod, rivalling the Rump Parliament, or the presbytery of Argyle;—there is no transaction in the history of that province, upon the same scale of mischief and absurdity, as the affair of the Popish plot—there is nothing like the conviction and execution of Stafford, upon the evidence of Oates and Tuberville; no judicial career vying with the circuits of Kirk and Jefferies.

The religious ferment subsided in New England before the expiration of the seventeenth century. Not an instance is to be found, in her subsequent history, of sanguinary or vexatious persecution for variations in opinion or worship.* The rigor exercised against particular sects, in the other colonies, is to be traced in all cases, to the instigation, or general influence, of the mother country. At the separation, advantage was immediately taken of the entire freedom of legislation, to put all denominations of Christians upon a footing of equality; and this proceeding shows how prevalent the spirit of toleration had become among the colonists. That the reason and humanity of England lagged far behind, is sufficiently attested by the Draconian Code concerning the Catholics, which survived our revolution, and the disabilities from which the Protestant dissenters are not yet relieved. If I did not find it stated in the fourth number of the Quarterly Review, that " the northern states have hardly outgrown their fanaticism," and that there is, in America, " scarcely any medium between

* See Note D.

PART I. "over-godliness and a brutal irreligion," I would confidently appeal for what we now are, as respects our religious spirit, to the following statement, of the 31st number of that authoritative journal. "The old settlers of America carried "with them habits of strict morality and austere religion. "The descendants of these old settlers have outgrown the "intolerance and bigotry of their ancestors, but have retained "their virtues, and embellished them by humane manners. "They are republicans as much by principle and duty as by "prejudice and inheritance."

I would not hesitate to concede to the author of "the British empire in America," that "the great foible of the New England history is the story of the witches."*—But this story has aspects widely different from that under which it is exhibited abroad. Belief in witchcraft was epidemic in the seventeenth century, and could not fail to extend to New England. The insulated situation of her inhabitants,—one which presents them, to use their own graphic language, as "conflicting with many grievous difficulties and sufferings in the vast howling wilderness, among wild men and wild beasts"†—the austerity of their domestic habits—the solemnity of their religious feelings—the terrific dangers to which they were hourly exposed—their daily intercourse with the Indians, whose conversation was perpetually of demons and necromancers—the new maladies of body, resulting from a new and crude climate—the heart-sickening recollections of "the pleasant land of their nativity," of which the ravening brood of tyrants would almost be forgotten, as memory recalled its better features, with the enjoyments and ties of their youth—all these influences combined against the force of their reason, and contributed to render irresistible the contagion of the European superstition. The simple example of the mother country might account for their infatuation; and the extent, to which it is chargeable upon that example, may be understood, from the following passage of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. "Not many years before the delusion "seized New England, Glanville published his witch stories "in England; Perkins and other Nonconformists were earlier; "but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, re- "vered in New England, not only for his knowledge in the "law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches "in Suffolk was published in 1684. All these books were

* Preface.

† Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to the king. (1680.)

" in New England, and the conformity between the behaviour SECT. II.
" of Goodwin's children, and most of the supposed bewitched
" at Salem, and the behaviour of *those in England, is so exact*
" *as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the*
" *New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by*
" *others who had read them.* Indeed, this conformity, instead
" of giving suspicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth
" of both; the Old England demons and the New being so
" much alike. The court justified themselves from books of
" law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton, and other law-
" yers, then of the first character, who laid down rules of con-
" viction as absurd and dangerous as any which were prac-
" tised in New England."* The authors of the Universal History have also stated some palliative facts, which deserve to be reported upon such authority.—"In justice to the mi-
" nistry and people of New England, we are to observe, that
" the persecutions for witchcraft were carried on by wretches,
" partly to gratify their private resentments and interests, and
" partly from a spirit of enthusiasm and credulity; nor could
" they have happened, had it not been for the *weakness of the*
" *governor* and Dr. Mather, who were rendered the tools of
" more designing men. The people in general, and some
" ministers, particularly Mr. Caleb of Boston, detested them,
" and remonstrated against them from the beginning, but all
" to no purpose."†

All ranks in Scotland and England concurred in raising a complete demonocracy for those countries, throughout the seventeenth century. Lord Kaimes asserts, in his Sketches of the History of Man, that during the civil wars *every one* believed in magic, charms, spells, sorcery and witchcraft. An incident related by Evelyn, for which no parallel is to be found in American history, shows the temper of the times, in England. "29th March, 1652—was that celebrated eclipse of the sun, so much threatened by the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarmed *the whole nation*, that hardly any one would work or stir out of their houses, so ridiculously were they abused by knavish and ignorant star-gazers." The Long parliament, alias, "the great reformation parliament," issued several commissions "to discover and prosecute witches," and upon those commissions were many unfortunate persons, of both sexes, tried and executed. We should not forget the testimony of Hume, with respect to the state of Scotland, at the period in question. "The fanaticism which prevailed,

* Vol. ii. chap. i. † Vol. xxxix.

PART I. " acquired, besides the *malignants and engagers*, a new object " of abhorrence. These were the *sorcerers*. So prevalent was " the opinion of witchcraft, that *great numbers*, accused of " that crime, were *burnt* by sentence of the magistrates, " through all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwick, " which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were " punished by fire, *and it became a science every where much* " *studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper* " *trials and symptoms.*"*

I have now before me a quarto volume, published in London, in the present year (1819), and entitled, "The memorable things that fell out within the Island of Britain, from 1638 to 1683, by the Rev. Mr. Robert Law, of that time." This work is little more than a chronicle of the witchcraft of Britain, during the interval to which it is confined; and, truly, the details of credulity and judicial murder which it furnishes, might entitle New England to expect very gentle usage in that quarter on the subject of witchcraft. Among the papers prefixed to the "Memorable things," is a "True relation of an apparition, expressions, and actings, of a spirit, which infested the house of Andrew Mackie, in Scotland, in 1695;" which relation is signed on oath by at least twelve regular clergymen of especial sanctity and authority. The worthy minister, Law, has left, in his journal, a notice of New England, which may reasonably be taken as the epitome of the popular notions of the day, concerning that colony. It is sufficiently remarkable to be copied.

"(August, 1676.) These of New England that had planted that part of America, are grievously troubled by the natives, who make inroads upon the plantations, and kill many of the English, having by their slaves, (that were with the English and fled to them again,) learned the art of shooting guns, purchasing out of France and Holland guns, swords, and pycks, make them much adoe and great trouble, so that they were necessitate to shift for themselves in other parts of the world. The truth is, the Protestants in all parts of the world suffer in these sad tymes. The origin of these in New England, went from England in the days of queen Mary of England, when the persecution against the Protestants was raised there, and in the days of queen Elizabeth, her successor, a Protestant, was well supplyed with money and other necessaries to make good that plantation. They were all furnished with able ministers, and grew up to a famous and glorious church. Their church government was and is yet independent, and of *their state it is aristocracie. They refused to own the king of Britain as their king, only in commemoration of their coming out of England, they now and then send him a free gift.*"

For thirty years after the settlement of Massachusetts,—

* Chapter 59.

while victims were daily sacrificed by fire and the rope, in Great Britain,—none suffered for witchcraft in that colony. Hutchinson asserts truly, that "more were put to death in a single county of England for that cause, than suffered in New England from the planting until his time, in 1760."* The phrenzy endured in America but seven months; whereas it may be said to have continued, with little or no abatement, in the mother country, in Scotland particularly,—for a long series of years. If Cotton Mather partook of the wretched delusion, he was at least as excusable as Sir Matthew Hale; and we may doubt whether there was any learned judge of New England, cotemporary with chief justice Blackstone, who would have gravely summed up the evidence, respecting the reality of witchcraft, and as gravely decided it to be, "most eligible to conclude, that, in general, such a thing as witchcraft had been."† North America, of the eighteenth century, can furnish no counterpart for the story of the Cocklane ghost. Hutchinson has, on this subject, some observations in addition to those I have quoted from him, which ought not to be withheld. "The trial of Richard Hatheway, "the impostor, before lord chief justice Holt, was ten or "twelve years after the trials in New England. This was a "great discouragement to prosecutions in England for witch-"craft, but an effectual stop was not put to them until the act "of parliament in the reign of his late majesty, George II. "Even this did not wholly cure the common people, and we "hear of old women ducked and cruelly murdered within "these last twenty years. Reproach, then, for hanging "witches, although it has been *often cast upon the people of* "*New England by those of Old, yet it must have been done* "*with an ill grace.*"

8. As respects *political intrepidity*, we may challenge a comparison between our ancestors, and the communities the most renowned for that potent virtue. The instances of it with which our colonial annals abound, are inestimably precious, as lessons and incentives for the American people at all times, and under all circumstances. We cannot too often remind each other how heroically the first settlers, and the genera-

* Hist. of Mass. vol. ii. chap. i.

† Commentaries, b. iv. c. iv. "*Witchcraft* or *sorcery* is *a truth* to which every nation in the world, hath, in its turn, borne testimony, by either examples seemingly well attested, or prohibitory laws, which at least suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits."

PART I. tions immediately succeeding, overlooked their own physical weakness and domestic dangers, and braved the power and pride of the mother country, in asserting the rights of man and the privileges recognized or implied in their charters. The complaints which the British historians and orators have uttered concerning their haughty and refractory spirit, and their early aspirations after positive sovereignty, are to be cherished as testimonies borne to the elevation of their character. I repeat with exultation, and think there should be no anxiety on the part of any American to avoid, the reproaches intended to be made by such allegations as the following:—

"The persons whom the Plymouth company sent over to America, as soon as they landed there, considered themselves as individuals united by voluntary associations, possessing the natural rights of men who form a society, to adopt what mode of government, and to enact what laws they deemed most conducive to general felicity. Suitably to these ideas, they framed all their future plans of court and ecclesiastical policy.*

"Massachusetts, in conformity to its accustomed principles, acted during the civil wars, almost altogether as an independent state. It formed leagues not only with the neighbouring colonies, but with foreign nations, without the consent or knowledge of the government of England. It permitted no appeals from its courts to the judicatories of the sovereign state; and it refused to exercise its jurisdiction in the name of the commonwealth of England. It erected a mint at Boston, impressing the year 1652 on the coin, as the era of independence.** Thus evincing to all what had been foretold by the wise, that a people of such principles, religious and political, settling at so great a distance from control, would necessarily form an independent state.†

"During the greater part of the reign of Charles II., the colony of Connecticut acted rather as an independent state, than as the inconsiderable territory of a great nation. The general orders of that prince were contemned, because the royal interposition was deemed inconsistent with the charter. The acts of navigation were despised and disobeyed, because they were considered equally inconsistent with the freedom of trade as with the security of ancient privileges: and the courts of justice refused to allow appeals to England, because the powers of ultimate jurisdiction were claimed from the patent.‡

"On receiving authentic news of the revolution of 1688, and the accession of William and Mary, though the people of Massachusetts spoke with deference of the higher powers in England, and of their relationship to it, they resolved, with *their peculiar spirit*, that the settlement of their government on that extraordinary occasion, belonged wholly to themselves."‡

"The Americans have had all along a reluctance to order and good government, since their first establishment in their country. They have been obstinate, undutiful, and ungovernable from the very beginning; from their first infant settlements in that country. They began to manifest this spirit as early as the reign of Charles I. They disputed

* Robertson's History of America, vol. iv.
† Chalmers, chap. viii. Annals.
‡ Ibid.

our right of fishing on their coasts, in the times of the commonwealth and protectorate, &c.*

"The bad consequences of planting *northern* colonies were early predicted. Sir Josiah Child foretold, before the revolution, that they would, in the end, prove our rivals in power, commerce, and manufactures. Davenant adopted the same ideas, and foresaw what has since happened: he foresaw that whenever America found herself of sufficient strength to contend with the mother country, she would endeavour to form herself into a separate and independent state. This has been the constant object of New England, almost from her earliest infancy," &c.†

We find the colony of Virginia, when only in its seventeenth year, (1624,) and just recovered from the heaviest disasters, answering, through its general assembly, an angry and insidious inquiry into its condition and dispositions, ordered by the king and privy council, and resisting the artifices and threats of the commissioners deputed from England for the purpose of extorting a surrender of its charter, with the utmost sagacity and boldness, or, to use the phrase of its historian, Stith, "with sharpness and vigour;"—with an array of the loftiest principles, and in a style of composition, very little inferior to the best of that age.‡ The same colony, only twelve years after, seized the royal governor, Harvey, become odious to them by his exactions and insolence, and sent him a prisoner to London. And it is further illustrative of her intrepidity, that Charles I. considered the proceeding as an act of rebellion, and reinstated the obnoxious officer,—to supersede him, however, immediately, by one of a character dissimilar in all respects. Virginia, prepossessed in favour of the royal cause, resisted the government of the Protectorate, by arms, in 1651, and submitted at length to the powerful squadron sent to enforce her obedience, only upon terms which do infinite honour to her courage, and remain a striking memorial of her resolute and enlightened attachment to liberty. The following abstract of some of the articles of capitulation will be read with interest. 1. "The plantation of "*Virginia*, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall remain in "due subjection to the Commonwealth of *England*, not as a

* Earl Talbot, in the House of Lords. Debate of Feb. 29, 1776.

† Lord Mansfield, in the House of Lords. Debate Nov. 15, 1775.

‡ See the account of this controversy, in the 5th book of Stith's History of Virginia. "Every titheable or taxable inhabitant," says Burk, "voted for members of assembly. And what honour does not the choice of such an assembly as that of 1624, reflect on the colonists; what sagacity and public spirit does it not suppose in them, at a juncture so delicate and trying, to have selected a body which immediately saw their true interest, and pursued it with ardour and unanimity, in the face of the royal commissioners, and in defiance of the authority and resentment of the king."

PART I. "conquered country, but as a country submitting by their own "voluntary act, and shall enjoy such freedoms and privileges "as belong to the *free people of England*. 2. The general as- "sembly, as formerly, shall convene, and transact the affairs "of the colony. 3. The people of *Virginia* shall have a "free trade, as *the people of England*, to all places, and with "all nations. 4. *Virginia* shall be free from all taxes, cus- "toms, and impositions whatsoever; and none shall be im- "posed on them, without consent of the general assembly; "and neither forts nor castles be erected, or garrisons main- "tained without their own consent."*

Her subsequent conduct has been the theme of lofty panegyric with all the historians. She took advantage of the sudden death of a governor named by Cromwell, to restore the royal officers, and proclaimed Charles II. even before intelligence was received of the demise of the Protector. The spirit which produced these exploits, descended without interruption or enervation, and proved its identity and divinity in the resolutions offered by Patrick Henry, in 1765; in the propositions for a general congress, and in the Declaration of Independence.

The career pursued by Massachusetts from her birth, is pre-eminent for daring, as well as dexterity, and may be considered in these respects as unique in the annals of the world. To the charter, as containing a confirmation of some portion of her natural liberty, she clung with a pertinaciousness, under every vicissitude and pressure, which must awaken in all generous breasts, a thrilling sympathy, and a lively admiration. Diminutive as she was in 1635, yet, when a rumour reached the colonies, that the measure of a general government for New England, was decided upon at the British Court, her magistrates and clergy agreed unanimously that, "if such a governor were sent, the colony ought not to accept him, but to defend its lawful possessions." When her patent was demanded in 1638, by order of the king in council, it was answered, that if the charter should be taken away, the people would remove to another place, and confederate under some new form of government; and "such was their resolution," says the historian Hutchinson, "that they would have sought a *vacuum domicilium*, (a favourite expression with them,) in some part of the globe, where they would, according to their apprehensions, have been free from the controul of any European power."† We have the evidence of one of the spies of

* See vol. ii. chap. ii. of Burk's History of Virginia:—for the entire convention, and a just commentary upon the magnanimous deportment of the colony.

† Vol. i. p. 87.

Archbishop Laud, in the colony, that it was, at this period of her history, accounted perjury and treason in her General Court, to speak of appeals to the king.

In 1641, the General Court established the one hundred laws, called *the Body of Liberties*. The strain of them, so abhorrent and advantageously distinguished, from the genius of the cotemporary legislation in England, shows with what fearless determination these pilgrims marched up to their invariable object, of civil and religious freedom. The memorable league of the New England plantations, in 1643,* is another proof of the independent and confident spirit, with which they provided for their own protection. "It originated," says Chalmers, "with Massachusetts, always fruitful in projects of independence. No patent legalized the confederacy, which continued until the dissolution of the charters, in 1686. Neither the consent nor approbation of the governing powers in England was ever applied for or given. The principles upon which this famous association was formed were altogether those of self-government, of absolute sovereignty."† Massachusetts saw from the beginning, the true bearing of the acts of navigation of 1651, and 1660, and of the custom house duties prescribed in 1672, upon her interests and natural rights, and she evaded or resisted them, until the whole weight of the mother country was turned to their enforcement. The officer sent from England, to collect the customs at Boston, was recalled, upon his representation, "that he was in danger of being punished with death, by virtue of an ancient law, as a subverter of the constitution." When taxed with disobedience, the General Court did not hesitate to allege, that "the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in that colony, they being not represented in Parliament; and that, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four seas, and *did not reach America*." Some of the other provinces joined in this language, and were equally hardy in their practice. Massachusetts, from the outset, openly contended against the doctrine, that Parliament had a right to make laws binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever; she denied the competency of that body to impose any tax upon them, without the consent of their legislatures. Her theory, on this head, was solemnly proclaimed in 1692, and embodied in one of the laws which she then framed under the new

* See vol. i. of Trumbull's History of Connecticut, for a detailed account of this confederation.

† Chap. viii. Annals.

PART I. charter received from William. In 1663, Rhode Island formally enacted it, as one of her privileges, that no tax should be imposed on, or required of the colonists, but by the General Assembly. The Assembly of New York nobly passed resolutions to the same purport, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. As early as 1624, the Assembly of Virginia had set the example of asserting this principle as fundamental.

Massachusetts manifested a strong predilection for the cause of the independents in England, during the civil wars; but she resisted the attempts of the Long Parliament upon the sacred charter. Being strongly advised, in 1641, when suffering much domestic distress and embarrassment, to solicit parliamentary aid or patronage, she steadily refused, with a train of reasoning, which well deserves to be noted.—"If we place ourselves under the protection of Parliament, we must be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least, such as they might impose upon us, in which course, though Parliament might intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial."*

The carriage of the northern colonies, on the restoration, when all England fell prostrate before the monarchical pageant, —may be best told in the angry language of the loyal Chalmers. "The people of New England received the tidings of that interesting event with a caution bordering on incredulity; announced the king in a manner almost insulting; and submitted not to the resolutions of the supreme power, till they had, *by their own resolves, declared their own privileges.*** The affectionate reception which Connecticut gave to the regicides, even after their attainder by Parliament, who here enjoyed a long life of miserable security, and died in peace, sufficiently demonstrates her principles and attachments.† She received the royal commissioners with studied indifference, and with a fixed resolution to deride their authority and disobey their commands.‡"

* Hutchinson, chapter i.

† The regicides, to whom our author refers, were Whalley and Goffe, men of great abilities and accomplishments, of a noble spirit, and winning demeanour. The conduct of the people of New England towards them, does not, methinks, suffer in the comparison with the procedure related in the following passage of Evelyn's Memoirs: "This day, the 30th of Jany. 1660, were the *carcases* of those arch rebells Cromwell, Bradshaw, the judge who condemned his majesty, and Ireton, sonn-in-law to ye usurper, *dragg'd out* of their superb tombs in Westmr. among the kings, to Tyburn, and hang'd on the gallows there from 9 in ye morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deepe pit, thousands who had seen them in all their pride, being spectators." (Vol. i. p. 317.)

‡ Chapter xii. Annals.

New England generally, prohibited all appeals to the parliament or the king in council; and Massachusetts in particular, fined and imprisoned certain persons. for *designing* to solicit parliament to revise a sentence of the General Court. This body, on the arrival of the commissioners sent by Charles II. in 1665, to investigate and regulate the affairs of New England, put them under close supervision; refused to recognize their authority, or to impose the oath of allegiance required from the people, unless with nice restrictions and limitations; counteracted all their proceedings, and resolved "to adhere to the patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and man." The commissioners would seem to have been imbued with something of the spirit which actuates the modern English critics. One of their letters, to the general court, dated in 1668, begins thus: "We have received a letter from your marshal, subscribed by the secretatary, so full of untruth, *and in some places wanting grammar construction*, that we are unwilling," &c. The account which Chalmers gives of the conclusion of their transactions in Massachusetts, is an amusing picture of the temper of both parties.

"The commissioners at length peremptorily asked the general court, 'Do you acknowledge the royal commission to be of full force to all the purposes contained in it?' But, to a question at once so decisive and embarrassing, the general court excused itself from giving a direct answer, and chose rather to 'plead his majesty's charter.' The commissioners, however, attempting to hear a complaint against the governor and company, the general court, with a characteristic vigour, published by sound of trumpet, its disapprobation of this proceeding, and prohibited every one from abetting a conduct so inconsistent with their duty to God *and their allegiance to the king*. And, in May, 1665, the commissioners determined 'to lose no more labour upon men, who misconstrued all their endeavours, and opposed the royal authority.' They soon after departed, threatening their opponents 'with the punishment which so many concerned in the late rebellion had met with in England.' "*

All the agents of New England with the British government, had it in especial charge "to consent to nothing that should infringe the liberties granted by charter."

The manner in which Connecticut frustrated the attempt of Andros, in 1675, to acquire for the Duke of York the country lying westward of the Connecticut river—the discomfiture of the same tyrannical viceroy of the Stuarts, when he endeavoured, in 1687, to possess himself of her charter—his deposition and imprisonment by the people of Boston, in 1689,

* Chap. xvi. Annals.

PART I. and the resumption, by all the New England provinces, of their abrogated charters and forms of government, even before they received any certain intelligence of the success of William in England—the re-establishment, in 1668, of the authority of Massachusetts over New Hampshire, by the general court, in defiance of the royal authority*—the violent subversion, in 1672, of the proprietary government in New Jersey—the insurrectionary movements of Albemarle in 1677—the revolution of 1719 in South Carolina—the successful struggles of the general court of Massachusetts, between the years 1721 and 1730, with the royal governors of that interval, backed as they were by the countenance of the crown—are all so many additional incidents, which may be singled out of a multitude, to exemplify the passionate zeal, the fearlessness, and activity of the first generations of Americans, in the cause of civil liberty; as their institutions may be cited to prove their clear discernment of its true principles and appropriate forms. England possessed, in the seventeenth century, some votaries to the same cause, of the largest views and boldest determination: but the true model of freedom was, as I have already intimated, neither sought nor comprehended by the nation in general. This is palpable from the despotic genius of the Commonwealth, and the kindred spirit of the Restoration. The main spring and principle of the civil wars, and even of the revolution of 1688, was religious rancour; not the desire or intelligence of political liberty—an object always subordinate to the gratification of fanatical hate, and the acquisition of inordinate power. It is said by Hume, that the British were, in the time of Charles I., and till long after, of all the European nations, the most under the influence of that religious spirit, which tends to inflame bigotry and beget desperate factions. "The Scotch nation," he adds, "plainly discovered, after the restoration, that their past resistance had proceeded more from the turbulency of their aristocracy, and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty."

The New England plantations could not feel, and did not find themselves, secure in their distance from the British court. Whatever influence the circumstance of this distance might be supposed to exert in bracing their spirit, it must have been more than counteracted by the immense disparity of strength; and the belief, that, if pressed, a new emigration was their only

* Chalmers, chap. xix.

resource. Their situation altogether,—apparently so forlorn and critical,—had a stronger tendency to inspire docility and submission to the house of Stuart, than the relative position of the British people. But let the language and countenance of the government of New England, in the year 1685, be compared with those of the British parliament, towards James II. at the same period. "The parliament," says Hume,* "proceeded to examine the dispensing power, and voted an address against it. The address was expressed in the most respectful and submissive manner, yet it was very ill received by the king, and his answer contained a flat denial. The Commons were so daunted with this reply, that they kept silence a long time; and when Coke, a member from Derby, rose and said, 'I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened by a few hard words,' so little spirit appeared in that assembly, often so refractory and mutinous, that they sent him to the tower for bluntly expressing a free and generous sentiment. SECT. II.

"On their next meeting, they very submissively proceeded to the consideration of the supply demanded by the court, and even went so far as to establish funds for paying the sum voted in nine years and a half. The king, therefore, had, in effect, almost without a struggle, obtained a total victory over the Commons; and instead of contesting an additional revenue to the crown; and rendering the king in some degree independent, contributed to increase those imminent dangers, with which they had so good reason to be alarmed."

I shall have occasion, as I proceed with the main subject, to notice so many brilliant traits of civil courage, in the career of the colonists, that I ought to be satisfied, with what I have adduced; and it is not, moreover, a part of my plan, to particularize here, their heroic proceedings after the passage of the stamp act; which are sufficiently emblazoned in the admiration expressed by the most respectable voices and pens of England herself. But I must be indulged with culling from the history of Massachusetts a couple of incidents more, as contrasts to the anecdote just quoted from Hume. When Andros, as governor general of New England, by the appointment of James II. imposed, in the beginning of 1688, a tax of a penny in the pound on all the towns under his government, the select men, (municipal officers,) of those of Massachusetts, particularly of Ipswich, voted, "that inasmuch as it was against the common privileges of English subjects, to have money raised without their own consent given in an assembly or parliament; therefore they would petition the king for liberty of an assembly before they made any rates"—nor did they yield

* Chapter lxx.

PART I. the point, although put to the test by imprisonment and heavy fines.* The other case is of the year 1761. In that year, the governor of the colony, Bernard, took upon himself to equip the province sloop Massachusetts, upon a more expensive scale than that prescribed by the House of Assembly, or than what was called, "the old establishment." On receiving from him a message relating to it, the house immediately prepared and voted by a large majority, an answer which contained the following passages: "Justice to ourselves and our constituents oblige us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments, by the governor and council. It is, in effect, taking from the House their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes."

"No necessity can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege; *for it would be of little consequence to the people, whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be, if both could levy taxes without parliament.*"

9. The most prejudiced of the English writers have scarcely ventured to decry the domestic morals and habits of the early colonists. Industry, order, temperance, and the social affections were demonstrated by the rapid increase of their means, comforts, and numbers, and by the stability of their institutions. The rarity of political changes, or intestine dissentions, of domestic origin, after the several communities were formed, is in itself, adequate proof of the general subordination to the authority of law and reason. Hutchinson mentions that "in the Massachusetts colony, for the first thirty years, although the governor and assistants were annually chosen by the body of the people, yet they confined themselves to the principal gentlemen of family, estate, understanding and integrity;" and that "there were instances in the charter governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the representatives had virtue enough to withstand popular prejudices, when the governor's council had not."† The question of restoring to New England, the charter suppressed by James II., was submitted, after the accession of William III. to Hook, an eminent lawyer of the British capital. This enlightened individual, in pronouncing in the affirmative, did

* See "A Narrative of the Miseries of New England, by reason of an arbitrary government erected there by James II." This curious pamphlet, which arraigns with the utmost severity the administration of Andros, was printed in Boston during what it calls "his tyrannic reign," and re-printed in the same place *in the year* 1775.

† Vol. ii. chap. i.

not hesitate to describe the colonists as "a people who *had maintained civility beyond any other on earth.*" The authors of the modern part of the Universal History, referring to the same era, remark, that "the police of the inhabitants of New England, with regard to their morals, surpassed that of any in the world." Such, indeed, was their reputation for discipline and virtue, that the pious of the mother country, sent over their children for education. The legislators of New England were, indeed, exorbitantly austere with respect to the elegant recreations of civilized life: They prohibited, moreover, horse racing, cock fighting, bull and bear baiting. In excluding these vulgar and vicious sports, they certainly did not suffer in the contrast with those who, in Britain, tolerated such pastime as the following, of which we read in Evelyn's Memoirs: "There was now (April, 1667,) a very gallant *horse* to be baited to death with dogs.—They run him through with their swords, when the dogs did not succeed," &c. SECT. II.

Religion was the fundamental order of society, and universally cultivated, in all the colonies north of the Potomac, except New York. Even in this province, into whose political being it had not entered as an element, as in the case of Pennsylvania and New England, it flourished in considerable vigour and diffusion. Throughout New England, the first measure in the organization of the commonwealths, was to establish a system, by which all should partake of religious worship and instruction. The representation which was made officially in 1680, to the Committee of Plantations, concerning the condition of Connecticut in this respect, admits of being applied to the whole of New England. "Great care is taken of the instruction of the people of Connecticut in the Christian religion, by ministers catechising and preaching twice every Sabbath, and sometimes on lecture days; and also by masters of families instructing and teaching their children and servants, which the law commands them to do. We have twenty-six towns and there are twenty-one churches in them, and in every one there is a settled minister."

A mild, steady, sedulous piety, very little polemical or fanatical, distinguished the founders of Pennsylvania; spread its purifying and quickening influence over the new settlers of every nation and sect, and gave a permanent complexion of efficacious faith to that province. New Jersey had risen under the same fortunate auspices, and wore a similar aspect. To the excellent religious character of Maryland, during the seventeenth century, even Chalmers bears tes-

PART I. timony, in opposition to those who, out of a charitable abomination of the bare existence of Popery, and in order to persuade the Archbishop of Canterbury of the necessity of an established Protestant religion in the province, scrupled not to paint it as a "Sodom of uncleanness, and a pest house of iniquity."* Virginia was devoted to the Church of England; supported a numerous clergy, upon a most liberal establishment; and in all her ecclesiastical arrangements, as they are detailed by the historian, Beverley,† manifested a lively and honest solicitude for the diffusion and decency of divine worship. In her feelings on this head, Burk finds a satisfactory solution for her tenacious adherence to the royal cause. His observations are sufficiently remarkable to be copied. "The measures of the patriots in England, manifestly tended to a complete alteration, or rather abolition, of the forms and discipline of that church, which the Virginians had been accustomed to revere; and the Puritans, whom they held in abhorrence, appeared as the principal agents in this scheme for the destruction of religion." "*This*, I apprehend, was the principal, if not the only motive for their new born ardour, in favour of royalty. Their political attachments were obviously on the other side; and in the career of liberty and resistance, they had even anticipated and outstripped the Parliament. They had the same marked regard for their rights and privileges, as this illustrious body; they resisted with equal ardour, and for a long time, with greater success, the encroachments and the insolence of the crown."‡

For the *practical* religion of Great Britain, during the seventeenth century, I refer my readers to any the most national of her historians. In marking the furious, desolating fanaticism of the Roundheads, Hume admits, that riot, disorder, and infidelity prevailed very much among the partisans of the church and monarchy. The mutual hatred and excitement of sects gave, he remarks, just reason to dread, at every moment, "all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions."§ A state of faction and rebellion, of political and religious dissension, inflamed into sanguinary wars—was but little favourable to morals, and necessarily produced a general taint, which would not soon, if ever, be completely expelled. Its effects are visible to us in the literary works which are in our hands, and which justify the observation of Hume, that, of all the

* See Chalmers' Political Annals, chap. xv.
† History of Virginia, from 1585 to 1780, b. iv. c. vii.
‡ History of Virginia, vol. ii. c. ii.
§ History of England, chap. lxii.

considerable writers of the age of the two last Stuarts, "Sir William Temple is almost the only one who kept himself altogether unpolluted by *that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation.*"* The fidelity of the general picture drawn by the same master hand, has never been questioned. "The people, during the reign of Charles II. and James II. were, in a great measure, cured of that wild fanaticism, by which they had formerly been so much agitated. Whatever new vices they might acquire, it may be doubted, whether, by this change, they were, in the main, much losers in point of morals. By the example of the king and the cavaliers, licentiousness and debauchery became very prevalent in the nation. The pleasures of the table were much pursued. Love was treated rather as an appetite than a passion. The one sex began to abate of the national character of chastity, without being able to inspire the other with sentiment or delicacy. The abuses in the former age, arising from overstrained pretensions of piety, had much propagated the spirit of irreligion; and many of the ingenious men of this period, lie under the imputation of Deism. The same factions which formerly distracted the nation were revived, and exerted themselves in the most ungenerous and unmanly enterprises against each other."† SECT. II.

10. The parliamentary party in England ostentatiously contemned all human learning, and were wholly indifferent to the object of general education. The American colonists had scarcely opened the forests, and constructed habitations, when they bent their attention to that object. As early as 1637, only a few years after the landing at Plymouth,—the legislature of Massachusetts founded and endowed, for the ancient languages, and higher branches of learning,—a college, which began to confer degrees in 1642; and has since ripened into an university of the first class both in extent and usefulness. To this institution, the plantations of Connecticut and New Haven, as long as they remained unable to support a similar one at home, contributed funds from their public purse, and sent such of their youth as they wished to be thoroughly educated.‡

* Ibid. chap. lxxi.

† Ibid.

‡ "The Rev W. Sheppard wrote, in 1644, to the commissioners of the united colonies of New England, representing the necessity of further assistance for the support of scholars at Cambridge, whose parents were needy, and desired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The commissioners approved the motion;

PART I. It seems almost incredible, how much was accomplished in this way, in the very formation of the settlements. On the death of the first literary emigrants, natives of Massachusetts, taught in the province, were qualified to fill the void; and not a few of the first alumni of Harvard College attained to considerable literary and political distinction in the mother country. But what is chiefly remarkable, is the provision made for the education of the body of the people, then and in all future time. As a specimen of the arrangements common to the New England colonies, I will state those of Connecticut. By her first code of 1639, every town, consisting of fifty families, was obliged by the laws, to maintain a good school, in which reading and writing should be well taught; and in every country town a good grammar school was instituted. Large tracts of land were given and appropriated by the legislature, to afford them a permanent support. The select men of every town were obliged by law to take care that all the heads of families should instruct their children and servants to read the English tongue well.

We have read a very eloquent speech of Mr. Brougham, on the Education of the Poor, pronounced in the British House of Commons (May, 1818,) in which he lavishes compliments and congratulations upon Scotland, for her system of parish schools. He declares, that the attention which she had bestowed, in early times, upon the subject of national education, reflected immortal honour upon her inhabitants, and that it had given them the most enviable characteristics, as well as the happiest fortunes. It was only, however, as he correctly states, in 1696, that the scheme of extending the means of instruction to the poorer classes, was rendered effectual, by what he styles "one of the last and best acts of the Scottish Parliament,"—"a law justly named among the most precious legacies which it bequeathed to its country." If the merit and the felicity of Scotland on this score, be so great, how is not New England exalted and blessed!—where, in the midst of dangers and labours the most arduous in which a community of men could be involved, the system so justly commended by the British orator, was earlier, and has been, I can venture to assert, more uniformly and completely, carried into effect.

and, for the encouragement of literature, recommended it to the general courts in the respective colonies, to take it into their consideration, and to give it general encouragement. The general courts adopted the recommendation, and contributions of grain and provisions were annually made, throughout the united colonies, for the charitable end proposed."—Trumbull's Hist. of Con. vol. i. ch. viii.

SECT. II.

The outcasts of England, in the first part of the seventeenth century, brought hither with them, that sense of the importance and beauty of national education, which their descendants have constantly cherished, and to which England herself, with all her boasted illumination, is, now only and reluctantly, come. It is but lately, that her government and her politicians regarded and treated the universal diffusion of knowledge,—the instruction of the lower classes, particularly —as a critical, not to say pernicious theory. "About *eleven* years ago," said Mr. Brougham, in the speech to which I have referred, "Mr. Whitbread *broached* the subject of the education of the poor. His benevolent views met with great opposition. He had strong prejudices to encounter even in men of high character and talents. It is melancholy and even humiliating to reflect that Mr. Wyndham, himself the model of a finely educated man, should have stood forward as the active opponent of national education. He was followed by persons who, with the servile zeal of imitators, outstripped their master, and maintained, that if you taught ploughmen and mechanics to read, they would thenceforward disdain to work."*

11. In partitioning the vast region of North America, among mercantile companies and rapacious courtiers, the monarchs of England, were wholly unmindful of the interests of the aborigines. The soil was granted, as though the Indians had no claim or want, distinct from those of the wild beast; and if the settlers had placed them on the same footing, expelled them alike from their lairs, and hunted them together to destruction, they might have pleaded the tacit warrant of the mother country. But they acted in a very different spirit from that in which the royal patents were framed:—they purchased with their own estates, the supposed title of the natives. Almost every foot of territory occupied by the whites in New England, at the distance of many years from the formation of their communities, and until wars of extermination were commenced against them by the Indians, was thus acquired. Abundant and well merited honour has been paid to Penn, for his conscientious dealings in this respect. As much is due,

* "Nobody can have forgotten the murmurs and dissonant clamours, with which the first proposal for communicating the blessings of education to the great body of the people was lately received."—Edinburgh Review, 1814.

"We well remember, when all attempts to educate the lower classes, were at once clamoured down by the real or pretended apprehensions, that such education would disturb the order of society, and would only render the poor discontented and impatient."—Bell's Weekly Messenger, December, 1818

PART I. however, to the founders of the New England colonies; to those of Maryland, New Jersey, and North Carolina. The Plymouth colony in 1621, and that of Massachusetts in 1629; in 1633, Calvert and his band of Roman Catholics, and Roger Williams and his associates, in 1634, set the example of that Christian course, which is so properly admired and extolled in Penn. "To lay a foundation for a firm and lasting friendship," says Dummer, after the historians, "they called assemblies of the Indians, to enquire who had a right to dispose of their lands, and being told that it was their sachems or princes, they thereupon agreed with them for what districts they bought, publicly, and in open market." It became, finally, in all the settlements undertaken by the great proprietors, a fundamental principle, that territory was to be purchased from the aborigines; and this principle did not spring from the plantation office at Whitehall, but was rendered necessary to the interests of the proprietors by the example just mentioned, and the dispositions of the settlers.

The civilization and conversion of the Indians early shared the attention and the resources of the middle and northern colonists, and of the southern planters also, though in a less degree.* In 1646, the general court of Massachusetts passed an act to encourage the propagation of the gospel among the natives, and associations of clergymen were formed for the purpose, under its auspices. The work was then prosecuted with apostolical ardour and devotion,—upon the true maxim in the case—that "the Indians must be civilized, in order to being christianized." The attention of the English nation was not excited to the subject, until accounts were published in England, of the remarkable progress of the New England missionaries. In 1649, Winslow, the agent of the united colonies, at the British court, extorted from the parliament, by pressing instances and glowing exhortations, an act, which incorporated a society for the benefit of the "poor heathens," and which recommended to the good people of England and Wales to contribute to its pious objects by a general collection, inasmuch as the "New England people had exhausted their estates in laying the foundations of many hopeful towns and colonies in a desolate wilderness."

* See Dummer's Defence of the Charters: and Burk's History of Virginia, vol. ii. ch. ii. The regulations of the assembly of Virginia, in 1654, were replete with humanity as well as good sense. Here, as well as in New England, to preserve the Indians from being overreached, all persons were forbidden to purchase land from them, without the approbation of the assembly.

Although letters were published besides, at the solicitation of the American agents, from the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon the ministers of Britain to *stir up* their congregations to the promotion of so glorious an undertaking, yet, according to Hutchinson, great opposition was expressed to the collection in England; and it went on so slowly that an attempt was made to raise a sum out of the army.* This, too, yielded but a poor harvest. The evangelical charity of England and Wales kindled, however, as the fame of the New England missions increased, and at length, on the accession of Charles II., the society, incorporated in 1649, found itself in possession of six or seven hundred pounds a year. But as this income arose out of an act of *the Commonwealth-parliament*, it was in danger of being confiscated by the crown, and was saved at last, only through the interest which some of the patrons of the institution happened to possess at court. This fund was committed to some of the old magistrates and ministers of New England, and the historians concur in the allegation, that never was one of the nature more faithfully applied. Notwithstanding, it was near being wrested from them, in the time of James II., and transferred to much less scrupulous custody, by authority of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Meantime the assemblies of New England allotted tracts of land to such Indians as were likely to become Christians; supplied them with building materials and household utensils; and assisted in every way, the unremitting efforts of the missionary societies. The bible was translated into the language of the natives, and published in 1661. Schools were opened in the Indian settlements; the children taught to read; and such of these as displayed capacity, placed in the grammar schools of the colonists, and even at the university of Cambridge. To furnish some idea of what was accomplished, I will extract one or two short passages on the subject, from Hutchinson. "In 1660, there were ten Indian towns of such as were called "Praying Indians, in Massachusetts.—In 1687, as appears by "a letter of Dr. Increase Mather, there were four Indian as- "semblies in that province, besides the principal church at "Natick.. In Plymouth, besides the principal church at "Mashpee, there were five assemblies in that vicinity, and a "large congregation at Saconet. There were also six different "societies, probably but small, with an Indian teacher to each, "between the last mentioned and Cape Cod; one church at "Nantucket, and three at Martha's Vineyard. There were "in all six assemblies formed into a church state, having offi-

* Vol. i. chap. i.

PART I. " cers, and the ordinances duly administered, and sixteen as-
" semblies which met together for the worship of God."*

On these heads, of the occupation of the soil and the treatment of the Indians—our forefathers have the good fortune to be defended in the two works, to which the defamation of the American character may be said to have been specially allotted: I mean the Annals of Chalmers and the Quarterly Review. There is so much solidity, and, what is still more rare, so much liberality, in their observations, that I may be excused for transcribing them at length.

" Man," says Chalmers, " having a right to the world from the gift of the beneficent Creator, must possess and use the general estate according to the grant, which commanded him to multiply and to subsist by labour: and little would the earth have been peopled or cultivated, had men continued to live by hunting or fishing, or the mere productions of nature. The roving of the erratic tribes over wide extended deserts, does not form a possession which excludes the subsequent occupancy of emigrants from countries overstocked with inhabitants. The paucity of their numbers, and their mode of life, render them unable to fulfil the great purposes of the grant. Consistent, therefore, with the great charter to mankind, they may be confined within certain limits. Their rights to the privileges of men, nevertheless, continue the same. And the colonists, who conciliated the affections of the aborigines, and gave a consideration for their territory, have acquired the praise due to humanity and justice."†

" As for the usurpation of territory from the natives, by the American states, he must be," says the Quarterly Review,‡ " a feeble moralist, who regards that as an evil: the same principle upon which that usurpation is condemned, would lead to the nonsensical opinion of the Bramins, that agriculture is an unrighteous employment, because worms must sometimes be cut by the ploughshare and the spade. It is the order of nature, that beasts should give place to man, and among men the savage to the civilized; and no where has this order been carried into effect with so little violence as in North America. Sir Thomas Moore admits it to be a justifiable cause of war, even in Utopia, if a people, who have territory to spare, will not cede it to those who are in want of room. The Quakers of Pennsylvania have proved the practicability of a more perfect system than he had imagined, and the treaty which the excellent founder of the province made with the Indians, has never been broken. If the conduct of the other states towards the natives be fairly examined, there will be found a great aggregate of individual wickedness on the part of the traders and back-settlers, but little which can be considered as national guilt. They have never been divided among the colonists like cerfs; they have never been consumed in mines nor in indigo works; they have never been hunted down for slaves, nor has war ever been made upon them for the purpose of conquest, though the infernal cruelties which they exercise upon their prisoners might excuse and almost justify a war of extermination."

* For the evangelical labours generally of the Anglo-Americans among the Indians, see the first volume of a late English work, entitled, " History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen, since the Reformation, by the Rev. William Brown."—2 vols. London. See, also, 1st vol. Mass. Hist. Collections, for an ample account, by Daniel Gookin, general superintendant of all the Indians, &c. (1764.)

† Book I. ‡ No. 4

SECT. II.

12.—The physical economy of the settlements kept pace with the moral, and is not less the subject of admiration with a few of the more liberal among the English writers. Of this description are the authors of the Modern Universal History, whose account of the North American Colonies is among the best parts of their useful work. In tracing the early progress of Pennsylvania, they dwell with complacency upon "the stupendous prosperity of a commonwealth so lately planted, and so flourishing by pacific measures." When they have brought the history of New England down to the treaty of Utrecht, (1713,) they speak thus of her condition.

"The inhabitants of New England, at the peace of Utrecht, to their native love of liberty, added now the polite arts of life; industry was embellished by elegance; and what would be hardly credible in antient Greece and Rome, in less than fourscore years, a colony *almost unassisted by its mother country*, arose in the wilds of America, that if transplanted to Europe, and rendered an independent government, would have made no mean figure amidst her sovereign states."*

If we ascend with the same accurate reporters to an earlier period in the career of the people of New England, we shall be no less edified.

"In 1642, the number of English capable to bear arms in New England, were computed to be between 7 or 8000. At this time 50 towns and villages were planted, above 40 ministers had houses, and public works of all kinds were erected at public expense. All this could not have been done but through the almost incredible industry of the inhabitants, which had by this time rendered their country a near resemblance of England. Fields were hedged in; gardens, orchards, meadows, and pasture grounds were laid out, and all the improvements of husbandry took place, particularly the sowing of corn and feeding of cattle. As to the commercial part of the inhabitants, they shipped off vast quantities of fish for Portugal, and the Straits; besides supplying other places; England particularly, Scotland and Ireland. They exported bread and beef to the sugar islands, with oil and lumber of all kinds, some of which they sent to the mother country; and what is still more surprising, they carried on a great trade in ship building."†

Some of the features in the physical condition of the Colonies, noted in the Official Reports, which were made on the subject, to Charles II. must have excited either incredulity or

* Vol. xxxix. † Ibid.

PART I. envy in his disquiet council. "We leave every man," said the Governor of Rhode Island, "to walk in religion as God shall persuade his heart; and as for beggars and vagabonds, we have none among us." "The worst cottages of New England," said another inspector, "are lofted: there are no beggars, and not three persons are put to death annually for civil offences." This representation would have been equally true of the middle colonies. I will not place by the side of it the cotemporary condition of Ireland, under the immediate dominion of Britain, when the spectacle of what exists there at the present day is too hideous to be endured by the imagination. But it may be well to furnish a trifling specimen of the state of some of the agricultural districts of England; and this shall be drawn from the journal of the faithful Evelyn.

"August 2, 1664.—Went to Uppingham, the shire town of Rutland; pretty, and well built of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural villages are built of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish. The country (especially Leicestershire) much in common; the gentry free drinkers."

"August 14, 1664.—Lay at Nottingham. Here I observed divers to live in the rocks and caves," &c.*

* Memoirs, vol. i.

SECTION III.

OF THE DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED BY THE COLONISTS.

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1. The cheering scene which the provinces thus exhibited in the beginning of the eighteenth century; the maturity and stability of their institutions; the sedateness, humanity, and piety, of their character, are rendered the more creditable and remarkable, by the disadvantages and difficulties of various kinds with which they had to contend. It may be said of them, without exaggeration, that they were the associations of men,—of all that have existed of civilized origin,—in whom a backwardness in the arrangements and improvements which constitute the dignity and comfort of social life; a total neglect of the higher arts of civilization, and the pursuits of philanthropy; a fierce, relentless, and even ruthless character, would have been most natural and excusable. It was their peculiar lot, at one and the same time, to clear and cultivate a wilderness; to erect habitations and procure sustenance; to struggle with a new and rigorous climate; to bear up against all the bitter recollections inseparable from distant and lonely exile; to defend their liberties from the jealous tyranny and bigotry of the mother country; to be perpetually assailed by a savage foe, "the most subtle and the most formidable of any people on the face of the earth"*—a foe that made war the main business of life, and waged it with forms and barbarities unknown to the experience, and superlatively terrible to the imagination, of a European.

The general situation of the first emigrants in the midst of a wilderness, and surrounded by an enemy of this description, can be imaged without difficulty, and does not require to be described for those to whom our common histories are familiar. The pictures drawn therein have been realized in part before our eyes, in the settlement of our western wilds. I say in part, because, although the immediate labours and dangers may have been, in some of the modern instances, as great, yet, the distressing, paralyzing influences for the mind, the duration of

* Colonel Barrè, in the House of Commons.

PART I. the principal ills, and the obstacles in the way of ultimate success, appear much less in the comparison. The Annals of Chalmers, Stith's History of Virginia, and Trumbull's Connecticut, furnish a particularly striking and full detail of those circumstances of original adversity common to most of the colonies, which justify any warmth of encomuim on their fortitude, or of admiration at their progress. Well might Lord Chatham exclaim, in 1774, "viewing our fellow subjects in America, in their original forlorn, and now flourishing state, they may be cited as illustrious instances to instruct the world—what great exertions mankind will make, when left to the free exercise of their own powers." Having before me the accounts of the historians just mentioned, and present to my mind the various obstacles upon which I am about to touch, I am filled with new wonder at the results sketched in my last section. I feel with additional force, the justice of the beautiful commemoration, which the contemplation of them drew from Mr. Burke, in 1764, and which that bright intelligence uttered, not merely as an orator ambitious of the meed of eloquence, but as a philosopher attentive to the ordinary march of human affairs, and the ordinary efficacy of human powers. "Nothing in the history of mankind," said he, "is like the progress of the American Colonies. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather antient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the colonies of yesterday; than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago, not so much sent as thrown out, on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness, three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse."*

2. It is conceded by the historians of every party, that as far as the mother country was able, in the confusion of her domestic affairs, or condescended, in the plenitude of her greatness, to bend her attention to the colonies, she pursued towards them until the revolution of 1668 at least, a course of direct oppression. The administration of the chartered companies, of the proprietary governors in general, and of the councils and executive representatives of the Stuarts, is acknowledged on all hands, to have been burdensome and mischievous.† So far from promoting, it tended to impede the

* Speech on American Taxation.
† See particularly Chalmers—passim.

growth, and break the spirit of the plantations. It was not, therefore, by favour, but in spite of their political connexion with Great Britain, that they preserved their liberties, and became what they were at the end of the seventeenth century. The condition of the Carolinas, of New York, and New Jersey, under the proprietary rule,—of Virginia in the hands of the London company, and of the Stuart governors,—of this province and Maryland, when in the gripe of the Commonwealth,—of New Hampshire in that of Mason's agents, and of New England at large during the vice-royalty of Andros,—are sufficiently known to all who have read our annals.

As soon as the long parliament was settled, it manifested a determination to assert and exercise an unlimited authority in the colonies; and by its act of navigation, and other regulations conceived in the same spirit, threw over them a set of fetters which did not cripple them entirely, only because they were loosely worn, and sometimes laid aside altogether, in defiance of the peering jealousy of the metropolitan government. The community of religious opinion,—the great bond of union in those days—and a marked predilection for the cause of the Parliament, obtained for New England, no real concession or substantial favour—no legal exemption from the navigation act. She escaped its full pressure, not by the partiality of Cromwell, as has been asserted, but by her own sturdy resolution to be free. Chalmers relates, in an angry tone, that she foiled the Parliament, and outwitted the Protector, whom, in fact, while she addressed him in terms of obeisance, she always cautiously avoided to acknowledge in form. Virginia refused to receive the navigation act of 1661, and was liable by her devotion to the royal side, to the particular displeasure of the Commonwealth: But we may cite, as a sample of the prevailing temper of mind in England, with regard to all the colonies, the instruction given to the fleet, which the parliament despatched for the reduction of that province, "to employ *every* act of hostility" in case of refractoriness—"to set free such servants and slaves of masters who should oppose the parliamentary government, as would serve as soldiers to subdue them"*—a parental expedient, shewing the antiquity of the feeling, which prompted the observation of Governor Littleton in the debate of the British Parliament of the 26th of October, 1775—"that if a few regiments were sent to the southern colonies of America, the negroes would rise and embrue their hands in the blood of their masters."

* Chalmers, c. v. Annals.

PART I. The courageous loyalty of Virginia, although acknowledged and applauded on the restoration, turned still less to her advantage than the republicanism of New England. A scheme of restriction, and a train of measures, more prejudicial and galling than those of Cromwell, were pursued by Charles II. and his successor, towards those who boasted with truth "that they were the last of the King's subjects who renounced, and the first who resumed their allegiance." "With the restoration," says Chalmers, "began a series of evils which long afflicted, and well nigh ruined the plantation of Virginia." One of these evils was, the distribution among certain favourite adherents of Charles II. in England, of a large portion of the soil, including cultivated estates, held by every right which could vest indefeasible property. "Virginia," says the writer whom I have just quoted, "beheld the *Northern Neck*, containing one half of the whole, given away to strangers, who had shared neither the danger nor expenses of the original settlement."*

A spoliation no less iniquitous was attempted, and partly accomplished by Andros, in 1688, in New England. There, on the lawless abolition of all the charters, a declaration followed, that the titles of the colonists to their lands had become void in consequence. By this monstrous fiction of tyranny, the oldest proprietors were summoned to take out, at a heavy cost, new patents for estates acquired by purchase from the Indians; possessed for near sixty years; defended against the inroads of a barbarous enemy, at the hazard of life, and improved with incessant toil and immense expense. Hutchinson remarks,† that according to the computation then made, all the personal estate of Massachusetts would not have paid the charge of the new patents required in that colony. A scheme of despotism and rapine so exorbitant, could not be long prosecuted with a people that had made such sacrifices for freedom, and had lost nothing of their pristine fervor. It was quickly terminated by the popular insurrection at Boston, already noticed, which deposed all its abettors, and extinguished the government of James in New England.—What is called the rebellion of Bacon, in the annals of Virginia, sprung from grievances of equal injustice, and wanted, I am inclined to think, nothing but ultimate success, to make it, in the estimation of all, equally noble with the bold and characteristic movement of Massachusetts.‡

* Annals, ch. iv.

† Vol. i. c. iii.

‡ This opinion is fully sustained by Burk's narrative of Bacon's rebellion.—See vol. ii. ch. iv. History of Virginia.

3. All the thirteen colonies, with the exception of Georgia, were established and had attained to considerable strength, without the slightest aid from the treasury of the mother country. Whatever was expended in the acquisition of territory from the Indians, proceeded from the private resources of the European adventurers. Neither the crown, nor the parliament of England, made any compensation to the original masters of the soil, or could lay claim to a share in the creation of the rich stock and fair landscape, which so soon bore testimony to the industry and intelligence of the planters. The settlement of the province of Massachusetts Bay alone, cost £200,000—an enormous sum at the era in which it was effected. Lord Baltimore expended £40,000 for his contingent in the establishment of his colony in Maryland: on that of Virginia immense wealth was lavished; and we are told by Trumbull, that the first planters of Connecticut consumed great estates in purchasing lands from the Indians, and making settlements, in that province, besides large sums in the purchase of their patents, and the right of pre-emption.

Within a few years after their debarkation, the settlers of Virginia, of New England, and of the Carolinas, were assailed by warlike tribes, decuple their number, and furiously bent on their destruction. But the government of the mother country extended no succour to them in these contests;* she furnished neither troops nor money; built no fortifications; entered into no negociations for them; she manifested little sympathy or interest in the fate of her offspring. The sense of extreme danger, and the despair of aid from abroad, gave birth, in 1643, in New England, to the confederacy, which I have already noticed, and without which, in all probability, the colonies of that region would have been either extirpated, or miserably crippled. Some of the most considerable of the Indian wars were immediately brought upon them by the rashness and cupidity of the royal governors. That, for instance, which is styled king William's war,—memorable in the annals of New Hampshire particularly—was owing to a wanton, pre-

* This, and the facts stated in the preceding paragraph, were acknowledged in acts of parliament, and repeatedly asserted to the British government by the colonists, in their petitions, before as well as during the eighteenth century. Franklin told the House of Commons, in 1766, on his examination—"The Americans defended themselves when they were but a handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and drove the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from Great Britain." The number of Indian warriors in New England on the arrival of the first settlers, has been computed at eighteen thousand.

PART I. datory expedition of Andros, in 1688, against the possessions of a French individual, situate between Penobscot and Nova Scotia.

It is a remarkable trait in the history of the New England settlers, that they did not seek, and appear to have been even unwilling to receive, assistance from the mother country. The magnanimity of these jealous exiles is placed in full contrast with the selfishness of the British Court, by the letter of reproof for their backwardness in solicitation, of the date of 1676, from the earl of Anglesey, which Hutchinson has copied into his history.* "I received your letter," said the royal privy-councillor to the governor of Massachusetts, "intimating the troubles unexpectedly brought upon you by the Indians. I must chide you, and that whole people of New England, that (as if you were independent of my master's crown, needed not his protection, or had deserved ill of him, as some have not been wanting to suggest, and use testimony thereof,) from the first hour of God's stretching his hand against you to this time, you have not as yet, as certainly became you, made your addresses to the king's majesty, or some of his ministers, &c. I can write but by guess; yet it is not altogether groundlessly reported, that you are too tenacious of what is necessary for your preservation;—*that you are poor, and yet proud.* I know his majesty hath power sufficient as well as will, to help his colonies in distress, as others have experienced, and *you may in good time.* He can send ships to help you, &c. and there are many who will not only be intercessors to the throne of grace, but to *God's vicegerent* also, if you are not wanting to yourselves, and failing in that dutiful application which subjects ought to make to their sovereigns in such cases."

Another striking illustration of the comparative dispositions of the parties, is afforded in the fact, which we have upon the authority of Hutchinson,†—that the collections made in the colony of Massachusetts for the relief of the sufferers by the great fire in London, and on other occasions of foreign calamity, at least equalled the whole sum bestowed upon her from abroad, from the first settlement, to the abrogation of her charter by James II.

While the people of New England were providing for their own safety, with consummate judgment, and performing prodigies of valour in innumerable rencounters with the enemy, they had not even the consolation of escaping the reproach

* Vol. i. chap. ii. † Ibid.

of pusillanimity, from the mother country. The court of James II. besides withholding assistance, on the pretext that it was not implored, taxed them with *wanting hearts* to make use of their means of defence. A part of the nation concurred in this injustice; which, even at this distance of time, causes the breast to swell with indignation, when the bold expeditions of these colonists, the prodigal effusion of their blood, and the hardships of their warfare, are passed in review. This emotion is not allayed, as we read, in descending through their history, that on the occasion of the bill, introduced into the British Parliament, in 1715, for the destruction of all the charter governments, the first of the charges brought against them was, "the having neglected the defence of the inhabitants!" To convey an idea of the severity and destructiveness of the hostilities to which they were constantly exposed, I will transcribe from the Annals of Holmes, the summary which he makes, of the evils of the war waged by the New England Confederacy, in 1675, with Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags. "In this short, but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, composing its principal strength, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities, the colonies contracted an enormous debt."

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Hutchinson states, that the accounts which were transmitted to England, of the distresses of the province of Massachusetts Bay during this contest, although they might excite compassion in the breasts of *some*, yet were improved by others, to render the colonies more obnoxious."* In fact, in the very height of the calamity—at the moment when New England was putting forth all her strength for the retention of the soil,—the merchants and manufacturers of the mother country were clamorous, and the committee of plantations tasked, for measures of rigour against her, on the ground that her "inhabitants had encouraged foreigners to traffic with them, and supplied *the other plantations* with those foreign productions which ought only to have been sent to England." While the earth was yet reeking with the carnage of the six hundred brave yeomen, and the smoke still issued from the ruins of the six hundred dwellings, a general scheme of oppression and disfranchisement was projected at the British Court. It prescribed, without delay, that no Mediterranean

* Vol. i. c. ii.

PART I. passes should be granted to New England, *to protect her vessels against the Turks*, till it was seen what dependence she would acknowledge on his Britannic majesty, and whether his custom houses would be received."

Most of the colonies had to subdue, and nearly to exterminate, in the outset, fierce and populous nations, aiming, within their bosom, at their utter destruction. Almost every individual of the settlers became a soldier, and was kept perpetually on the alert: the musket accompanied the plough, and the employment of these may be said to have been unremittingly alternate. It is not too much to affirm, that there was more of military effort and suffering on the part of New England, for the first half century of her history, than among any equal number of the civilized inhabitants of Europe within the same period. The colonists did not merely await, and repel with great slaughter, the assaults of their indefatigable enemy; but they marched to their head quarters, attacked them in their fortifications, and pursued them through all their recesses. To campaigns of wasting hardship, and sanguinary strife, were added general massacres, prepared by the Indians, with the utmost refinement of dissimulation, during the intervals of their professed submission. We are told by Dummer, that, in his time, (1715,) many in England, who were unable to deny that the colonists had defended themselves, without being burdensome to the crown, "endeavoured *to depreciate their conquests*, as gained over a rude and barbarous people, unexercised to arms." The general reply of the eloquent advocate, on this head, contains a true representation of the case, and teaches us a solemn duty. "If "it be considered, that the New England forces contended "with enemies bloody in their nature and superior in number, "that they followed them in deep morasses; that the assailants "were not provided with cannon, nor could approach by "trenches, but advanced on level ground: and if to this be "added, the vast fatigues of their campaigns, where officers "and soldiers lay on the snow, without any shelter over their "heads, in the most rigorous winters; I say, if a just conside-"ration be had of these things, *envy* itself must acknowledge "that their enterprises were hardy and their successes glori-"ous. And though the brave commanders who led on these "troops—and most of them died in the bed of honour, *must* "*not shine in the British annals*, yet their memory ought to "be sacred in their own country, and there at least be trans-"mitted to the latest posterity."*

* Defence of the Charters.

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At the period of the accession of William to the British throne, this scourge of a savage foe no longer existed in the heart of the settlements; but obstacles to civil labour, and causes of inordinate mortality, of the same kind, were even multiplied. From the year 1690, to the peace of Paris, in 1763, the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, were engaged in almost unremitting hostilities with the aborigines on their borders. Their whole western frontier was a scene of havoc and desolation. After the establishment of the French at Fort Du Quesne, in 1754, the tribes of the Ohio assailed and laid waste the western settlements of the middle provinces; and it is calculated that the colonies lost altogether by war, not less than twenty thousand adults, in the interval from that period to the peace of 1763.

About the year 1690, the French in the north, and the Spaniards in the south, began to act as the instigators and auxiliaries of the savages, and continued for seventy-three years to be the instruments of infinite distress and mischief to the Anglo-Americans. Their enmity was occasioned by the connexion of the latter with Great Britain; and their hostilities arose directly, and date exactly, from her quarrels with France. It is doubtful whether, if that connexion had not existed, they would have molested their neighbours. In 1644, the season of the total dereliction of the British provinces by the mother country, a formal treaty of amity was concluded between the French of Acadie, and the commissioners of the united colonies of New England. The French of Canada sent an agent, in 1647, to solicit aid from Massachusetts against the Mohawks; which was refused from an unwillingness to assist in removing, what might serve as a barrier between the English and French colonies, in case of a rupture between the two mother countries. A year after, when it was proposed by New England, to the governor and council of Canada, that the parties should contract an engagement to maintain perpetual peace, whatever might be the relations of the parent states, the French entered with alacrity into a negotiation for the purpose. It failed only because they required the English colonists to aid them against the Iroquois; and they renewed it themselves by plenipotentiaries, at a short interval of time, without success.* These facts warrant the supposition, that, but for their allegiance to the British crown, the provinces would have been able to avert the animosities which proved their severest affliction, and even, perhaps, to make auxiliaries of the French and Spanish dependencies. It seems,

* Universal History, vol. xxxix. p. 448.

PART. I. moreover, upon an attentive review of the history of France, during the seventeenth century, almost certain, that she would not herself have attempted, in that period, to arrest their progress: Afterwards, they might have defied her powers.

They could, at all events, hold the mother country responsible, for the long train of ills, which they suffered from the neighbourhood of the French, by referring to the treaty of 1632, between Charles I. and Louis XIII. On this occasion, Charles restored to France, absolutely and without demarcation of limits, "all the places possessed by the English in New France, Lacadie, and Canada, particularly Port Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton." An officer, in the British service, Sir David Kirk had, under a commission from the crown, made himself master of Quebec, in 1628, during the war between England and France. "To this fatal treaty," says a British writer,* "may be truly ascribed all the disputes we have had "ever since with France, concerning North America; our "king and his ministers being sadly outwitted by Richlieu's "superior dexterity. The three places delivered up to France "were not, it is true, thought of the same importance then, "as they are since found to be; yet it was very obvious, even "then, to any considerate observer, that as those French co-"lonies should increase in people and commerce, those places "would be of the utmost importance to France, and very "dangerous to England; but more especially, our parting with "Port Royal and Cape Breton is never to be excused, as the "possession of them by the French gave them a fair pretext "for settling on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, and "thereby claiming the rest of Nova Scotia bordering on Eng-"land; whereas, had the French been strictly confined to their "original settlements on the north side of that river, the coun-"try is so bad and the trade thereof so indifferent, that before "now they would probably have quite abandoned them."

4. At a very early period, the mother country cast the reproach which she has constantly repeated, against the colonists, of provoking the Indian wars, and acquiring the dominion of the Indian territory by fraud as well as force. Dummer's Defence of the Charters, written at the commencement of the last century, treats of this "unworthy aspersion," as the honest author styles it, and as he proves it to be, by unanswerable suggestions. With respect to New England particularly,

* Macpherson's Annals, vol. ii. p. 372. Chalmers holds nearly the same language.

what he asserts is susceptible of abundant evidence—that "she sought to gain the natives by strict justice in her dealings with them, as well as by all the endearments of kindness and humanity;" that "she did not commence hostilities, nor even take up arms of defence, until she found by experience that no other means would prevail"—and, "that nothing could oblige the Indians to peace and friendship, after they conceived a jealousy of the growing powers of the English." The congress of the New England league was particularly authorized, to prescribe rules for the conduct of the colonists, towards the natives; and its legislation on this head, was tempered with as much forbearance and mercy, as a due regard for self-preservation, would possibly admit. So rigid were its enactments against private violence, and so strict was the execution of them, that we have an instance of three settlers being put to death at the same time, for the murder of a single Indian. SECT. III.

The New England colonies, far from being exasperated, as was natural, by the desperate and harassing nature of their struggle with the aborigines, into an obdurate resentment and mortal hate against the whole race, exerted, as I have already had occasion to state, unbounded zeal and generosity, in improving the condition, and refining the character, of that portion of them whom they were able to propitiate. I believe the other provinces, to whom the British charge was extended, and who have been more particularly the object of it, in recent times, to be capable of vindication; and I am convinced, that the American writers, who have maintained the contrary doctrine, have either suffered themselves to be hoodwinked by prejudice, or have not traced our Indian relations in the detail requisite for the formation of a sound opinion. But if the point were not determinable by history, we might at once infer from the general aims and obvious interests, the weakness and the wants, of the early colonists, that they were not the aggressors in the Indian wars. Be this, for the present, as it may, it cannot be denied, that after hostilities had begun to rage; after the savage had been roused to distrust and vengeance—the case of the settlers was one of the most absolute self defence—of extreme necessity. In the contest which I have noticed, between Philip and New England, and in the similar struggles in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the very existence of these provinces, respectively, was at stake, and often in suspense. Those English writers who so loudly inveigh against the North American colonies for their treatment of the Indians, may be defied to detect in their annals, an expedient for the destruction of their inveterate enemy, like

PART I. that of the employment of the Spanish bloodhounds in Jamaica, to subdue the Maroon negroes, in the year 1730, and again towards the close of the eighteenth century. Certainly, there is no argument urged by Dallas* or Bryan Edwards, to justify the recourse, on the part of the government of that island, to such fell auxiliaries, which would not have been available for the people of New England; which might not, indeed, receive additional force from their situation.† The pride of manhood,‡ the innate sympathies of kind, and the influence of religion, with the hardy and virtuous Puritans, must have rendered it impossible for them to imitate, while they professed to abhor, the worst of the atrocities practised by the Spaniards on the aborigines of the West Indies.§

But, in order to convict the accusers, of a guilt of inhumanity, far deeper than any with which they have ventured to charge their "kinsmen of America," it is not necessary to refer to their alliance, in Jamaica, with the Spanish chasseurs, or to their military administration in Hindostan. I would challenge the closest scrutiny into our history, for a parallel to the measure which the British commanders adopted, after the reduction of Nova Scotia, in 1755, of transplanting, and dispersing through the British colonies, the French inhabitants of that province. This is a transaction in which the point at issue was, not existence, but the more easy retention of a conquest; in which the victims were, not blood-thirsty and untameable savages, or ferocious banditti, who had aimed at the extermination, and whose presence seemed incompatible with the safety, of the conquerors;—but "a mild, frugal, industrious, pious people," of whom only a few had committed any offence, and who, generally, could be taxed with no more, than having indirectly favoured the cause, and preferred the dominion, of their own nation. It has always appeared to me, that the *reason of state* was never more cheaply urged, or more odiously

* History of the Maroons, by R. C. Dallas, vol. ii. letters ix. and x. History of the West Indies, by Bryan Edwards, Appendix to Book II.

† The Edinburgh Review, (No. 4,) in condemning the proceedings of the Jamaica government, remarks, "If, *by our own policy, we have filled our colonies with barbarians*, let us not aggravate the original crime," &c. The American colonists did not originally fill the country which they acquired, with the barbarians whom they expelled: they did not even, for the most part, intrude upon them voluntarily; but were driven by the lash of domestic tyrants.

‡ "Some gentlemen," says Bryan Edwards, "*even* thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel, but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government."

§ See Note E.

triumphant, than on this occasion; that no proceeding in relation to the Indians, for which we have been rebuked by the British, either before or since our independence, could, by any ingenuity or eloquence, be made to wear an aspect of so much wantonness and barbarity, as the case of the French neutrals presents in the simplest form of recital. Although I may seem to fall into a wide digression, or an awkward anticipation, I will venture to exhibit it here in some detail, as matter of history worthy of being more generally and accurately known. Retribution is due to all the parties; to those who perpetrated the crime, and to the memory of the sufferers, who, with the Americans that received them, have been aspersed, in order to weaken the impression of its enormity. SECT. III.

The most particular account which I have found of this transaction, is given in Minot's Continuation of the History of Massachusetts.* The historian drew his narrative from the manuscript journal of the American commander of the Massachusetts' troops, to whom the merit of the conquest of Nova Scotia was due. This officer, General Winslow, of an unexceptionable and elevated character, left upon record, the expression of his disgust and horror, in submitting to act the part which was imposed upon him by the British authorities. I transcribe some of the shocking details from Minot.

"The French force in Nova Scotia being subdued, it only remained to determine the measures which ought to be taken with respect to the inhabitants, who were about seven thousand in number, and whose character and situation were so peculiar, as to distinguish them from almost every other community that has suffered under the scourge of war."

"They were the descendants of those French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who after the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, by which the province was ceded to England, were permitted to hold their lands, on condition of making a declaration of allegiance to their new sovereign, which acknowledgment of fidelity was given under an express stipulation that they and their posterity should not be required to bear arms, either against their Indian neighbours, or transatlantic countrymen. This contract was at several subsequent periods revived, and renewed to their children; and such was the notoriety of the compact, that for half a century, they bore the name, and with some few exceptions, maintained the character of neutrals."

"The character of this people was mild, frugal, industrious and pious; and a scrupulous sense of the indissoluble nature of their ancient obligation to their king, was a great cause of their misfortunes. To this we may add an unalterable attachment to their religion, a distrust of the right of the English to the territory which they inhabited, and the indemnity promised them at the surrender of fort Beau-sejour, where it was stipulated that they should be left in the same situation as they were in when the army arrived, and not be punished for what they had done afterwards."

"Such being the circumstances of the French neutrals, as they were

* Chap. x.

PART I. called, the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, and his council, aided by the admiral Boscawen and Mostyn, assembled to consider of the necessary measures to be adopted towards them. If the whole were to suffer for the conduct of a part, the natural punishment would have been to have forced them from their country, and left them to go wherever they pleased; but from the situation of the province of Canada, it was obvious that this would have been to recruit it with soldiers, who would immediately have returned in arms upon the British frontiers. It was, therefore, determined to remove and disperse this whole people among the British colonies, where they could not unite in any offensive measures, and where they might be naturalized to the government and country."

"The execution of this unusual and general sentence was allotted chiefly to the New England forces; the commander of which, from the humanity and firmness of his character, was the best qualified to carry it into effect. It was without doubt, as he himself declared, disagreeable to his natural make and temper; and his principles of implicit obedience as a soldier were put to a severe test by this ungrateful kind of duty, which required an ungenerous cunning, and subtle kind of severity, calculated to render the Acadians subservient to the English interests to the latest hour. They were kept entirely ignorant of their destiny until the moment of their captivity, and were overawed or allured to labour at the gathering in of their harvest, which was secretly allotted to the use of their conquerors."

"The orders from lieutenant governor Lawrence to captain Murray, who was first on the station, with a plagiarism of the language, without the spirit of scripture, directed that if these people behaved amiss, they should be punished at his discretion; and if any attempts were made to destroy or molest the troops, he should take an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and in short, life for life, from the nearest neighbour where the mischief should be performed."

"The convenient moment having arrived, the inhabitants were called into the different ports to hear the King's orders, as they were termed. At Grand Pré, where colonel Winslow had the immediate command, four hundred and eighteen of their best men assembled. These being shut into the church, (for that too had become an arsenal,) he placed himself with his officers in the centre, and addressed them thus:

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have received from his excellency governor Lawrence, the king's commission, which I have in my hand; and by his orders you are convened together, to manifest to you his Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia."

"*The part of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you who are of the same species.*"

"*But it is not my business to animadvert,* but to obey such orders as I receive, and therefore, without hesitation, I shall deliver you his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely, That your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, with all other your effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves to be removed from this his province."

"Thus it is peremptorily his Majesty's orders, that the whole French inhabitants of these districts be removed, and I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do every thing in my power, that all those goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off: also that whole families shall go in the same vessel; and make this

remove, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and hope, that whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people."

"I must also inform you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security, under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honour to command."

"And he then declared them the King's prisoners.

"As some of these wretched inhabitants escaped to the woods, all possible measures were adopted to force them back to captivity. The country was laid waste to prevent their subsistence. In the district of Minas alone, there were destroyed 255 houses, 276 barns, 155 out-houses, 11 mills, and 1 church; and the friends of those who refused to come in, were threatened as the victims of their obstinacy. In short, so operative were the terrors that surrounded them, that of twenty-four young men who deserted from a transport, twenty-two were glad to return of themselves, the others being shot by sentinels; *and one of their friends who was supposed to have been accessary to their escape, having been carried on shore, to behold the destruction of his house and effects, which were burned in his presence, as a punishment for his temerity, and perfidious aid to his comrades.* Being embarked *by force of the musquetry*, they were dispersed, according to the original plan, among the several British Colonies."

Most of the English historians have slurred over this harrowing drama. It is even asserted in Smollett's Continuation of Hume, and in the modern Universal History, that the Acadians were merely disarmed, and then suffered to remain in tranquillity! Entick, in his "General History of the Seven Years War," is somewhat more candid; and for the further edification of my readers, I will proceed to quote the language in which this reverend author—of no mean authority—relates and glosses so portentous an iniquity. As, moreover, his account is the only one through which the affair is circumstantially known to the readers of English history, I am disposed to improve the opportunity, of placing by the side of it, the vindication of those whom he calumniates.

"In Nova Scotia, matters did not favour the French at all in the year 1755. General Lawrence pursued his success, and was obliged to use much severity, to extirpate the French neutrals and Indians, who refused to conform to the laws of Great Britain, or to swear allegiance to our sovereign, and had engaged to join the French troops in the spring, expected to arrive from old France, as early as possible, on that coast or at Louisbourg; some of whom with ammunition, stores, &c. fell into the hands of our cruizers off Cape Breton. General Lawrence *did not only pursue those dangerous inhabitants with fire and sword, laying the country waste, burning their dwellings, and carrying off their stock;* but he thought it expedient for his Majesty's service to transport the French neutrals, so as to entirely extirpate a people, that only waited an opportunity to join the enemy."

"This measure was very commendable. But the execution of it was not quite *so prudent.* The method taken by the general to secure the province from this pest, was to distribute them, in number about seven thousand, among the British Colonies, *in that rigorous season of winter, almost naked, and without money or effects to help themselves.* In which

PART. I. distribution, too many were transported to those colonies, where they might with great ease get to the French forts, or might facilitate any enterprize from those forts, on the back of our provinces on the south of the bay of St. Lawrence. Besides, it was exercising a power he had no right unto. For his command reached not beyond the limits of Nova Scotia; and this was loading each government, into which those neutrals were transported, with an arbitrary and great expense."

"This may be exemplified in the case of Pennsylvania. The quota imposed on that province was 415, men, women, and children. They landed in a most deplorable condition at Philadelphia, to be maintained by the province, or turned loose to beg their bread: and this city not being above two hundred miles distant from fort Du Quesne, it was very probable the men might get unto, and join their countrymen at that fort; or strengthen the parties, which hovered about the frontiers, and were continually laying waste the back settlements. The government in order to get clear of the charge, such a company of miserable wretches would require to maintain them, proposed to sell them with their own consent: but when this expedient for their support was offered to their consideration, the transports rejected it with indignation, alledging, That they were prisoners, and expected to be maintained as such, and not forced to labour. They farther said, that they had not violated their oath of fidelity; which, by the treaty of Utrecht, they were obliged to take; and that they were ready to renew that oath, but that a new oath of obedience having been prescribed to them, by which, they apprehended the neutrals would be obliged to bear arms against the French, they could not take it, and thought they could not be compelled to do it. Thus General Lawrence *cleared the country* of the French neutrals; and the Indians in their interest, who had been very troublesome, being most of them Roman Catholics, retired to Canada for protection."*

The first remark I would make on this narrative of Entick, is, that the plan which he ascribes to the government of Pennsylvania, of selling the exiles, had no existence, and was impossible, consistently with its principles and powers. That government, and the inhabitants of Philadelphia, when near five hundred of them were landed in a plight of misery which beggars all description, received them with the liveliest compassion, and provided for their wants with the readiest liberality.† They were immediately committed to the charge of

* Vol. i. p. 385.

† I have before me an exemplification of the original subscription paper for their relief; and a list of the names of some of them, which runs thus: the Widow Landry, blind and sickly; her daughter, Bonne Landry blind; Widow Coprit, has a cancer in her breast; Widow Seville, always sickly; Ann Leblanc, old and sickly; Widow Leblanc, foolish and sickly; the two youngest orphan children of Philip Melanson; three orphan children of Paul Bujauld, the eldest sickly, a boy foolish, and a girl with an infirmity in her mouth; Baptist Galerm's foolish child. Joseph Vincent, in a consumption; Widow Gautram, sickly, with a young child; Joseph Benoit, old and sickly; Peter Bressay, has a rupture, &c.; Peter Vincent, himself and wife sickly—three children, one blind, and very young, &c. Such was the treatment which they had experienced, that notwithstanding the charitable attentions which they received after their arrival in Philadelphia, more than one half of them died in a short time. From these particulars we may judge how far they were fitted "to strengthen the parties which hovered about the frontiers!"

the conservators of the poor, to be lodged and fed at the public expense; while benevolent individuals of the society of Friends, made and collected considerable subscriptions for their more comfortable subsistence. One of the almoners of the city, on this occasion, Anthony Benezet,—a model of philanthropy, with whose character those of the English Public, who have read Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, cannot pretend to be unacquainted—devoted himself to the alleviation of both the physical and mental wretchedness of the unexpected guests. It is, probably, from an anecdote connected with his parental exertions in their favour, that arose the idea which Entick embraced, respecting the conduct of the government of Pennsylvania. This anecdote is thus told by Mr. Roberts Vaux in his excellent biography of Benezet. "Such was his assiduity, and care of them, that it produced a jealousy in the mind of one of the oldest men among them, of a very novel and curious description; which was communicated to a friend of Benezet's—'*it is impossible*,' said the Acadian, '*that all this kindness is disinterested; Mr. Benezet must certainly intend to recompense himself by treacherously selling us.*' When their patron and protector was informed of this suspicion, it was so far from producing an emotion of anger, or an expression of indignation, that he lifted up his hands and laughed immoderately."

The reverend historian was right in affirming that the British commandant in Nova Scotia, imposed an arbitrary and heavy, and he might have added, unrequited expense upon the colonies, among which the neutrals were distributed; but he laboured under an error in supposing that General Lawrence "cleared the country" at once. As many were sent away in 1755, as could be disposed of immediately. A considerable number remained, with whom the same course was pursued a few years afterwards, upon the inordinate alarm created by the landing of the French in Newfoundland.

In the first instance, seven thousand of the obnoxious community, as Entick relates, were thus torn from their rustic homes, and transported in a way worthy of being compared with the "middle passage." The *quota* then assigned to Massachusetts exceeded one thousand. "This extraordinary tax," says her historian Minot,* "was about to be laid anew upon the Province, in 1762, by the arrival of nine ships from Halifax, with 700 French neutrals on board. By an examen of these people in the beginning of the year 1760, there was

* Vol. ii. ch. v.

PART I. found to be 1017 of them in the Province, of whom only 394 were able to labour. *For the expense of subsisting them, the Province could procure no allowance from Parliament*, and so had become subject to indefinite taxation in this way at the discretion of the commander in Nova Scotia."

No proof has ever been produced,—none exists, to support the charges which Entick prefers against the sufferers—of having engaged to join the French troops, and refused *absolutely* to take the oath of allegiance to the British sovereign. On the other hand, their own allegations, as he reports them, and which give them strong titles to respect, are upheld by the tenor of the official declarations of the British authorities in Nova Scotia, who pleaded, little more in substance, than the positive orders of their government, and a supposed overruling necessity, as regarded the more secure dominion of that territory. Tradition is fresh and positive among us respecting the guileless, peaceful, and scrupulous character of this injured people. The impression which it made here, upon every one who held intercourse with them, contributed to render more intense, the compassion raised by the miserable vicissitude of their fortunes, and the extreme poignancy of their grief. Their descendants, now scattered over these States, receive, universally from them the same tale of injustice and woe. It is consigned in the Petition which they transmitted from Pennsylvania to the King of Great Britain, and which bears intrinsic evidence, too strong to be resisted by a feeling and unprejudiced reader, of the truth of all the details.* To complete the history, I ought to add, that no attention whatever was paid to their prayer either for immediate redress, or a judicial hearing.

Before I finish with this matter, I will claim permission to moot a simple case, and propound a few natural queries.—Had war broken out, in 1808, between France and the United States, as was expected,—and had the latter immediately, upon the suspicion, or the certainty, of the French inhabitants of Louisiana being favourably inclined to Bonaparte, "cleared" that province of all of them; of men, and women, of the aged and the young, of the sick and the insane; "pursuing them with fire and sword, burning their dwellings, laying waste their plantations, and destroying their stock"—had those inhabitants been driven off at the point of the bayonet "in the rigorous season of winter, almost naked, and without money or effects to help

* See Note F. for the Petition itself, copied from the draught in the hand-writing of Benezet.

themselves"—had they been thrown in this condition, from prison ships as confined and wasting as the English hulks, upon the charity of strangers ignorant of their language, and prejudiced against their race?—Or, had all this been done by the American commanders in Louisiana, of their own motion, and had the American government then refused to listen to the petition for relief, of that remnant of the prostrate exiles, which disease and grief had spared, and left them irrevocably to their fate—what would have been said in Great Britain? When would the world have ceased to ring with her execrations upon American barbarity? If one of her general officers had afterwards put to death two Americans, found and acknowledged to be co-operating, with a hostile tribe of savages on the borders of Canada,—would she have suffered this act to be placed in the same line of atrocity? or, however keen her sensibility at the effusion of her own blood, and at a fancied outrage upon her national majesty, would she have ventured to denounce the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, as equal in guilt, to the extirpation, upon such grounds as her historians offer in the case of the Acadians, of a civilized community of many thousands, unimpeachable in their private life; confessedly amiable in their dispositions; and happy in the midst of ease and abundance created by their industry and frugality? SECT. III.

5. Notwithstanding the notoriety of the facts upon which I have touched—that the colonies were planted at the expense of private adventurers, fugitives from relentless persecution; that they formed, for the most part, their own constitutions; that they fought and overcame the Indians without aid from abroad—that the mother country built no forts either on their internal or Atlantic frontier, to protect them from invasion —that she sent no ships of war to guard their trade, till many years after their settlement, when their commerce had become an object of revenue to the crown, and of profit to the British merchants—that her parliament passed no one material act concerning them, which did not relate to the regulation of trade or the enlargement of the metropolitan authority —yet, even before the expiration of the seventeenth century, it was not uncommon, for the most distinguished of the parliamentary leaders, to hold the language which Charles Townsend employed in 1765, in his speech in favour of the stamp act, "that the Americans were children planted by her care; nourished up by her indulgence, and defended by her arms." I can trace also, to an early period, the complaints repeated by

PART I. the same British minister, concerning their unthankful and seditious spirit, and that niggardliness "which grudged even a mite to relieve the *beneficent* and venerable parent from the heavy burdens under which she groaned." When the disputes consequent on the stamp act grew warm, these topics were in the mouths of all who supported the scheme of taxation, and with them were plentifully mixed the prejudices concerning the pedigree and general character of the Americans, of which I have spoken in the preceding section. It is among the remarks made by Franklin, in his examination before the House of Commons, in 1766, that "America had been greatly abused in England, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches, as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust, in having put the British nation to an *immense* expense for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expense."

"Our newspapers and politicians," said one of the ablest of the British writers of that day, "have been lately full of "invectives against the disposition and conduct of the Ameri- "cans, and using foul-mouthed reproach. There are indeed "a set of men, who, from dulness, being totally ignorant of "the colonies, or *from pride, ashamed to have a knowledge "of them*, talk of what *we*, for such is their language, have "done for them; what money *we* have spent; what blood *we* "have lavished; and what trouble *we* have had in establishing "and protecting them to this day; and after a thousand such "self-applauses, declaim against the baseness, ingratitude, "and rebellion, of an obstinate, senseless, and abandoned set "of convicts."

In this strain, Dr. Johnson wrote and talked, as the organ of the ministry. It was in vain that Barré replied to Townsend with a fire and force of rhetoric worthy of Demosthenes, and that Burke declared to Parliament, "the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours—a generous nature has with them, taken its own way to perfection." Merits of every kind continued to be claimed for the mother country, and it was particularly insisted, that the blood and treasure *lavished* in the American wars, from 1690 to 1763, were spent in the cause of the colonies alone. This point had come particularly under discussion in the year 1760, when the question of surrendering Canada to the French was agitated in England. It was argued affirmatively with great zeal, in a work of high authority at that time, to which Franklin answered by his celebrated Canada-Pamphlet. The illustrious philosopher demonstrated, that the retention of Canada was of the utmost importance to Great Britain; but that, though

desirable for the colonies as a means of preserving peace on their borders, it would be attended with disadvantages overbalancing this consideration, which had become of the less moment from the military strength they had acquired, and the impression they had made upon the Indian nations. He took one particular view of their case, which belongs to history, and should be offered to my readers as equally striking and just. "I do not think that our 'blood and treasure have been "expended,' as the author of the pamphlet intimates, 'in the "cause of the colonies, and that England is making conquests "for them;' yet I believe this is too common an error; I do "not say that they are altogether unconcerned in the event. "The inhabitants of them are, in common with other sub-"jects of Great Britain, anxious for the glory of her crown, "the extent of her power and commerce, the welfare and "future repose of the whole British people. They could not, "therefore, but take a large share in the affronts offered to "Britain; and have been animated with a truly British spirit, "to exert themselves beyond their strength, and against their "evident interests. *Yet so unfortunate have they been, that "their virtue has made against them;* for upon no better foun-"dation than this have they been supposed the authors of the "war, and has it been said to be carried on for their advan-"tage only."

Adam Smith strengthened the common error, and unwittingly promoted the ministerial scheme of deception, by the following loose passage of the seventh chapter of the fourth book of his Wealth of Nations.—"The English colonists have never yet contributed any thing towards the defence of the mother country, or towards the support of its civil government. They, themselves, on the contrary, have hitherto been defended almost entirely at the expense of the mother country." These propositions are inconsistent with the tenor of the opinions which I have quoted from the same chapter, and have not the least hold in the colonial history. A direct and complete refutation of them is to be found in Franklin's writings. With respect to the war of 1756 particularly, which Adam Smith had, no doubt, immediately in view, the American champion placed the question in its true light to the House of Commons, in his examination before that body. His doctrine passed without contradiction at the moment. "I know the *last war* "is commonly spoken of here as entered into for the defence, "or for the sake of the people in America. I think it is quite "misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada "and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the *crown* indeed

PART I. "laid claim, but which were not claimed by any British *colo-*
ny; none of the lands had been granted to any colonists, we
"had therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute.
"As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of
"trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty
"of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the tra-
"ders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they
"took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their
"factors and correspondents, had erected there, to secure that
"trade. Braddock was sent with an army to retake that fort,
"(which was looked on here as another encroachment on the
"king's territory,) and to protect your trade. It was not till
"after his defeat that the colonies were attacked. They were
"before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the
"troops were not therefore sent for their defence."

The whole subject, including the motives and ends of what were called the colonial contests of the European powers, was taken up by Brougham, in his work on their colonial policy, and so treated as to be no longer a field of controversy. He has satisfactorily shown, that "the quarrels of the mother country alone were, in almost every instance, the causes which involved every part of the empire in wars;" that "the foreign relations of the colonies were almost always subservient, and postponed to those of the parent state;" and that, "*so far from involving her in their quarrels, they suffered more than any part of the system, by the proper quarrels of the metropolis.*"

The following desultory extracts from his first volume contain general views, which I think it important to present, upon such authority, and some facts, of which the force will be more felt, when they are so avouched.

"The supporters of the different economical systems have considered a colony as a mother country, held in subjection by another state; not as a part of that state, connected with it by various ties. It appears more proper to view the establishment of distant colonies as an extension of a country's dominions, into regions which enjoy a diversity of soil and climate. While the colonies then are only to be viewed as distant provinces of the same country, it is absurd to represent their defence and government as a burden, either to the treasury or to the forces of the mother country."

"The wars which a state undertakes, apparently for the defence of the colonial dominions, are, in reality, very seldom the consequence, even of her possessing those distant territories. Two nations, who would commence hostilities on account of their colonies, would never want occasions for quarrelling, had they no possessions. In fact, any influence which the circumstances of the colonies can exert on the dispositions of the parent state, is much more likely to be of a nature favourable to the maintenance of peace ** Whatever effects may be attributed to the attention which has been paid to colonial policy, it is probable that instead of increasing, it has diminished the frequency of

wars in modern times. Whatever circumstances may have involved Great Britain in a colonial warfare in 1739 and 1756, a little reflection will show us, that the contests were not occasioned by the possession of territories in America, but only broke out in that quarter of the globe, as well as in Europe, in consequence of the relations of European politics between the different powers possessing territories on both sides of the Atlantic."

"It should seem, that in ascribing to the possession of colonies, the wars of 1739, 1756, and 1778, philosophers have been led into an error, not uncommon in any of the departments of science, and in none more frequent than in politics,—the mistake of the *occasion* for the *cause*, and of a collateral effect for a principle of causation. They have searched in America for the origin of misfortunes, of which the seeds lay near home—in the mutual relations of the European powers, the diversity of national character, and the belligerent nature of man."

"The colonies occasion a diversion in favour of the tranquillity and security of the parent states. The strength and valour which might otherwise be exerted, in committing to the chance of war the independence of the European powers, are displayed in the distant regions of the New World, and exhausted without danger to the capitals."

"While their colonies thus render to the great maritime powers of Europe the important service of determining (as it were) the eruption of hostilities, to the extremities, where it may spend a force that would have proved fatal to the nobler parts of the system, the structure of those distant communities, is, in general, of a less delicate nature, and better adapted to sustain the shock of military operations."

"The old colonies of North America, besides defraying the whole expenses of their internal administration, were enabled, from their situation, to render very active assistance to the mother country, upon several occasions, not peculiarly interesting to themselves. They uniformly asserted, that they *would* never refuse contributions even for purposes strictly imperial, provided these were constitutionally demanded. Nor did they stop at mere professions of zeal."

"The whole expense of civil government in the British North American colonies, previous to the revolution, did not amount to eighty thousand pounds sterling; which was paid by the produce of their taxes. The military establishment, the garrisons, and the forts, in the old colonies, cost the mother country nothing."

"In the war of 1739, when their population and resources were very trifling, they sent three thousand men to join the expedition to Carthagena. The privateers fitted out in the different ports of America, and belonging to the colonies, were even in that time, both in numbers of men and guns, more powerful than the whole British navy, at the era of its victory over the Spanish armada. Many parts of the colonies have, at all times, furnished large supplies to the naval force that was destined to protect them. The fisheries of New England, in particular, used to contribute a vast number of excellent seamen to the British navy."

SECTION IV.

OF THE MILITARY EFFORTS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE COLONISTS, IN THE WARS OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

PART I.

1. The colonies took an active part, and had even an excessive share, in the almost continuous wars which Great Britain waged between the years 1680 and 1763. As soon as hostilities broke out in Europe, towards the close of the seventeenth century, the belligerent powers industriously kindled the fiercest animosities between their respective American dependencies. Those of the French and Spaniards being greatly inferior in internal strength, thought to compensate themselves for this disparity, by arraying the Indians on their side, and keeping their merciless auxiliaries in perpetual action. They animated and led them, in irruptions into the British provinces, memorable for the worst evils which characterize Indian warfare. The destruction of the settlements of Port Royal, on the southern frontier of Carolina, by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, in 1686,—the murderous expedition of the French against Schenectady and Corlar, in New York, and their successful attacks upon Salmon Falls and Casco, in 1690, may be cited as specimens, of what is to be considered as the mere prelude, to the similar hostilities with which the English colonists were afflicted, almost without intermission, for more than half a century afterwards. They began nearly at the same time, to act vigorously on the offensive; less, however, by the proxy of the Indians, whom they could attach to their cause, than in their own persons, and with their own resources. We find New England twice engaged during 1690, in attempts upon a large scale, to reduce Canada. In that year, Sir William Phipps, governor of Massachusetts, with a fleet of eight small vessels, and eight hundred men, made himself master of the fort of Port Royal in Acadia, and took possession of the whole coast from that place to the New England settlements. Another, and more considerable armament was despatched immediately after, under the same commander, against Quebec, but it proved highly disastrous

owing to the incapacity of the royal governor.* One thousand of the New England troops perished in this bold enterprise; and the vessels employed in it, were all lost on their return; the colonies that had so nobly strained their means, incurred a debt of £140,000, and the necessity of issuing bills of credit—the first paper money (born in an evil hour,) which is mentioned in our annals. The contingent of men, which Connecticut and New York had stipulated to send against Montreal, as a diversion in favour of the forces directed against Quebec, was arrested in camp, and dreadfully reduced by the small pox. This, and other malignant epidemics, made, at different times, great havoc throughout the North American communities, and are to be classed among the most formidable of the numerous obstacles to their progress. SECT. IV.

These enterprises of New England originated in her own sagacity and intrepidity. The mother country took no part and little interest in them. Sir William Phipps made a voyage to London, in order to solicit aid and encouragement for the prosecution of the object, but met with no success.† "It would be amazing," says the Universal History, "that the English court should all the while express so little, or no concern, for so fine and well situated a country as Acadia, did we not consider that king William and the English government had at this time on their hands, two great wars in Europe, one in Ireland, and one in Flanders. Whatever had been done against the French in New France, was effected by the New England forces, without any assistance from Old England, farther than that the king and ministry there signed commissions."‡ The fruits of the success at Port Royal were lost by the restoration of the whole territory taken, at the peace of Ryswick.

In 1693, the British cabinet yielding at length to the instances of New England, undertook to assist her with a considerable force towards another invasion of Canada. The fleet designated for the purpose, was, however, first employed in an attempt upon Martinico, and experienced there, disasters which unfitted it for any further operations. In the mean while, the colonies eagerly made preparations, in conformity with the plan concerted in England; which were so great, says the Universal History, that they probably would have been

* Universal Military History, vol. xl.

† Some years after, Colonel Schuyler, of New York, went to England, at his private expense, on the same errand.

‡ Vol. xxxix.

PART I. successful.* In the province of New York five hundred men were raised for an attack upon Montreal; and this body when set upon by a greatly superior force of French and Indians, fought, adds the same authority, "with inconceivable resolution." An accumulation of debt and trouble was the only result for the colonies, of the whole arrangement. The French of Canada were emboldened by its miscarriage, to more harassing and destructive incursions. Three years after, the French court equipped a considerable fleet, destined to retaliate on the British, by ravaging the coasts of New England, and reducing New York. No means of averting the impending danger were neglected by the colonies; and the only material injury, besides the labour and expense of considerable levies, which they suffered from the French plan of conquest, was the loss of the fort at Pemaquid, erected, most idly, "by the special order of king William and queen Mary," though at the sole and very heavy cost of Massachusetts, and of which the futility was obvious from the first, to some of the "poor provincials."

When, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, intelligence was received in America, of England being again at war with France and Spain, hostilities were renewed there with the utmost animation. In 1702, South Carolina, with a population of only seven thousand whites, and scarcely forty years after its settlement, sent an expensive expedition of six hundred militia, and as many Indians, against St. Augustine. The whole purpose was not accomplished, indeed, but great mischief was done to the Spaniards. "It is almost incredible," remarks the Universal History,† "that a government so lately settled as that of Carolina, and subject to such mismanagements from the proprietary, should undertake so unpromising an affair, and be so near succeeding in it as the Carolinians were." The mystery is to be explained by the spirit of its popular assembly. Under the same auspices, a body of Carolinians marched, the following year, against the Apalachian Indians, the allies of the Spaniards, acting under the command of a Spanish colonel; penetrated into the heart of their settlements; subdued and dispersed them, and reduced their whole territory under the British power. An invasion of Carolina, from the Havanna, was attempted in 1706, by the Spaniards and French, with a formidable force, and most gallantly repelled and frustrated by troops assembled in haste at Charleston. Nearly one half of the assailants were either killed or taken, and the infant colony had

* Vol. xxxix. p. 63. † Vol. xxxix.

little to regret on the occasion, except the heavy burden of the expenses incurred in the military levy.

2. The martial activity of the northern provinces was equally remarkable, and their suffering greater. In 1702, all the settlements from Casco to Wells were ravaged with fire and sword, by a party of Indians and French, and one hundred and thirty of the laborious husbandmen either killed or made prisoners. A large band of the same enemies surprised, two years subsequent, the town of Deerfield, in Massachusetts, laid it in ashes, and either butchered or captured the inhabitants to the number of nearly two hundred. This calamity was immediately and fully retorted, by an expedition of five hundred and fifty New England volunteers, against the French and Indian settlements of Penobscot and Passamaquoddy; and but a small time elapsed before the New England government despatched another armament, consisting of several thousand men, to reduce Acadia. The enterprise failed, in consequence of an injudicious march in the neighbourhood of Port Royal, which was occasioned by the obstinacy and insubordination of the officers of the Deptford man of war, under whose convoy the provincial fleet of transports had been sent.* The attention of New England was speedily attracted to her domestic safety; for the French and Indians penetrated, in 1708, to Haverhill, on Merrimack river, and dealt with that town as they had done with Deerfield.

The subjugation of Canada continued to be urged upon the British court by the politicians of Massachusetts and New York; but it had no relish for the ministry of the day, who, as the historians relate, would have preferred rather the extension, than the abridgment of the French power in America. However, in 1709, orders were received by the provinces to prepare for the enterprise, upon a larger scale, and obeyed with the utmost alacrity. After considerable levies had been made, and the transports and troops kept, four months, in waiting at Boston for the arrival of the English fleet, it was announced from London, that a change in the affairs of Europe rendered it expedient to relinquish the expedition!

The account which the historian of New York, Smith, has transmitted of this affair, developes further its character, and is highly creditable to the spirit of that province. "The plan "of operations was concerted at New York, with Francis "Nicholson, formerly our lieutenant governor, who, at the

* Universal History, vol. xl. p. 151.

PART I. "request of our governor and of those of Connecticut and "Pennsylvania, accepted the chief command of the provin- "cial forces, intended to penetrate into Canada, by the way "of Lake Champlain. Impoverished as we were, the as- "sembly joined heartily in the enterprise. Universal joy "now brightened every man's countenance, because all ex- "pected the complete reduction of Canada before the ensuing "autumn. We exerted ourselves to the utmost. Having put "ourselves to the expense of above twenty thousand pounds, "the delay of the arrival of the British fleet spread a general "discontent through the country; our forces were finally re- "called from camp, &c. Had this expedition been vigorously "prosecuted, doubtless it would have succeeded. The allied "army triumphed in repeated successes in Flanders; and the "court of France was in no condition to give assistance to so "distant a colony as Canada. The Indians of the Five Na- "tions were engaged to join heartily in the attempt, and the "eastern colonies had nothing to fear from the Ouwenagungas. "In America, every thing was ripe for the attack. At home, "lord Sunderland, the secretary of state, had despatched or- "ders to the queen's ships at Boston to hold themselves in "readiness, &c. At this juncture, the news arrived of the "defeat of the Portuguese; the forces intended for the Ame- "rican adventure were then ordered to their assistance, and "the thoughts of the ministry entirely diverted from the Cana- "da expedition. The abortion of our plan exposed us to con- "sequences equally calamitous, dreaded and foreseen; as soon "as the scheme dropped, numerous parties of the French and "Indian allies were sent out to harass the English frontiers, "and committed the most savage cruelties."*

New England, with her usual spirit, pressed an immediate descent upon Acadia at least, with the military means which had been collected at such heavy cost; but the captains of the British men of war on that station, could not be prevailed upon even to serve as convoy to the transports. To defray their quota of the expenses of this fruitless armament, the colonies of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, issued for the first time, those ill-omened symbols—bills of credit.

In less than a twelvemonth, New England, engaged—upon further promises of co-operation from the mother country, which were not fulfilled;—in an expedition against Port Royal; and with several regiments of her own, supported by a few English frigates, forced that place to surrender. In the year

* History of New York, Part iv.

1710, the governments of New England, New York, the Jer- SECT. IV.
seys, and Pennsylvania, suddenly received orders from the British sovereign, to hold in readiness their contingents of men for an enterprise against Canada, in which a powerful fleet, to be expected in a few days after on the American coast, was to take the lead. The fleet arrived in little more than a fortnight, bringing requisitions for troops and provisions, which it seemed impossible to satisfy on so short a notice. A congress of the colonial governors assembled at New London, and took such measures as to raise and fully equip, a considerabe force in a few weeks. Infinite distress arose out of so sudden and large a demand for money and provisions; and a suspicion prevailed, that the tory ministry of queen Anne designed, by this hurried proceeding, to defeat, themselves, the proposed end of the expedition, and to make New England responsible for the miscarriage.

The expedition did, in fact, fail most miserably, by the stranding of the British vessels in the river St. Lawrence; and the whole blame was cast upon the colonies, as they had foreboded. The English admiral attributed the loss of his ships to the advice of the New England pilots, and the French historian, Charlevoix, an impartial arbiter in this case, charges it upon "the distrust and obstinacy of the English admiral." The pilots made oath that they gave no such advice as was imputed to them, and that their opinion was neither followed nor regarded, the English officers having "a mean idea of their capacity." The general assembly of Massachusetts challenged a formal inquiry into the affair, and sent three of the pilots to England to be interrogated, who waited many months; but no questions were asked, nor elucidations sought by the British court.*

At the same time not the least credit was openly given to the colonies for their prodigious exertions and severe losses. "What," says one of the historians, "would be thought extraordinary in any state of Europe, one fifth part of the whole inhabitants of Massachusetts, capable of bearing arms, were in pay that summer, not vagrants, swept, as in England, from the streets and brothels, but heads of families, artificers, and robust young men, whose labour was inestimable to new settlements." We have, on the subject of this oppressive business, the testimony of Dummer to this effect.† "Notwithstanding some people found it necessary to blame New England, the better to excuse themselves, yet it has been acknowledged to

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 175. † Defence of the Charters.

PART I. me by English gentlemen who were then on the spot, and well experienced in these affairs, that such a fleet and army, wanting the necessaries they did, could not have been despatched in so short a warning from any port of England. It is really astonishing, to consider, that these little governments of New England should be able, by their own strength, to perform such great things in the military way."

These little governments were not, moreover, prodigal of men and money, merely in the struggles at their door, or for their own seeming interests. When, in 1703, Jamaica, under the apprehension of an invasion, solicited help from Massachusetts, that province sent to the island, several companies of foot, of which but few individuals ever returned to their native country. When, in the year 1705, Nevis was sacked by Ibberville, New England spontaneously contributed a large sum of money, together with building materials, &c. for the relief of the sufferers, and never claimed nor received retribution. The British court not only left to the northern colonies, the care and expense of their own defence against the French and Indians, and of the protection and advancement of the general interests of the empire, in North America, but drew upon their resources for the execution of its plans of aggrandizement, in the West Indies. In 1741, three thousand six hundred men were assessed and levied upon them, in aid of the expedition of that year against the Island of Cuba; and they were at the whole charge of bounty, provisions and transports for their respective quotas. Massachusetts contributed five hundred men, of whom the equipment and transportation cost her £7000. It is calculated by Hutchinson, that, from the year 1675 to 1713, the epoch of the treaty of Utrecht, five or six thousand of the youth of Massachusetts and New Hampshire—the provinces most exposed—perished either by the hand of the enemy, or by distempers, contracted in the military service. This judicious author is of opinion, that the people of New England bore, during the same interval, " such an annual burden, as was not felt by any other subjects of Great Britain."*

3. While the northern colonies were putting forth these extraordinary energies, and undergoing so severe a probation, the middle and southern prosecuted their arduous defence, against enemies of an equally fierce and restless spirit; and were exposed to an additional scourge, which could be also traced, in

* Vol. ii. H. of M. p. 183

to the cupidity of the mother country. The conspiracy of the Indian tribes of North Carolina, in 1712, for the extermination of the whites, is marked by the massacre of one hundred and thirty-seven settlers about Roanoke alone. The valour and conduct of the militia of the two Carolinas, gave, on this occasion, a final blow to the power of the Tuscaroras, one of the most considerable Indian nations of that quarter. Only three years from this signal exploit, South Carolina was the theatre of a similar conspiracy, and had to wrestle, near her capital, with a still more formidable tribe, the Yamassees. With no more than twelve hundred men on the muster roll, fit to bear arms, she expelled the multitude of these ferocious barbarians from her soil, having vanquished them in a general battle of a most obstinate and sanguinary character. Four hundred of her white inhabitants fell in the war. There is an incident in its train, which I shall not do amiss to mention. "The Assembly of Carolina," says an English historian,* "passed two acts, to appropriate the lands, gained by conquest from the Yamassees, for the use of such British subjects as should come over and settle upon them. On this encouragement, five hundred men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina; but not long after, in breach of the provincial faith, and to the entire ruin of the Irish emigrants, *the proprietors* ordered the Indian lands to be surveyed for their own use, and run out in large baronies. The old settlers thus losing the protection of the new comers, deserted their plantations, and again left the frontiers open to the enemy. Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants, reduced to misery, perished, and the remainder removed to the northern colonies." SECT. IV.

The number of warriors of the four principal Indian nations—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws—in the neighbourhood of Georgia and Carolina, are computed to have been, as late as in 1733, upwards of fourteen thousand, not less redoubtable by their numerical superiority, than their daring and martial spirit. The campaigns which were made against them at subsequent periods, exhibit for their duration,—like the Indian wars of the northern and middle provinces,—danger as appalling, and suffering as intense, encountered with as much resolution, and sustained with as much fortitude,—as many obstacles overcome with as much perseverance,—as are commemorated in the military annals of any people.

* Hewatt's Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia, London, p. 228.

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Carolina had, at the same time, not only to shake off an oppressive government, and extirpate a host of savages, but to protect herself from a body of negro slaves, greatly out-numbering their masters, and ripe for revolt and carnage. She detected, in 1730, a domestic plot, which looked to the massacre of all the whites, and in 1738, found herself engaged in a servile war, which was brought to a speedy issue indeed, but not without great slaughter. The negroes were excited, on this occasion, by the Spaniards, who held out to them the prospect of liberty, and received the runaways into the military service of Spain,—the precise model of the conduct of Great Britain towards the same colony, during our revolutionary war. Besides the mutual invasions between the Spaniards of Florida and the Carolinians, which I have already mentioned, others of a later date might be cited, in which the blood and treasure of the latter were profusely expended. Georgia was planted in 1733. Already in 1740, this last born among the colonies, sent forth an armament against St. Augustine, and two years after, repelled an invasion of the Spaniards, who made their attack with a force of thirty-two sail, and three or four thousand picked men.

From the establishment of the French on the Ohio, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were cruelly infested with Indian hostilities, and their sufferings may be regarded as due to the corruption or sluggishness of the British rulers. The plan early formed by France, of uniting her colonies of Canada and Louisiana, by a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, did not escape the sagacity, as it was well fitted to rouse the fears, of the colonists. They long laboured in vain to obtain the co-operation of the British court, in anticipating the French plan, and to open the eyes of the British statesmen to the dangers of its execution.* We have seen in the extracts which I have made from the reports of the Board of Trade and Plantations, the motive which was indulged in England, for discouraging anglo-American settlements beyond the mountains. The authors of the Universal History acknowledge

* Even before the close of the seventeenth century, the British government had been admonished of this evil by Dr. Davenant, in the following passage of his Discourse on the Protection and Care of Trade: "Should the French settle at the disembogueing of the river Meschasipe, in the Gulph of Mexico, they would not be long before they made themselves masters of that rich province, which would be an addition to their strength very terrible to Europe. But this would more particularly concern England; for, by the opportunity of that settlement, *by erecting forts along the several lakes between that river and Canada*, they may intercept all the trade of our northern plantations."

it as "certain that from the treaty of Utrecht, to the middle of the century, the government of England was lulled into a most fatal security, whilst that of France was making wide strides towards a total acquisition of North America, by cutting off the English colonies from the back country." The same writers teach us, however, in a passage which I am about to quote, that it was to something more than supineness in the British councils, that New York particularly, owed some of her worst distresses. SECT. IV.

"Spotswood, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, about the year 1716, a man of sense and spirit, finding the Outaouais, now called the Twightees, extremely well affectioned towards the *English*, proposed to purchase some of their lands upon the river Ohio, and erect a company for opening a trade to the southward, westward, and northward of the river with the savages. This was at once a rational and practicable scheme, but the execution of it depended entirely upon the favourable dispositions of the natives for the English, which might have been secured, by the punctual payment of the purchase money or effects. This noble project clashed with the views of the French, who had by this time, formed their great schemes upon the Mississippi, and the ministry of king George I. as we have already hinted, *having reasons for keeping well with that court*, the project was not only dropped, *but the French were encouraged to build the fort of Crown Point, upon the territory of New York.*"*

4. For Europe, the achievements of which I have spoken, however noble, and in themselves worthy of renown, were, in a great degree, obscure and insignificant; and England might even yet cheat herself into the belief, that the Provincials were as humble in their military, as she represented them to be in their political and literary capacities. But, an event happened in 1746, after which, this delusion could not continue, without taking the character of infatuation; nor the continent of Europe fail to be struck, with the singular prowess of the transatlantic people, and to feel the decisive weight which, although of a new creation as it were, they already threw into the scale of Great Britain. It will be at once under-

* "Spotswood," says Burke, in his History of Virginia, vol. iii. ch. ii. "gave offence to the British ministry, by urging with too much boldness, the necessity of establishing a chain of forts for the protection of the country between the Apalachian mountains and the Mississippi." This able governor was dismissed, for urging at the same time, the propriety of a claim for compensation, which was preferred by some of the provincials, who had accompanied him on an exploring party beyond the mountains.

PART I. stood, that I allude to the capture of the celebrated fortress of Louisbourg, next to Quebec, the strong hold of the French in the western hemisphere—the key to Nova Scotia—the spring of every evil to the British fisheries and trade,—and from the influence of its position, and the extent and immense expense of its works, which were thought impregnable, commonly styled the Dunkirk of America. At a moment when France was without a fear for its safety, and England had not even raised her hopes to its conquest, the project of reducing it was conceived in Massachusetts, and adopted, with correspondent boldness, by the other provinces of New England. A body of near five thousand men was immediately raised, and a fleet equipped for the purpose,—all without the concurrence, or even countenance, of the mother country: An expedition, composed of the greater part of the naval means of the projectors, and of a body of freeholders, thriving artificers, and sons of wealthy farmers, led by a New England merchant, had actually been despatched, before any British vessels arrived to join in the attempt. I need not repeat the details of its wonderful success, so well known to every reader of modern history; but I ought to state the opinions pronounced by some of the English annalists, concerning the general conduct of the Provincials on the occasion, and the importance of the exploit. The *design* pleads for itself too strongly to require certificates, and the merit of it was never claimed by Great Britain.

"The New England troops," says an English authority received as the highest, at the time,* "within the compass of twenty-three days from the time of their first landing, erected five fascine batteries against the town, mounted with cannon of forty-two, twenty-two, and eighteen pounds shot, mortars of thirteen, eleven, and nine inches diameter, with some cohorns; all which were transported *by land*, with incredible labour and difficulty; most of them above two miles: all the ground over which they were drawn, except small patches or hills of rocks, was a *deep morass*, in which, while the cannon were upon wheels, they several times sunk so deep, as not only to bury the carriages, but their whole bodies. Horses and oxen could not be employed in this service, but all must be drawn by men, up to the knees in mud; the nights in which the work was done, were cold and foggy, their tents bad, there being no proper materials for tents to be had in New England at the outset of the expedition. But notwithstanding these difficul-

* Memoirs of the Last War in America.

ties, and many of the men being taken down with fluxes, so SECT. IV.
that at one time there were fifteen hundred incapable of duty, they went on without being discouraged or murmuring, and transported the cannon over those ways, which the French had always thought impassable for such heavy weights; and besides this, they had all their provisions and heavy ammunition, which they daily made use of, to bring from the camp over the same way upon their backs."

"The people of New England," says Tindal, the continuator of Rapin,* "behaved on this occasion with great spirit. Three thousand eight hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them well affected to the expedition, assembled and embarked at Boston. Though neither the militia nor their commanders had ever seen any military service, they proceeded *with all the regularity and intrepidity of veterans.* The grand approaches to the body of the place were to be carried on from the southern side. Here the service was extremely laborious; the guns for mounting the batteries being dragged through bogs and incumbered places by the landsmen, for above two miles. They succeeded, however, to admiration, and by assistance of the officers and engineers of the marines, and *some lent them by the commodore*, they mounted a large train of artillery on an eminence called the Green Hill, about three quarters of a mile from the place. The garrison having made a resolute defence, and a general assault being expected, surrendered on the 13th of June."

"It is sufficient to state," observe the authors of the Universal History, "that, the colony of New England *gave peace to Europe*, by raising, arming, and transporting, four thousand men, who took Louisbourg, *which proved an equivalent, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, for all the successes of the French upon the continent of Europe.* In the late war with France, which was concluded in the year 1762, they exerted the same glorious spirit against the common enemy, and greatly contributed to that extension of territory in North America," &c.

The following is the testimony of Smollet,† accompanied by some remarks, which I am not sorry to produce at the same time. "The most important achievement of the war of 1744, was the conquest of Louisbourg. The natives of New England acquired great glory for the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances, behaved like a stepmother to her colonies, was now convinced of their impor-

* Vol. xxi. p. 157. † Continuation of Hume.

PART I. tance, and *treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals.* Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce, and inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence." This historian, in the same breath in which these fine sentiments are uttered, does not hesitate to assert, that "the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, a British commodore, and that the operations of the siege, were wholly conducted, by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines!" No effort, in fact, was spared in England, to perpetuate the affair under this aspect. The agent deputed by the government of Massachusetts to solicit reimbursement for the expenses of the expedition, wrote thus from London to the secretary of the general court of that province: "Upon my arrival in England, the first newspaper I met with on the road contained an address to his majesty, from a sea-port which trades to Boston; wherein they congratulated his majesty on the success of his navy, in taking Cape Breton, without making the least mention of the land forces employed on that occasion. When I came to London, I there found the effects of the arts used to have the conquest deemed a naval acquisition, as it was afterwards in the most public manner, declared to be by a noble lord then in the ministry. I determined to attempt to establish the credit of the New England forces, and for that end drew up a petition to the secretary of state, praying that the account of their behaviour, taken on the spot by the governor, and transmitted to the secretary of state, might be published by authority;—after *several months solicitation*, this was promised me; but I soon afterwards received such treatment as was in effect openly declaring, that it was determined not to comply with that promise;—before I could prevail, I was forced into a sharper contest than I should ever choose to be again concerned in."*

Nay, Mr. Warren himself deposed on oath, in the High Court of Admiralty, seventeen months after the event, "that, with the assistance of his majesty's ships, &c. he, the deponent, did subdue the whole island of Cape Breton:"†—And we shall, by and by, find, upon the testimony of one of the

* Letter of Mr. Bollan, of April 23, 1752, preserved in the first volume of the Collections of the Mass. His. Society.

† Registry of the High Court of Admiralty of England, Sept. 29, 1747

ministry, that at the British court, he, the same deponent, represented the Provincials, as having displayed on the occasion, arrant and ludicrous cowardice! To make the true spirit and value of these allegations better understood, I am tempted to transcribe a few passages from Hutchinson, whose impartiality, as far as New England is concerned, will hardly be questioned, and who wrote from personal knowledge. SECT. IV.

"The 23d March, 1745, an express-boat, sent to commodore Warren, in the West Indies, to request his co-operation in the attempt upon Louisbourg, returned to Boston. As this was a Provincial expedition, without orders from England, and as his small squadron had been weakened by the loss of the Weymouth, Mr. Warren excused himself from any concern in the affair. This answer necessarily struck a damp into the governor, and the other persons who were made acquainted with it before the Provincial fleet sailed. On the 23d April, however, the commodore arrived. It seems that in two or three days after the express sailed from the West Indies for Boston, the Hind sloop brought orders to Mr. Warren to repair to Boston, with what ships could be spared, and to concert measures with Mr. Shirley for his majesty's general service in North America. Whether the land or sea force had the greatest share in the acquisition, may be judged from the relation of facts. The army, with infinite labour and fatigue to themselves, harassed and distressed the enemy, and with perseverance a few weeks or days longer, must have compelled a surrender. It is very doubtful whether the ships could have lain long enough before the walls to have carried the place by storm, or whether, notwithstanding the appearance of a design to do it, they would have thought it advisable to attempt it; it is certain they prevented the arrival of the Vigilant, took away all hopes of further supply and succour, and it is very probable the fears of a storm might accelerate the capitulation."

"The commodore was willing to carry away a full share of the glory of this action. It was made a question whether the keys of the town should be delivered to him or to the general, and whether the sea or land forces should first enter. The officers of the army say they prevailed."

"As it was a time of year to expect French vessels from all parts to Louisbourg, the French flag was kept flying, to decoy them in. Two East India, and one South Sea ship, supposed to be altogether of the value of £600,000 sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbour, into which they would undoubtedly have entered."

PART. I. "With great colour the army might have claimed a share with the men-of-war in these rich prizes. Some of the officers expected a claim would have been laid in, but *means were found to divert it, nor was any part decreed to the vessels of war in the Province service*, except a small sum to the brig Boston Packet, Captain Fletcher, who being chased by the South Sea ship, led her directly under the command of the guns of one of the men-of-war."*

I would add to these facts, that reimbursement *was* obtained from Parliament after *seven years of urgent solicitation*. The picture of sordidness and chicane, which is presented by the Massachusetts agent, in his account of the cavils and delays interposed to defeat his errand, is as curious as it is disgusting, when referred to the administration of so great an empire. "The government of Massachusetts," says the author whom I have last quoted, "was still, in 1747, soliciting for the reimbursement of the charge in taking Cape Breton, and by the address, assiduity, and fidelity of William Bollan, esquire, who was one of the agents of the province for that purpose, there was a *hopeful prospect* that the full sum, about £180,000 sterling, would be obtained."

"*Some of the ministry thought it sufficient to grant such sum as would* redeem the bills issued for the expedition, &c. at their depreciated value, and Mr. Kilby, the other agent, seemed to despair of obtaining more; but Mr. Bollan, who had an intimate knowledge of our public affairs, set the injustice of this proposal in a clear light, and made it evident, that the depreciation of the bills was as effectually a charge borne by the people, as if the same proportion of bills had been drawn in by taxes, and refused all proposals of accommodating, insisting upon the full value of the bills when issued."†

This haggling with the colonial agents, where so signal a service was in question,—one which purchased an indispensable peace for Great Britain—betrays a spirit which none can be at a loss to understand, especially when it is recollected, what immense sums were lavished by her in support of the continental nations. "If a continent must be supplied," was the language of the addresses to the king, from some parts of England, "if our spoils must be shared, let America partake, rather than ungrateful Germany, the sepulchre of British interest." America did not, however, partake, as we have seen, until a much later period, and then partook in a very different degree and form. She received scarcely a

* Vol. ii. chap. iv. † Ibid

soldier for her defence, and had her pittance of retribution doled out to her with huckstering parsimony; while Hanover was defended with a profusion of blood and treasure, which, as the historians truly remark, astonished all Europe. The immense subsidy even preceded the effort of the fickle ally in Germany:—The slender reimbursement followed haltingly, the invaluable service of the loyal subject in America. France stood forth herself, and undertook the whole defence of her American possessions: Great Britain left the part of principals to hers, acting merely as their occasional, and always reluctant auxiliary. SECT. IV.

By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748, the conquest so hardly earned, and so dearly prized by the provincials, was surrendered to France, as an equivalent—the only one which Great Britain had to offer,—for the towns in Flanders taken by the French from her German ally.* And the achievement of the colonies proved not merely sterile for their interests, as it was rendered by this issue, but the cause of a vital danger, and fearful anxiety during many weeks; for, the French court, roused by the loss of Louisbourg, directed against their coast, the most powerful armament which had ever been sent into the North American seas; and which, only an unparalleled train of disastrous casualties, prevented from committing extensive mischief. The activity and resolution of New England, in preparing the means of defence, on this occasion, corresponded with her previous career.

Immediately before this invasion was announced, eight thousand two hundred men had been voted by the colonies, and the greater part of them raised, at the requisition of the British ministry, for a general invasion of Canada, which the same ministry abandoned the following year, leaving the colonies to defray the expense of the levy. This abortive scheme, and the Louisbourg expedition, involved them in the greatest financial embarrassments.

5. It was not denied in England, that the reduction of Louisbourg preserved Nova Scotia, and enabled the mother country to make the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: nor could it fail to be perceived from the affair, how materially the colonies might contribute to give her a final ascendancy over her great rival. Acknowledgments and praise were not, therefore, altogether withheld; but they were so bestowed, as to betray an exasperation of those feelings, of which I have particularly

* See Note G.

PART I. treated in my first section. Scarcely two years elapsed, before the bill already mentioned, for enforcing all the king's instructions in the colonies, was brought into Parliament; and, at the distance of two years more, the new plan for "increasing their dependence" began to bear fruit, in the prohibition of iron and steel manufactories. Among the jealous and unnatural returns for their military efforts in the war of 1744, I may enumerate the clause inserted by Parliament, (1754,) in the mutiny bill, subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by the authority of the respective governors or governments, to the same rules and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as those to which the British forces were liable. A generous opposition was, indeed, made to this measure in the House of Commons. Some of the objections which were uttered in the debate on the occasion, are worthy, in an historical point of view, of being brought to the notice of my readers. I transcribe from the Reports, those of Mr. Robert Viner, and of Mr. Henry Fox, the minister of the day.

"Mr. Robert Viner said—Our regiments, so far, at least, as relates to the common soldiers, are usually composed of the very lowest and most abandoned of our people; but with respect to the troops now raised, or that may hereafter be raised in America, the case is very different: many of them may not, perhaps, be able to support themselves in the service of their country, without being paid by their country; but many of them have engaged, and many of them will, I hope, engage, merely for the sake of serving their country; they have sentiments of religion, they have sentiments of honour, and by such sentiments they may be kept under proper discipline, without such rigorous punishments as are to be inflicted by this bill, upon our British mercenary soldiers."

"This, Sir, we may be convinced of, from the whole tenor of our American history. How many wars have our plantations from time to time been engaged in: Wars more cruel, and more liable to ambuscade and surprises, than any we have in Europe, and consequently, such as have always required a stricter discipline, if possible, than is necessary in this part of the world; and yet if we look into their militia laws, we shall find, that they have but very few military crimes, and that most of their military punishments are only a very moderate fine, or a very moderate corporal punishment, upon such as cannot pay their fine; nay, I do not know, that any of our plantations ever extended a military punishment to life or limb; and yet they have hitherto carried on, and ended all their wars with glory and success. So powerful, Sir, are the

motives of virtue, honour, and glory, where proper care is taken to cultivate them in the breast of the soldier, or rather, where care is not taken to eradicate all such principles, by the multitude and severity of military punishments."

"Mr. Henry Fox said—I shall grant that their militia have *generally* behaved *pretty well*, in all the wars they have been engaged in; they have, indeed, on all occasions, shown undaunted courage; *as Englishmen*, I hope, always will."

The mutiny act proved so odious to the colonists, as seriously to obstruct the public service, and to render it necessary for some of the governors to give public assurances, that the militia, when called to march to the western frontiers, should not be subject to its provisions. It was not the only grievance of the description, and by the imposition of which the mother country sacrificed justice and policy, to pride, or routine. By an act of Parliament, the general, or field officers of the colonial troops, had no rank with the general and field officers who served by commission from the king; and a captain or other inferior officer of the British forces, took precedence of the provincial officers of the like grade, though the commissions of the latter were of prior date. Many attempts had been made, at an early period, to put the militia at the disposal of the royal governors, but always without success. The failure of one of these attempts in Connecticut, in 1693, was attended with circumstances which deserve to be cherished in our history. They are thus related by the historian Trumbull, in his homely though impressive way.

"Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, had received a commission entirely inconsistent with the charter rights, and the safety of the colonies. He was vested with plenary powers of commanding the whole militia of Connecticut and the neighbouring provinces. He insisted on the command of the militia of Connecticut. As this was expressly given to the colony charter, the legislature would not submit to his requisition."

"The colony wished to serve his majesty's interest, and, as far as possible, consistently with their chartered rights, to maintain a good understanding with governor Fletcher. William Pitkin, Esq. was, therefore, sent to New York, to treat and make terms with him respecting the militia, until his majesty's pleasure should be further known. But no terms could be made with him short of an explicit submission of the militia to his command."

"On the 26th of October he came to Hartford, while the assembly were sitting, and, in his majesty's name, demanded

PART. I. their submission of the militia to his command, as they would answer it to his majesty; and that they would give him a speedy answer in one word, yes or no. He subscribed himself his majesty's lieutenant, and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces by sea or land, and of all the forts and places of strength in the colony of Connecticut. He ordered the militia of Hartford under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers. It was judged expedient to call the trainbands in Hartford, together; but the assembly insisted, that the command of the militia was expressly vested by charter in the governor and company; and that they could by no means, consistently with their just rights, and the common safety, resign it into any other hands. They insinuated, that his demands were an invasion of their essential privileges, and subversive of their constitution."

"Upon this, colonel Bayard, by his excellency's command, sent a letter into the assembly, declaring, that his excellency had no design upon the civil rights of the colony; but would leave them in all respects as he found them. In the name of his excellency, he tendered a commission to governor Treat, empowering him to command the militia of the colony. He declared, that his excellency insisted, that they should acknowledge it an essential right, inherent in his majesty, to command the militia; and that he was determined not to set his foot out of the colony, until he had seen his majesty's commission obeyed: That he would issue his proclamation, showing the means he had taken to give ease and satisfaction to his majesty's subjects of Connecticut, and that he would distinguish the disloyal from the rest."

"The assembly, nevertheless, would not give up the command of the militia; nor would governor Treat receive a commission from colonel Fletcher."

"The trainbands of Hartford assembled, and, as the tradition is, while captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, colonel Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Captain Wadsworth instantly commanded, "beat the drums," and there was such a roaring of them, that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence. But no sooner had Bayard made an attempt to read again, than Wadsworth cried, "Drum, drum, I say." The drummers understood their business, and instantly beat up with all the art and life of which they were masters. "Silence, silence," said the colonel. No sooner was there a pause, than Wadsworth spoke with great earnest-

ness, " Drum, drum, I say;" and turning to his excellency, said, " If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." He spoke with so much energy in his voice, and meaning in his countenance, that no further attempts were made to read, or enlist men. Such numbers of people collected together, and their spirits appeared so high, that the governor and his suite judged it expedient, soon to leave the town and return to New York."* SECT IV.

6. After the colonies had completely acquired the Atlantic territory, by purchase and conquest, without pecuniary or military aid from the government of the mother country, peace was the natural and fair fruit of their exertions; and it must appear, abstractedly, a gross injustice and hardship, that they should be deprived of that inestimable blessing by the broils of Europe. The case assumes a complexion of greater wrong and oppression, when we reflect, that the wars in which they were implicated against their European neighbours, arose out of the culpable ignorance of the parent states, respecting American geography. The limits of Nova Scotia, and in general, the boundaries of the French and English possessions in America, were, with a shameful indifference to the welfare of the colonists, left by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, undecided and indeterminable. Hence, even before it suited the convenience of the metropolitan countries to break, in Europe, through the mere truce consequent upon that treaty, their American dependencies had begun to vindicate by the sword their irreconcilable pretensions to territory.

The treaty produced no interruption in the encroachments of the French of Canada. They pursued unremittingly their designs upon Nova Scotia, and the western regions; and employed force for their purpose, where force was requisite. They seized upon the disputed parts of Acadia; fortified themselves on the lakes and the line of the Ohio; concluded alliances with the Indian tribes of those regions; plundered and destroyed the trading establishments of the British, and made hostile incursions from their forts into the Virginia limits; while the English colonies, though full of alarms at their progress, and smarting under their blows, were restrained by their sense of subordination to the government of the mother country, from taking, at once, the measures of offence which the provocation justified, and their safety seemed to exact. " It cannot be dissembled," say the authors of the Modern

* Book i. chap. xvi.

PART I. History, "that *the state of parties in England* at this time was unfavourable to any vigorous steps against the French. The English Americans had not yet, in 1753, ventured to attack the French themselves, *and this forbearance laid them under inexpressible advantages.*"*

Thus were the colonists prevented, by mal-administration in Great Britain, from averting the heavy evils they afterwards suffered from the strong footing which the French, more wisely and honestly directed, were enabled to secure on the Ohio. The American governors, and particularly Mr. Dinwiddie, lieutenant governor of Virginia, tried, by "many spirited speeches, messages, and despatches,"† to rouse the British ministry to a sense of its duty and of the national interest; until, finding their representations likely to remain unproductive, they could hesitate no longer about exerting their own strength to dislodge the enemy. Dinwiddie sent first, in 1753, a messenger,—*one major Washington*, as the Universal History styles him,—to summon the French to evacuate their posts on the Ohio; and upon receiving a haughty refusal, raised and despatched a regiment under the command of this now transcendant name, to establish the British rights in that quarter. The expedition was unfortunate, and no better success, for the moment, attended the similar movements of the northern colonies.

It was, however, recommended from England, that "the British settlements should unite in some scheme of common defence, in the general and open war which was seen to be inevitable." The arrangement proposed to them by the mother country, at that critical moment, when a spirit of generosity would have dictated a particular tenderness for their liberties, involved the sacrifice of their main political privilege—exemption from taxation by parliament. I need not relate how this was resisted; nor dwell again upon the well known Albany plan of union; but there is one circumstance in its history which ought not to be pretermitted. The leaders of the Provincial assemblies were earnestly of opinion, and declared without reserve, that, if it were adopted, *they could undertake to defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain.* They required but to be left to raise and employ their own supplies, in their own way, under the auspices of a governor appointed by the crown, to effect their permanent security, and even predominance on this continent.

* Vol. xl. p. 196. † Ibid.

SECT. IV.

7. In 1755, Massachusetts levied, in the space of two months, at the instigation and expense of the crown, a body of three thousand men, and by this force, joined with a few hundred regulars from Britain, the French were completely expelled from Nova Scotia. The British ministry determined about the same time on a decisive effort, by sending over troops for the destruction of all the French posts, which had been established within the immense region to which the British crown laid claim in America. They committed the enterprise to general Braddock, of fatal memory, who landed in Virginia early in that year, with two regiments of British regulars; and in the beginning of the summer, set out, reinforced by a body of Virginia militia, and friendly Indians, on his noted expedition against Fort Du Quesne. This officer had too just a sense of the superiority of the European race of men and soldiers, not to despise the *Provincials*. Accordingly, he "neglected, disobliged, and threw aside the Virginians, and treated the Indians with the utmost contempt."* "He showed," says Entick,† "such contempt towards the Provincial forces, *because they* "*could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and* "*regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park.*" "In con-"versation with general Braddock one day," says Franklin, "(in his Memoirs,) "he was giving me some account of his in-"tended progress. 'After taking Fort Du Quesne,' said he, 'I "am to proceed to Niagara, and having taken that, to Fronte-"nac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for "Du Quesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; "and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' "Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army "must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut "for them through the woods and bushes; and also what I had "heard of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who in-"vaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and "some fears for the event of the campaign. He smiled at my "ignorance, and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a for-"midable enemy to *your raw American militia*, but upon *the* "*king's regular disciplined troops*, Sir, it is impossible they "should make any impression.' "‡

The humble auxiliaries of Braddock pointed out the dangers to which he was exposed, remonstrated against the confidence of his march, and in so doing, heightened his magnani-

* Universal History, vol. xl. p. 203.
† Vol. i. p. 143.
‡ See Note H.

PART. I. mous disdain. The horrible catastrophe is still fresh, in verse and prose, at almost every fireside in the interior of our country. Six hundred of his regulars either killed or disabled, by an enemy not two-thirds of their number, and partly armed with bows and arrows—himself mortally wounded—the middle colonies laid bare to the tomahawk and scalping knife—their frontiers devastated and drenched in blood—consternation spread throughout British America:—such were the consequences of the national and personal pride of the British general. The moral of the affair is made doubly striking by the following accurate relation of the English Universal History "It is remarkable, that the Virginians and other Provincial troops who were in this action, and whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panic which disordered the regulars, offered to advance against the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the regulars could not be brought again to the charge, where, as they said, they were butchered without seeing the enemy. Notwithstanding this, the Provincials actually formed, and behaved so well, that they brought off the remaining regulars; and the retreat of the whole was so unintermitting, that the fugitives never stopped, till they met the rear division, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar."*

I may add, from the Memoirs of Franklin, who wrote as an eye witness, a passage which throws additional light on the heroic character of the "king's regular disciplined troops." "In their first march, from the landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, *if we had really wanted any.*"

It was the lot of a provincial commander, with provincial troops, to restore, in a few weeks after the discomfiture of Braddock, the honour of the British name, and the tone of the public mind. The plan of operations for the campaign of 1755, arranged in Virginia, by a congress of governors, embraced an attempt on the French fort at Niagara, to be made by the American regulars and Indians; and an expedition against Crown-Point, to consist of militia from the northern colonies. In the course of the summer, an American force of six thousand men was collected for these purposes at Albany, the appointed rendezvous, and the command of the

* Vol. xl. p. 204

main body devolved upon colonel William Johnson, a member of the council of New York. When on his march to Ticonderoga, this officer learned that a large body of the enemy, composed principally of French regulars, under an experienced commander, Baron Dieskau, had been despatched from Canada, to intercept the design upon Crown-Point. They met on the banks of Lake George, and Johnson gained a victory nearly as signal as the defeat on the Monongahéla. Eight hundred of the French, the flower of their troops, were killed in the action, and their distinguished leader fell, mortally wounded, into the hands of the anglo-Americans; while the loss of the latter did not exceed one hundred and eighty men. Dieskau's plan in setting out from Canada with his invincible Europeans, was to desolate the northern frontier settlements, and wrap Albany in flames;—and these were the evils which Johnson averted, besides regaining for the English, the esteem and confidence of the Indians, whom Braddock's tragedy had alienated. According to the English historians, Dieskau owed his misfortune to presumption, and an obstinate contempt for the British provincials.

Although great expenses were incurred, and numerous forces raised by the colonies, to carry into effect the whole plan of the campaign, little was accomplished, except the repulse of the French, on this occasion. In accounting for the unprofitableness of the preparations of the year, the Universal History represents it as evident, that certain private discontents lurked in the minds of the chief provincials. "Whatever they might pretend, they knew well that Braddock had a commission, to act as commander in chief of all the British troops on the continent of America, and that they were only to be subordinate to him."* The British government gave all the eclat to the affair of Lake George, of which it was susceptible, with an eye to their interests in Europe; and we find the parliament, in an address to the king, "thankfully acknowledging his majesty's wisdom and goodness, in having *generously* extended encouragement to that great body of his majesty's *brave and faithful subjects*, with which his American provinces happily abounded, to exert their strength on this important occasion of the encroachments of the French in America, as their duty, interest, and common danger obliged, and strongly called upon them to do."

* Vol. xl. p. 211.

PART I. 8. When open war was at length declared, in 1756, between England and France, the British cabinet manifested the disposition, to exert the force of the empire, against the French power in North America;—and "the English subjects," says the Universal History, "all over that continent, seeing their mother country was determined to support them in earnest, made extraordinary efforts to bring a formidable force to the field." It was, in fact, settled by a council of colonial governors, that twenty-one thousand men should be raised for specific expeditions, notwithstanding the great addition, which the levies and disasters of the preceding year, had made to the fiscal difficulties of the colonies. Their evil genius suggested to the mother country the appointment to the command over their forces, and the twelve thousand British regulars destined to the same service, of a man, in whose character the leading trait was *indecision*. The Earl of Loudon, to whom their fortunes were committed, had not only this defect, but almost every other kind of incapacity. Authority to act was wanting, until his arrival; or, at least, was affected to be thought so, by general Abercrombie, who commanded in the interval; and "owing to the unsettled state of the British ministry,"* he came too late in the year for any enterprise of moment. It is the opinion of the military critics, that had he appeared sooner, and possessed the proper degree of energy, the whole plan of operations concerted at New York, and which looked to the reduction of all the principal posts of the French, might have been effected. Thus another year was lost, at an enormous expense to Great Britain, and with infinite mischief and trouble to the colonies.

Meanwhile, the French exerted their accustomed activity, and gained the most important advantages. They took Fort Ontario, at Oswego, and made prisoners the garrison of sixteen hundred American regulars.—By this event they became masters of the great lakes; the northern frontier was nearly laid open, and full scope afforded to the Indians to glut their vengeance on the English settlers. With common judgment and exertion, on the part of the British general Abercrombie, whom I have mentioned above as the commander in chief ad interim, Oswego might have been preserved. This assertion is fully established in a work which his immediate predecessor, governor Shirley, published in London in 1758, in defence of his own military administration in America.† It is,

* Universal History.

† "The Conduct of major general Shirley, late General and Commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, briefly stated."

in the same volume, put beyond question, that the American garrison, composed of the author's regiment and that of Pepperell, behaved with the utmost gallantry; so far that when the works of the fort were no longer tenable, the officers had considerable difficulty in persuading the men to lay down their arms, and that, some of the latter, according to the testimony of eye witnesses, "suffered themselves to be knocked on the head by the enemy, rather than submit." "Yet," says governor Shirley, "reports were propagated, and gained credit in England, that the American regiments, (the fiftieth and fifty-first,) consisted of *transported convicts and Irish Roman Catholics*, who by their mutinous behaviour, had contributed to the loss of the place. Reports were likewise propagated greatly to the disadvantage of the officers of both regiments; but their known characters, and the behaviour of several of them upon other occasions, in his majesty's service, as well as this, are sufficient to vindicate their honour."

The principal of the expeditions planned for the year 1756 by the provincial governments, was that against Crown-Point, to consist of a body of ten thousand men, made up of contingents from the colonies north of the Carolinas. Seven thousand troops were actually collected for the purpose, and the command of the expedition was assigned to major-general Winslow of Massachusetts. The sufficiency of this force is asserted by Shirley as unquestionable, from the unanimous opinion of a council of war held at Albany, at which general Abercrombie assisted. Winslow was in full readiness, in good time, to proceed with his provincials, first against Ticonderoga; and it had been settled, that the British regulars should move up to forts Edward and William Henry, which the former occupied, and be there prepared to sustain or assist them, as the occasion might require. The march of Winslow was delayed by obstacles ascribable to the improvidence of Abercrombie; and on the intelligence of the fall of Oswego, all offensive operations in that quarter were countermanded by the Earl of Loudon. In the letter* which Winslow addressed to the Earl of Halifax in London, on the subject of this affair, we find the following passage. "I write that your lordship may be informed of the share the American troops under my command have had in this expedition; and although we did not attempt Crown-Point, which was the thing principally aimed at by our constituents, yet we were the means of stopping the current of the French forces, after their success in carrying Oswego,

* Preserved in the Collections of the Mass. His. Soc. vol. for 1799.

PART I. and thereby the saving of Albany, and a great part of the government of New York, as well as the western parts of New England, which, by their joining their forces at Carilon, was doubtless their intent."

The right of Massachusetts to compensation for the provisions with which she furnished the king's troops during these arrangements, was admitted by the British parliament; but several years elapsed before any part of the sum liquidated was paid. Minot relates a transaction of the governor of Massachusetts with the general court of that province, in relation to a levy of three thousand five hundred for the Crown-Point expedition, which exemplifies strikingly, the impression entertained by the royal officers in America, of the scrupulosity of the fiscal conscience of the mother country, where the northern colonies were concerned. "The governor agreed to the terms of the general court, and loaned the province thirty thousand pounds sterling, out of the king's money in his hands, taking for security such grant as might be made them for their extraordinary services by the king or parliament, *and a farther collateral mortgage of a tax, to be raised in the two following years.**

Notwithstanding that the only brilliant achievements during the war, had been performed when the Provincials singly opposed the enemy, or were seconded but in a very slight degree by the British regulars; and that the adventure of Braddock had baffled all the domestic arrangements for defence, it can occasion no surprise, that the British commander in chief, at the beginning of 1757, formally laid to the charge of the colonies, all the calamities of the preceding year. He established his own infallibility by doing no more, the succeeding campaign, although the British force in America at his disposal had been augmented to twenty thousand men, and twenty ships of the line, than make a *demonstration* upon Louisbourg. He collected his troops at Halifax; waited there some time for advices; then returned gallantly to New York and —dismissed the Provincials. Montcalm, who succeeded baron Dieskau in the command of the military means of Canada, taking advantage of the absence of the principal part of the British army, besieged and reduced Fort William Henry, situated on the southern coast of Lake George, so as to command that lake and the western line. The Provincial army stationed for the defence of this important post, made a noble resistance, and were admitted to an honourable capitulation by the French commander; but his Indian allies, with circumstances which

* History of Massachusetts, vol. i. c. xii.

mark out the case as the pattern of the recent one of the river Raisin,—either butchered, or appropriated to themselves as prisoners, a considerable part of the brave garrison. Out of a New Hampshire corps of two hundred, eighty were missing. It was not merely this horrible catastrophe, and the loss of ordnance, ammunition, provisions, and the shipping on Lake George, which the colonists had to lament: they saw the Indians, whom they had been able to attach to their cause, shaken in their fidelity; and such of the tribes as had determined to keep aloof from the struggle, or had wavered in the choice of a side, converted into indefatigable assailants. Massachusetts felt, more than the enemy, the energy of the British commander in chief, in a controversy which arose between him and her general court, concerning the quartering and billeting of the British regulars upon the inhabitants. She resisted, with her ancient spirit, the extension of the act of parliament on that head, to America, and stood firm under menaces fitted only for the meridian of Hindostan. SECT. IV.

Our illustrious countryman, Franklin, had personal relations with the noble lord, who proved, during two years, so fatal a scourge to the colonies. He has left, in his Memoirs, the following notice of him, for the edification of posterity. "I wondered how such a man as Loudon came to be entrusted with so important a business as the command of a great army. Instead of defending the colonies with his great force, he left them totally exposed, while he paraded idly at Halifax; by which means Fort George was lost. Besides he deranged all our mercantile operations, and distressed our trade by a long embargo on the exportation of provisions, on pretence of keeping supplies from being obtained by the enemy, but in reality for the purpose of beating down their price in favour of the contractors, in whose profits it was said, (perhaps from suspicion only,) he had a share; and when at length the embargo was taken off, he neglected to send notice of it to Charleston, where the Carolina fleet was detained near three months; and whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm, that a great part of them foundered in their passage home."*

In 1758, the elder Pitt breathed a new soul into the British councils, and resuscitated in the colonies those native energies, which a long series of exhausting and disappointed efforts, had sensibly depressed. Under the influence of his magnanimous spirit, America may be said to have emerged, with the whole British empire, "from the gulf of despondency, and risen to the highest point of practical vigour." A contagious zeal

* See Note I.

PART I. gave the fullest effect, to his call upon the colonial governors, for the largest bodies of men the number of the inhabitants would allow. Fifteen thousand troops were voted by the three provinces of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire alone. In less than twenty-four hours, a private subscription of £20,000 sterling for encouraging enlistments, was filled up in Boston. "The expense," says Minot, "of the regiments raised for his majesty's service amounted to near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling: besides this, the inhabitants of the several towns in the province, by fines, or by voluntary contributions to procure men for the service, paid at least sixty thousand pounds sterling more; which was, in all respects, as burdensome as if it had been raised as a tax by the government. The defence of our own frontiers, and the other ordinary charges of government, amounted to, at least, thirty thousand pounds sterling. The province had, in one campaign, on foot, seven thousand troops. This was a greater levy for a single province, than the three kingdoms had made collectively in any one year since the revolution."

Loudon was superseded, in the beginning of 1758, by general Abercrombie: but the colonies cannot be said to have gained much by the substitution. The new commander in chief wasted a part of their resources, and checked the momentum of the mighty force which Pitt had arrayed on this continent against the French, by an ill-advised and ill-managed expedition against Crown-Point. He took with him *sixteen thousand men*, of whom nine thousand were Provincials, and urged them to a hopeless assault upon Ticonderoga, which cost the lives of more than sixteen hundred of his bravest European troops, and of four hundred provincials. "This attack," says the Universal History, "when no prospect of success could possibly present itself, was followed by a retreat as pusillanimous, as the other was presumptuous. The general reimbarked the troops, and though not an incident had happened that might not have been easily foreseen, or rationally expected, he returned to his former camp at Lake George."*

Anxious to repair in any way, the mischief and disgrace of this repulse, Abercrombie consented, at the solicitation of a *native American* officer, colonel Bradstreet, to detach him with three thousand men, against Fort Frontenac, on the north side of the Ohio. This body of troops, with the exception of only one hundred and fifty-five regulars, was composed of Provincials; and after surmounting, as the historians

* Vol. xl. p. 220.

acknowledge, incredible difficulties and hardships, it gave an earnest of victory to the British cause, by capturing the fortress, together with nine armed vessels, a vast quantity of ammunition, &c. and breaking up thus, the principal depot of supplies for the south western posts, and the hostile Indians.

Louisbourg constituted an object of primary importance in the great scheme for annihilating the French power in America, which engrossed the care and strained the vigour of Pitt.* The reduction of that fortress was one of the first operations of the campaign, and was accomplished with an overwhelming force indeed, but in a manner highly creditable to the courage of the victors, among whom the provincials bore a distinguished part. It was not easy, even for the mother country to forget, or not to recal at the moment, what had been before achieved by New England on the same theatre.

9. To dispossess the French of Fort Du Quesne, the bulwark of their dominion over the western region, entered necessarily into the plan of the campaign. This object was effected, not certainly through the judgment and skill of the British commander, within whose province it fell, but by the magnitude of the force employed, and the influence of extraneous events.† The Virginia militia composed a large part of the army, which general Forbes carried with him in this enterprise, and were under the immediate direction of Washington. They performed the chief labour, truly herculean, and infinitely more oppressive than would have been necessary, had the British leader condescended to avail himself, in the choice of a route and of the season of action, of the experience and topographical knowledge of the provincial colonel. Against the urgent, reiterated expostulations of the latter, and

* Much of the merit of the scheme is due to Franklin, who constantly urged the conquest of Canada upon the British government. The following statement of his grandson has never been contradicted in England. "The more Franklin weighed the subject in his mind, the more was he satisfied, that the true interest of Great Britain lay in weakening her rival on the side of America, rather than in Germany; and these sentiments he imparted to some of his friends, by whom they were reported to William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham; who no sooner consulted him on the practicability of the conquest of Canada, than he was convinced by the force of his arguments, and determined by the simple accuracy of his statements. The enterprise was immediately undertaken; the command given to general Wolfe," &c. (Memoirs, p. 194.)

† "The success of colonel Bradstreet, at Frontignac, in all probability, facilitated the expedition under Forbes," &c.—Russel's Modern Europe, let. xxxiii.

PART I. when there was left scarcely time to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage over the mountains, he selected a road, every inch of which was to be cut, and which exacted the constant toil of fifteen hundred or two thousand men. Washington advanced in front, and opened the almost impervious forest and mountain to the main body of the army. On the approach to Fort Du Quesne, the British general, disregarding the caution of his faithful pioneer, sent forward a select corps of eight hundred men to reconnoitre the adjacent country. The enemy overpowered this detachment, and had destroyed it, but for the bravery and self possession of a Virginia captain.* Out of a company of one hundred and sixty-six provincials, sixty-two fell on the spot; and of the whole detachment, the number of killed and wounded was nearly three hundred. From the account of this expedition, framed by Chief Justice Marshall,† upon the papers of Washington, and unquestionably authentic, it is to be inferred, that if the army of Forbes did not encounter even a worse fate than that of Braddock, it was not owing to any superior wisdom of management, or greater pliability, in the leader.

"The army," says Marshall, "reached the camp at Loyal Hanna, through a road alleged to be indescribably bad, about the fifth of November, where, as had been predicted, a council of war determined, that it was unadvisable to proceed further this campaign. It would have been almost impossible to have wintered an army in that position. They must have retreated from the cold inhospitable wilderness into which they had penetrated, or have suffered immensely, perhaps have perished. Fortunately some prisoners were taken, who informed them of the extreme distress of the fort. Deriving no support from Canada, the garrison was weak; was in great want of provisions; and had been deserted by the Indians. These encouraging circumstances changed the resolution which had been taken, and determined the general to prosecute the expedition." Washington seems to have felt the utmost indignation and chagrin at the conduct of the enterprise, and expressed himself with unusual warmth, in his first letters to the speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses. "We appear, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. We shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter. Can general Forbes have orders for these proceedings? Impossible.

* See a full account of the service performed by this officer, captain Bullet, in vol. iii. p. 3, of Burk's History of Virginia.

† Life of Washington, vol. ii. ch. i.

The conduct of our leaders is tempered with something I do SECT. IV.
not care to give a name to. Nothing but a miracle can bring the campaign to a happy issue," &c.

When we consider what is the present face of the country between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, it is doubly interesting to contemplate the picture drawn of it by the English historians, in their commemoration of this affair. "In the beginning of July, 1758, Brigadier Forbes set out on his expedition from Philadelphia for *Fort Du Quesne*. He was to march through countries that never had been impressed by human footsteps, and he had difficulties to surmount, greater, perhaps, than those of Alexander, in his expedition to India; by establishing magazines, forming and securing camps, procuring carriages, and encountering a thousand unforeseen obstacles in penetrating through regions, that presented nothing but scalping parties of French and savages, mountains, woods, and morasses," &c.*

It is sufficient to repeat the fact, that the colonies had on foot, in active co-operation with the British forces, in 1759, twenty-five thousand troops,—to establish their title to a large share of the glorious results of that year. The number of the provincials was considerable before Quebec, and still greater in Amherst's arduous expedition, by way of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Lake Champlain. That ablest of the British commanders in America, bore, in the general orders which he issued, after the complete reduction of Canada, in 1760, the strongest testimony to "the indefatigable efforts of his majesty's faithful subjects in America, and the zeal and bravery of the officers and soldiers of the provincial troops."

The troops of this description composed altogether the third grand division of the British force, with which general Prideaux, "assisted by the interest and abilities of the provincial leader, gen. William Johnson," marched to reduce Fort Niagara, a post of the utmost consequence in itself, and in relation to the success of the main enterprise of the campaign of 1759. The manner in which this service was performed will sustain a comparison at least, with that of Abercrombie's attempt upon Ticonderoga. I will adopt the narrative of the Universal History.

"While Amherst was reducing Crown-Point, and making himself master of Lake Champlain, Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were proceeding against Fort Niagara. On the 20th of July, Prideaux, to the inexpressible grief of the army, was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a

* Vol. xl. p. 221, Universal History.

PART I. cannon. The command then fell upon Sir William Johnson, *who was superseded by brigadier-general Gage, by the appointment of Amherst.* Before Gage could arrive at Niagara, Johnson had performed wonders. He had carried his approaches within one hundred yards of the covert-way of the fort; and the French were so apprehensive of losing that palladium of their interest in North America, that they exerted their utmost to maintain it, by collecting seventeen hundred men from all the neighbouring posts, particularly from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, under the command of Mons. D'Aubry. Had this reinforcement reached the fort, it must have been impregnable; but Johnson made dispositions towards the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortress, for intercepting it."

"About 8 o'clock, on the 24th of July, the enemy appeared, and the English Indians attempted in vain to have some talk with their countrymen, who served under the French. The battle began with a horrible war-whoop, which was now matter of ridicule, rather than terror, to the English, uttered by the French Indians. The French, as usual, charged with vast impetuosity, but being received with equal firmness, and the English Indians on the flanks doing considerable execution, all the French army were put to the rout, and for five miles the pursuit continued, in which seventeen officers, among whom were the first and second in command, were made prisoners. Next morning Sir Wm. Johnson sent a trumpet to the French commandant, with a list of the seventeen officers that had been taken, to convince him of the inutility of further resistance. The commandant found all Sir William Johnson's intelligence to be perfectly true, and in a few hours a capitulation was signed, by which six hundred and seven men, of which the garrison consisted, were to march out with the honours of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New York, but protected from the barbarity of the Indians. The women and children were carried to Montreal, and the conqueror treated the sick and wounded in a manner so humane, as to prove himself worthy of victory. Thus, for a second time, this self-taught general obtained an entire triumph over the boasted discipline of the French arms. But that was his least praise. Though eleven hundred Indians followed him to the field, he restrained them within regular bounds."*

While affecting at home to consider the colonists as of little efficiency in the field, and even to deride their humblest pre-

* Vol. xl. p. 237.

tensions to the military character,* the mother country incessantly called upon their assemblies for more levies, with protestations of the indispensableness of their fullest co-operation. They were required, in 1760, to raise and equip, if practicable, at least as large a body of men as they had sent forth the preceding year; and they obeyed with an alacrity equal to that which they had manifested, when it seemed necessary for them to make extreme efforts, to avoid being overrun by the common enemy, let in through the incapacity of the British commanders. Massachusetts supplied besides, troops to guard Louisbourg, Halifax, and Lunenburg, and entirely garrisoned Annapolis, Fort Cumberland at Chignecto, and Fort Frederick at St. Johns. It was not merely land forces that were furnished by New England. Her seamen served in such numbers on board the British ships of war, that her merchants were compelled to navigate their trading vessels with Indians and negroes.† More than four hundred privateers, as I have already had occasion to remark, issued, during the war, from the North American ports, ravaged the French West India Islands, and distressed to the utmost the commerce of France in all parts of the world.

During the years 1760 and 1761, the southern colonies were involved in hostilities with the Cherokee Indians. These, instigated by the French, made the most destructive inroads, and required some arduous campaigns to be reduced to inaction. In 1763, a general Indian war unexpectedly broke out, of a most disastrous and alarming character. It threatened the loss of some of the important posts which had been wrested from the French, and depopulated a great part of the western frontiers. Franklin, being asked, on his examination before the House of Commons, whether this was not a war for America only; answered, that it was rather a consequence or remains of the former one, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; that the Americans bore much the greater share of the expense; and that it was put an end to by the army under general Bouquet, consisting of about three hundred regulars, and above one thousand Pennsylvanians.

The pecuniary charges incurred by the colonists in the seven years war, greatly exceeded the amount of the sums which were allotted to them by the British Parliament, as an indemnity.

* See Note I.

† It was asserted, without contradiction, in the House of Commons, in the debate of March 11, 1778, on the state of the British navy, that ten thousand of the seamen employed in it during the war of 1756, were natives of North America.

PART I. The excess was two millions five hundred thousand pounds, not taking into the account the extraordinary supplies granted by the colonial assemblies. Their whole disbursement did not fall short of three millions and a half; a sum far more onerous for them, in the proportion of their ability and habits, than that which was expended by the crown, great as it was, could have been for the British people.

On the termination of the struggle in Canada, in 1760, and the extinction of danger from the French in North America, the provinces were fairly entitled to an exemption from all contribution to the exterior military enterprises of the mother country; at least until the deep wounds they had received in their finances, and the most valuable part of their population, should be healed A considerable body of native troops was, however, drawn from them, to assist in the reduction of the French and Spanish West India Islands; and Massachusetts raised in 1762, three thousand two hundred and twenty, as her quota, for the object of "securing the British dominions, and particularly the conquests in her neighbourhood." "Many of the common soldiers," says the historian, Gordon, "who gained such laurels, by their singular bravery on the plains of Abraham, when Wolfe died in the arms of victory, were natives of the Massachusetts Bay. When Martinico was attacked in 1761, and the British force was greatly weakened by death and sickness, the timely arrival of the New England troops enabled the former to prosecute the reduction of the island to an happy issue. A part of the British force being now about to sail from thence for the Havanna, the New Englanders, whose health had been much impaired by service and the climate, were sent off in three ships, to their native country for recovery. Before they had completed their voyage, they found themselves restored, ordered the ships about, steered immediately for the Havanna, arrived when the British were too much reduced to expect success, and by their junction, served to immortalize afresh, the glorious first of August, old style, in the surrender of the place on that memorable day; they exhibited, at the same time, the most signal evidence of devotedness to the parent state. Their fidelity, activity, and courage, were such as to gain the approbation and confidence of the British officers."*

There are some general considerations which place in strong

* History of the American Revolution, vol. i. page 103. The writer received his information not only from public, but from private, sources he cites particularly Brooke Woodcock, Esq. of Saffron Walden, who served at the taking of Belleisle, Martinico, and the Havanna.

relief, the merit of the multitude of Americans who served as volunteers in these campaigns. They cannot be supposed to have been tempted by the slender pay which they received; for, their domestic affairs were, in all cases, of a nature to suffer greatly by their absence: They could not be incited by hopes of preferment, since the provincial forces were uniformly disbanded on a peace; the provincial officers no further rewarded by commissions than the enlisting of men made it necessary; and the vacancies which occurred among the regulars, filled with Europeans: They were liable to perpetual mortification by invidious distinctions in favour of the British troops; they were penuriously praised when their prowess was unquestionable, and outrageously censured when their conduct gave the least opening to detraction. Under such circumstances, there are no other motives to be assigned for their self-devotion, except public spirit,—a sense of duty—a native manliness of character. In truth, the colonists were unsparing of their resources and their blood, not merely, from a belief that the cause was their own, and from a resolution to protect themselves to the utmost of their ability; but as members of the British empire, eager for its prosperity, and deeply interested in all its concerns; proud of their kindred and connection with the British nation, and sympathetic in its prejudices and passions. Whoever gives attention to the public papers of the era of the seven years war, will be convinced, that they entered into the rivalry between England and France, with the keenness of the school of Pitt, and rejoiced in the success of the British arms, not more as ministerial to their security, than to the ascendency of the British power and the glory of the British name.

10. At the peace of Paris, of 1763, England found herself the acknowledged mistress of the whole continent of America north of the Gulf of Mexico, and assured of a permanent naval supremacy over the nations of Europe. It is a proposition now hardly disputed, even as an exercise of ingenuity, that for this vast extension of her power, and the triumph of her fortunes over those of France, she was largely indebted to the exiles who adhered to her dominion. Originally, they had preserved the Atlantic territory from the occupation of her enemies. No great sagacity is required to perceive, that had the French settled and retained it, she must have fallen into the secondary rank as a naval and commercial power.*

* "It appears," says Hutchinson, (vol. i. chap. i.) "that the Massachusetts people took possession of the country at a very critical time.

PART I. What she became, she never could have become, without the thirteen colonies; and not unless they had become what their industry, spirit, and intelligence, made them. Whatever obligations, then, she can pretend, with any colour of plausibility, to have conferred, must fall far short of those which she received. Their instrumentality in her elevation and the depression of her rival, manifestly overbalances even the degree of protection which she herself claims to have extended. And the duty of gratitude appears the more exigent, from the consideration of that British feeling, to which I have referred in the preceding page, as the main spring of their prodigious efforts in seconding all her aims.

It will seem scarcely credible, that the politicians of England earnestly debated, during the negotiations for the peace of 1763, and while parliament was yet complimenting the colonies for their loyal sacrifices, whether Canada should not be restored to the French, and the Island of Guadaloupe retained in preference. The odium of this controversy, which, in its general purport, put out of question every claim and security of their American brethren, and admitted of no calculation but one of mere commercial profit and loss, was greatly aggravated by the principal grounds of argument with some of the most eminent writers of the day, who embraced the affirmative—"that the colonies were already large and numerous enough, and that the French ought to be left in North America to prevent their increase, lest they should become not only useless, but dangerous to Great Britain." "It was insinuated," says Russel,* "by some of our keen-sighted politi-

Richlieu, in all probability, would have planted his colony nearer the sun, if he could have found any place vacant. De Monts and company had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the coast, from Cape Sables beyond Cape Cod, in 1604; indeed it does not appear that they then went round or to the bottom of Massachusetts Bay. Had they once gained footing there, they would have prevented the English. The Frenchified court of king Charles I. would, at the treaty of St. Germain's, have given up any claim to Massachusetts Bay as readily as they did to Acadie; for the French could make out no better title to Penobscot and the other parts of Acadie, than they could to Massachusetts. The little plantation at New Plymouth would have been no greater bar to the French in one place than in the other. The Dutch, the next year, would have quietly possessed themselves of Connecticut river, unless the French, instead of the English, had prevented them. Whether the people of either nation would have persevered, is uncertain. If they had done it, the late contest for the dominion of North America would have been between France and Holland, and the commerce of England would have borne a very different proportion to that of the rest of Europe from what it does at present."

* Modern Europe, part ii. letter xxxv.

cians, that the security provided by the retention of Canada, for the English settlements in North America, *as well as for their extension in the cession of Florida by Spain*, would prove a source of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to shake off the controul of the mother country, since they no longer stood in need of her protection, and erect themselves into independent states." Franklin, who, at this period, as agent of some of the provinces at the court of London, watched paternally over the interests of the whole, found himself under the necessity of combating these doctrines in an elaborate tract, which I have already noticed. The very existence of the "Canada-Pamphlet" is an eternal reproach to Great Britain; and there is an increase of shame, from its being an appeal, not to her generosity or her justice, but to her separate interests. Upon these, the sagacious author, deeming every higher consideration, idle and misplaced, laid all stress; and the same thing may be said of the British cabinet, on a reference to the tenour of the discussions respecting the peace both in and out of parliament. Amid the violent discontents which the improvident treaty of Paris excited, consolation was found, not, as some of her writers have gratuitously alledged, in the exemption of the colonies from the annoyance of a European enemy, and their increased ability to overawe the savages,—but in "the wide scope for projects of political ambition, and the boundless field for speculations of commercial avidity, which the undivided sovereignty of the vast continent of America, with the exclusive enjoyment of its trade, seemed to open to the British nation."* We may judge how the colonies would have fared with the "tory counsels," to whose influence the demerits of the peace were attributed, had not the retention of Canada fallen within their selfish and corrupt views, when we advert to the fact, that the execrable suggestion above mentioned came from the *whigs*. To display it in its true light, as well as to illustrate the temper of mind with which the great champion of the colonies had to contend, I cannot do better than quote his bold language on the point.

"But what is the prudent policy inculcated to obtain this end —security of dominion over our colonies? It is, to leave the French in Canada to '*check* their growth; for otherwise, our people may increase infinitely from all causes.' We have already seen in what manner the French and their Indians check the growth of our colonies. It is a modest word, this *check*, for massacreing men, women, and children."

* Russel, ibid.

PART I.

"But if Canada is restored on this principle, will not Britain be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the French in plain terms, that the horrid barbarities they perpetrated with Indians, on our colonists, are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the resentment of a government with whose views they so happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light? Will they have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children, when they find their cruel enemies hallooed upon them by the country from whence they sprung; the government that owes them protection, as it requires their obedience? Is not this the most likely means of driving them into the arms of the French, who can invite them by an offer of security, their own government chooses not to offer them?"

"If it be, after all, thought necessary to check the growth of our colonies, give me leave to propose a method less cruel. The method I mean, is that which was dictated by the Egyptian policy, when the 'infinite increase,' of the children of Israel, was apprehended as dangerous to the state. Let an act of parliament then be made, enjoining the colony midwives to stifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their present size."

11. I have made no assertion in treating the topics upon which I have enlarged so much, of the military merits of America, and the nature of the protection extended to her by the mother country, which it would not be in my power to vindicate by British authority of the highest class. And I cannot refrain, though it is done at the risk of fatiguing my readers by what may have the air of repetition, from seeking in the records of the British Parliament for a general confirmation of what I have advanced. I find this, with every recommendation of unquestionable validity, and sententious eloquence, in a speech of David Hartley, on the American question, delivered in the House of Commons, in the year 1775. That gentleman long held a conspicuous rank in Parliament; lived in the closest intimacy with the most eminent British statesmen of the time; concluded, as the minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain, the definitive treaty of 1783, with the United States; and though a zealous friend of justice and the injured colonies, established, with all parties at home, the character of a devoted patriot. What follows from him will protect me from the charge of

national partiality in my representations, and serve me as a useful recapitulation of facts. SECT. IV.

Mr. Hartley said,—

"I would wish to state to the House, the merits of this question of requisitions to the colonies, and to see upon what principles it is founded; to revise the accounts between Great Britain and them. We hear of nothing now but the protection we have given to them; of the immense expense incurred on their account. We are told that they have done nothing for themselves; that they pay no taxes; in short, every thing is asserted about America to serve the present turn, without the least regard to truth. I would have these matters fairly sifted out."

"To begin with the late war,—of '56. The Americans turned the success of the war at both ends of the line. General Monckton took Beausejour in Nova Scotia, with fifteen hundred provincial troops, and about two hundred regulars. Sir William Johnson, in the other part of America, changed the face of the war to success, with a provincial army, which took Baron Dieskau prisoner. But, Sir, the glories of the war under the united British and American arms, are recent in every one's memory. Suffice it to decide this question; that the Americans bore, even in our judgment, more than their full proportion; that this House did annually vote them an acknowledgment of their zeal and strenuous efforts, and compensation for the excess of their zeal and expenses, above their due proportion. They kept, one year with another, twenty-five thousand men on foot, and lost in the war the flower of their youth. How strange it must appear to them, to hear of nothing down to the year 1763, but encomiums upon their active zeal and strenuous efforts; and then, no longer after than the year 1764, in such a trice of time, to see the tide turn, and from that hour to this, to hear it asserted that they were a burden upon the common cause; asserted even in that same parliament which had voted them compensations for the liberality and excess of their service."

"Nor did they stint their services to North America. They followed the British arms out of their continent to the Havanna, and Martinique, after the complete conquest of America. And so they had done in the preceding war. They were not grudging of their exertions—they were at the siege of Carthagena:—yet, what was Carthagena to them, but as members

PART I. of the common cause, friends of the glory of this country! In that war too, Sir, they took Louisbourg from the French, single handed, without any European assistance; as mettled an enterprise as any in our history! an everlasting memorial to the zeal, courage, and perseverance of the troops of New England. The men themselves dragged the cannon over morasses, which had always been thought impassable, where, neither horses nor oxen could go, and they carried the shot upon their backs. And what was their reward for this forward and spirited enterprise; for the reduction of this American Dunkirk? Their reward, Sir, you know very well—it was given up for a barrier to the Dutch. The only conquest in that war, which you had to give up, and which would have been an effectual barrier to them against the French power in America, though gained by themselves, was surrendered for a foreign barrier. As a substitute for this, you settled Halifax for *a place d'armes*, leaving the limits of the province of Nova Scotia as a matter of contest with the French, which could not fail to prove, as it did, the cause of another war. Had you kept Louisbourg, instead of settling Halifax, the Americans could say, at least, that there would not have been that pretext for imputing the late war to their account. It has been their forwardness in your cause, that made them the objects of the French resentment. In the war of 1744, at your requisition, they were the aggressors on the French in America. We know the orders given to Mons. D'Anville, to destroy and lay all their sea port towns in ashes, and we know the cause of that resentment; it was to revenge their conquest of Louisbourg."

"Whenever Great Britain has declared war, they have taken their part. They were engaged in king William's wars, and queen Anne's, even in their infancy. They conquered Acadia in the last century, for us; and we then gave it up. Again, in queen Anne's war, they conquered Nova Scotia, which, from that time, has always belonged to Great Britain. They have been engaged in more than one expedition to Canada, ever foremost to partake of honour and danger with the mother country."

"Well, Sir, what have we done for them? Have we conquered the country for them from the Indians? Have we cleared it? Have we drained it? Have we made it habitable? What have we done for them? I believe, precisely nothing at all, but just keeping watch and ward over their trade, that they should receive nothing but from ourselves, at our own price. I will not positively say that we have spent nothing;

though I don't recollect any such article upon our journals: SECT. IV.
but I mean any material expense in setting them out as colonists. The royal military government of Nova Scotia cost, indeed, not a little sum; above £500,000 for its plantation, and its first years. Had your other colonies cost any thing similar either in their outset or support, there would have been something to say on that side; but, instead of that, they have been left to themselves for one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, upon the fortune and capital of private adventurers, to encounter every difficulty and danger. What towns have we built for them? What desert have we cleared? What country have we conquered for them from the Indians? Name the officers—name the troops—the expeditions—their dates. Where are they to be found? Not in the journals of this kingdom. They are no where to be found."

"In all the wars which have been common to us and them, they have taken their full share. But in all their own dangers, in the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, in all the Indian wars which did not immediately concern us, we left them to themselves to struggle their way through. For the whim of a minister, you can bestow half a million to build a town, and to plant a royal colony of Nova Scotia; a greater sum than you have bestowed upon every other colony together."

"And notwithstanding all these, which are the real facts, now that they have struggled through their difficulties, and begin to hold up their heads, and to show that empire which promises to be the foremost in the world, we claim them and theirs, as implicitly belonging to us, without any consideration of their own rights. We charge them with ingratitude, without the least regard to truth, just as if this kingdom had for a century and a half, attended to no other object; as if all our revenue, all our power, all our thought had been bestowed upon them, and all our national debt had been contracted in the Indian wars of America; totally forgetting the subordination in commerce and manufactures, in which we have bound them, and for which, at least, we owe them help towards their protection."

"Look at the preamble of the act of navigation, and every American act, and see if the interest of this country is not the avowed object. If they make a hat or a piece of steel, an act of parliament calls it a nuisance; a tilting hammer, a steel furnace, must be abated in America as a nuisance. Sir, I speak from facts. I call your books of statutes and journals

PART. I. to witness. With the least recollection, every one must acknowledge the truth of these facts."

"But it is said, the peace establishment of North America has been, and is, very expensive to this country. Sir, for what it has been, let us take the peace establishment before 1739, and after 1748. All that I can find in your journals is, four companies kept up at New York, and three companies in Carolina. As to the four companies at New York, this country should know best why they put themselves to that expense, or whether really they were at any expense at all; for these were companies of fictitious men. Unless the money was repaid into the treasury, it was applied to some other purpose these companies were not a quarter full. In the year 1754, two of them were sent up to Albany, to attend commissioners to treat with the six nations, to impress them with a high idea of our military power; to display all the pomp and circumstance of war before them, in hopes to scare them; when in truth, we made a very ridiculous figure. The whole complement of two companies did not exceed thirty tattered, tottering invalids, fitter to scare the crows. This information I have had from eye witnesses."

"It has not fallen in my way to hear any account of the three Carolina companies: These are trifles. The substantial question is,—What material expense have you been at in the periods alluded to, for the peace establishment of North America? Ransack your journals, search your public offices for army or ordnance expenses. Make out your bill, and let us see what it is. No one yet knows it. Had there been any such, I believe the administration would have produced it before now, with aggravation."

"But is not the peace establishment of North America now very high, and very expensive? I would answer that by another question: Why should the peace establishment since the late war, and the total expulsion of the French interest, be higher than it was before the late war, and when the French possessed above half the American continent? If it be so, there must be some singular reason."

"I cannot suppose that you mean under the general term of North America, to saddle all the expenses of Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Florida, and the West Indies, upon the old colonies of North America. You cannot mean to keep the sovereignty, the property, the possession (these are the terms of the cession in the treaty of 1763) to yourselves, and lay the expense of the military establishment, which you think proper to keep up, upon the old colonies."

" Sir, the colonies never thought of interfering in the pre- SECT. IV.
rogative of war or peace; but if this nation can be so unjust as to meditate the saddling the expense of your new conquests separately upon them, they ought to have had a voice in settling the terms of peace. It is you, on this side of the water, who have first brought out the idea of separate interests, by planing separate and distinct charges. It was their men and their money, which had conquered North America and the West Indies, as well as yours, though you seized all the spoils; but they never thought of dictating to you, what you should keep, or what you should give up, little dreaming that you reserved the expense of your military governments for them. Who gave up the Havanna? Who gave up Martinique? Who gave up Guadaloupe, with Marigalante? Who gave up Santa Lucia? Who gave up the Newfoundland fishery? Who gave up all these without their consent, without their participation, without their consultation, and, after all, without equivalents? Sir, if your colonies had but been permitted to have gathered up the crumbs which have fallen from your table, they would gladly have supported the whole military establishment of North America."

" Your colonies have now shown you the value of lands in North America; and therefore you have vested in the crown the sovereignty, property, and possession of infinite tracts of land, perhaps as extensive as all Europe, which the crown may dispose of at its own price, as the land rises in America, and grants become invaluable; and to enable the crown to support an arbitrary, military government, till these lands rise to their future immense value, you are casting about to saddle the expense either upon the American or the British supplies.

" This country is very liberal in its boasting of its protection and parental kindness to America. It is for that purpose that we have converted the province of Canada into an absolute and military government, and have established there the Romish church, so obnoxious to our ancient, and Protestant colonies. What security, what protection do they derive? In what sort are they the better for the conquest of the French dominions, if we take that opportunity to establish a government, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, in the utmost degree hostile to the government of our own provinces, and with the intent to set a thorn in their sides? Is this affection and parental kindness? Surely you do not expect that they should be taxed and talliaged to pay for this rod of iron, which you are preparing for them!"

PART. I. "Now, Sir, I come to a point, in which I think you may be said to have given some protection, I mean the protection of your fleet to the American commerce. And even here I am at a loss by what terms to call it; whether you are protecting yourselves or them. Theirs are your cargoes, your manufactures, your commerce, your navigation. Every ship from America is bound to Britain. None enter an American port but British ships and men. While you are defending the American commerce, you are defending Leeds and Halifax, Sheffield and Birmingham, Manchester and Hull, Bristol and Liverpool, London, Dublin, Glasgow. However, as our fleet does protect whatever commerce belongs to them, let that be set to the account. It is an argument to them as well as to us. As it has been the sole policy of this kingdom, for ages, by the operation of every commercial act of parliament, to make the American commerce totally subservient to our own convenience, the least that we owe to them in return is protection."

SECTION V.

OF THE BENEFITS REAPED BY GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE AMERICAN TRADE.

1. If so immense a gain, of which she retains a mighty part in her actual North American possessions, accrued to Great Britain from the military efforts of the thirteen colonies, the advantages which she found in her commercial connexion with them, were not less considerable. Before any thing had been expended upon them, they began to enrich the treasury, and feed the strength, of the mother country, by augmenting her shipping, giving double activity to her trades and manufactures, and even accelerating the increase of her population. These effects were quickly perceived and announced by those of her earliest writers in political economy, to whom she has assigned the first rank among their cotemporaries. To begin with the testimony of Sir Josiah Child. "England has constantly improved in people, since our settlement upon the plantations in America. We are very great gainers by the direct trade of New with Old England. Our yearly exportations of English manufactures, malt and other goods from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence, which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature consideration, and peradventure, upon as much experience in this trade, as any other person will pretend to."* "The plantations," says Davenant, "are a spring of wealth to this nation; they work for us, and their treasure centres all here. It is better our islands should be supplied from the northern colonies than from England—the provisions to be sent to them would be the unimproved product of the earth, whereas the goods which we send to the northern colonies, are such whose improvement may be justly said, one with another, to be near *four-fourths* of the value of the whole commodity."†

* Discourse on Trade, chap. x.
† Discourse on Plantation Trade.

PART I. "An immense wealth," says Gee,* "has accrued to us by the labour and industry of those people that have settled in our colonies. Of all the methods of enlarging our trade, was the finding out of our plantations—the tobacco and sugar plantations were indeed the cause of increasing our shipping and navigation. If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, it will appear that not one-fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit. There are very few trading or manufacturing towns in the kingdom, but have some dependence on the plantation trade."

"New England and the northern colonies have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothing, but are under very great difficulties, and therefore any ordinary sort sells with them; and when they are grown out of fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there; and therefore those places are the great markets we have to dispose of such goods, which are generally sent at the risk of the shop-keepers and traders of England, who are the great exporters, and not the inhabitants of the colonies, as some have imagined. As the colonies are a market for those sort of goods, so they are a receptacle for young merchants who have not stocks of their own; and therefore all our plantations are filled with such who receive the consignments of their friends from hence; and when they have got a sufficient stock to trade with, they generally return home, and other young men take their places; so that the continual motion and intercourse our people have in the colonies, may be compared to bees of a hive, which go out empty, but come back again loaded, by which means the foundation of many families is laid. The numbers of sailors and other tradesmen, who have all their dependence upon this traffic, are prodigiously great. Our factors, who frequent the northern colonies, being under difficulties to make returns for such goods as they dispose of, what gold, silver, logwood, and other commodities they trade for upon the Spanish coast, is sent home to England; as also oyl, whale-fins, and many other goods. Likewise another great part in returns is made by ships, built there, and disposed of in the Streights, and other parts of Europe, and the money remitted to us."

"There is another advantage we receive from our plantations, which is hardly so much as thought on; I mean the prodigious increase of our shipping, by the timber trade between Portugal, &c. and our plantations, which ought to have

* On the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, chap. xxxi.

all possible encouragement; for by it we have crept into all the corners of Europe, and become the common carriers in the Mediterranean, as well as between the Mediterranean, Holland, Hambr'o, and the Baltic, and this is the cause of so great an addition to our shipping, and the reason why the Dutch, &c. are so exceedingly sunk."

"We have a great many young men who are bred to the sea, and have friends to support them; if they cannot get employment at home, they go to New England, and the northern colonies, with a cargo of goods, which they there sell at a very great profit, and with the produce build a ship, and purchase a loading of lumber, and sail for Portugal or the Streights, &c. and after disposing of their cargoes there, frequently ply from port to port in the Mediterranean, till they have cleared so much money as will in a good part pay for the first cost of the cargo carried out by them, and then perhaps sell their ships, come home, take up another cargo from their employers, and so go back and build another ship; by this means multitudes of seamen are brought up, and upon a war the nation better provided with a greater number of sailors than hath been heretofore known. Here the master becomes merchant also, and many of them gain by this lumber trade great estates, and a vast treasure is thereby yearly brought into the kingdom, in a way new and unknown to our forefathers, for indeed it is gaining the timber trade, (heretofore carried on by the Danes and Swedes,) our plantations being nearer the markets of Portugal and Spain than they are."

The great productiveness of the colonies to the mother country, thus recognized before the expiration, and at the beginning, of the eighteenth century, increased in a geometrical progression from that period, and drew equally pointed acknowledgments from later writers. In the year 1728, Sir William Keith, a man of superior sagacity, who had occupied the station of governor of Pennsylvania, and investigated personally and in complete detail, the commercial relations of North America with the other parts of the British empire, submitted to the British government a very able discourse on the subject,* in which he presented the following summary of what he styled "the principal benefits *then* arising to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies."

"1. The colonies take off and consume above one-sixth part of the woollen manufactures exported from Great Britain;

* See the whole of this curious and interesting paper, in Burk's History of Virginia, vol. ii. chap. ii.

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which is the chief staple of England, and the main support of the landed interest.

"2. They take off and consume more than double that value in linen and callicoes, which are partly the product of Britain and Ireland, and partly the profitable returns made for that product when carried to foreign countries.

"3. The luxury of the colonies, which increases daily, consumes great quantities of English manufactured silks, haberdashery, household furniture, and trinkets of all sorts, as also a very considerable value in East India goods.

"4. A great revenue is raised to the crown of Britain by returns made in the produce of the plantations, especially tobacco; which at the same time helps England to bring nearer to a balance her unprofitable trade with France.

"5. These colonies promote the interest and trade of Britain, by a vast increase of shipping and seamen, which enables them to carry great quantities of fish to Spain, Portugal, Leghorn, &c.; furs, logwood, and rice, to Holland, where they keep Great Britain considerably in the balance of trade with those countries.

"6. If reasonably encouraged, the colonies are now in a condition to furnish Britain with as much of the following commodities as it can demand, viz: masting for the navy and all sorts of timber, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, oil, rosin, copper ore, with pig and bar iron; by means whereof the balance of trade to Russia and the Baltic, may be very much reduced in favour of Great Britain.

"7. The profits arising to all those colonies by trade, are returned in bullion, or rather useful effects, to Great Britain; where the superfluous cash, and other riches, acquired in America, must centre; which is not one of the least securities that Britain has, to keep the colonies always in due subjection.

"8. The colonies upon the main are the granary of America, and a necessary support to the sugar plantations, in the West Indies, which could not subsist without them."

To exemplify further the nature of this commercial intercourse, for Great Britain, I will quote the case of Virginia and Maryland, as Macpherson represents it for the year 1731, from the best authorities of that day.*

"Virginia and Maryland are most valuable acquisitions to Britain, as well for their great staple commodity, tobacco, as for pitch, tar, furs, deer skins, walnut tree planks, iron in pigs, and medicinal drugs. Both together send annually to Great

* Annals of Commerce, vol. iii.

Britain, 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco, weighing, one with another, 600 pounds weight, which at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, comes to £375,000. And the shipping employed to bring home their tobacco, must be at least 24,000 tons; which at £10 per ton, is £240,000, the value of the shipping; the greatest part thereof by far being English-built, continually and constantly fitted and repaired in England. The freight, at 1*l.* 10*s.* per hogshead, (the lowest,) is £90,000; and the petty charges and commission, on each hogshead, not less than £1 or £60,000; which, making together £150,000, we undoubtedly receive from those two provinces upon tobacco only. The net proceeds of the tobacco may be £225,000, on which there may be about five per cent. commission and petty charges, being £11,250. There is also imported in the tobacco ships from those two provinces, lumber, to the value of £15,000, two-thirds whereof is clear gain, it not costing £4,000 in that country, first cost in goods; and as it is the master's privilege, there is no freight paid for it. Skins and furs, about £6,000 value; £4,000 of which is actual gain to England. So the whole gain to England amounts to about £180,000, annually: and moreover the whole produce of these two provinces is paid for in goods."

Postlethwayt, who published his Universal Dictionary of Trade in the middle of the last century, bears a most emphatic general testimony. "Our trade and navigation," says this erudite merchant, "are greatly increased by our colonies; they are a source of treasure and naval power to this kingdom. Before their settlements—our manufactures were few—and those but indifferent—the number of English merchants very small, and the whole shipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies only. These are certain facts. But since their establishment, our situation has altered for the better almost to a degree beyond credibility. Our manufactures are prodigiously increased,—chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at least take off one-half, and supply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom as to the plantations themselves," &c.

The North American export trade of Great Britain amounted, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to something less than four hundred thousand pounds sterling; then no inconsiderable portion of her whole exports. It had attained before the separation—to three millions and an half sterling, nearly one-fourth of her whole cotemporaneous export trade, the product of centuries of intercourse with all the world.

PART I. The particular instance of the Pennsylvania trade furnished an illustration of the general increase, which struck the British statesmen with admiration. In the year 1704, that province consumed only £11,459 in value of foreign commodities: in 1772, fifty times as much; in this last year the export to it from Great Britain was upwards of half a million sterling.

The exports to the North American colonies alone—excluding the portion of the African trade to be set down to their account,—was one million on an average, from 1739 to 1756—two million three hundred thousand from 1756 to 1773—three millions and an half on a medium of the years 1771, 1772, 1773. The proportion of British goods to foreign goods exported to North America, was of three-fourths British and one-fourth foreign; whereas to the West Indies, it was of two-thirds British and one-third foreign.

The foreign and circuitous trade of the northern colonies, which was prosecuted only by a necessary relaxation, or by an evasion, of the navigation act, redounded equally to the profit of the mother country. It enabled the colonies to pay, and consequently led them to call, for a greater quantity of her manufactures. It is thus fully and accurately described in the third volume of Macpherson's Annals. "The old northern colonies in America, it is well known, had very few articles fit for the British market; and yet they every year took off large quantities of merchandise from Great Britain, for which they made payments with tolerable regularity. Though they could not, like the Spanish colonists, dig the money out of their own soil, they found means to make a great part of their remittances in gold and silver dug out of the Spanish mines. This they effected by being great carriers, and by a circuitous commerce, carried on in small vessels, chiefly with the foreign West India settlements, to which they took lumber of all sorts, fish of an inferior quality, beef, pork, butter, horses, poultry, and other live stock; an inferior kind of tobacco, corn, flour, bread, cyder, and even apples, cabbages, and onions, &c.; and also vessels, built at a small expense, the materials being almost all within themselves; for which they received in return mostly silver and gold, some of which remained as current coin among themselves; but the greatest part was remitted home to Britain, and together with bills of exchange, generally remitted to London for the proceeds of their best fish, sold in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, served to pay for the goods they received from the mother country. This trade united all the advantages, which the wisest and most philanthropic philosopher, or the most en-

lightened legislator, could wish to derive from commerce. It gave bread to the industrious in North America, by carrying off their lumber, which must otherwise rot on their hands, and their fish, great part of which, without it would be absolutely unsaleable, together with their spare produce and stock of every kind; it furnished the West India planters with those articles, without which the operations of their plantations must be at a stand; and it produced a fund for employing a great number of industrious manufacturers in Great Britain; thus taking off the superfluities, providing for the necessities, and promoting the happiness of all concerned." SECT. V.

Lord Sheffield even, makes the acknowledgment, that, by this circuitous commerce, they must, in the interval between the years 1700 and 1773, have obtained from other countries, and remitted to Great Britain, upwards of *thirty millions sterling*, in payment of goods taken from her, *over and above* the amount of all their produce and fisheries remitted directly.* Mr. Glover, in the beautiful speech which he delivered at the bar of the House of Commons, in 1775, respecting the American trade, presented, among many striking views of its productiveness to Great Britain, the following: "Though I am convinced, that the same number of hands at least is devoted to agriculture here, and that the earth at a medium of years hath yielded the same increase; as we have been disposed to consume it all among ourselves, or as our presumption may impute, the scarcity to Providence, restraining the fertility of our soil for ten years past, in either case we could not spare, as heretofore, our grain to the foreigner; a reduction in our exports, one year with another, of more than £600,000. The American subjects took place of the British in markets we could no longer supply; extended their vent from season to season, and from port to port, and by a circuition of fresh money, thus acquired by themselves, added fresh numbers to your manufactures; the rents of land increasing at the same time, till the amount of exports to North America for the last three years ending at Christmas, 1773, stands upon your papers at ten millions and a half, or three millions and a half at the annual medium."

"One part of our export to foreigners is supplied by colony produce, tobacco, rice, sugar, &c. through Great Britain, for a million sterling at a low estimation. There is a known export of linen, exceeding £200,000, supplied by North Britain to England for American use. The North British colony-export in addition, is about £400,000, by far the greater part to

* Observations on the Commerce of the American States, 1784.

PART I. the tobacco provinces. The whole may be a little short of £700,000. The kingdom of Ireland takes from England little short of £2,400,000 annually in goods. How doth she pay for them? A large part in linen and yarn; the remainder in cash, acquired by her foreign traffic. In the printed report to this House, from their linen committee, it appears, that, in 1771, the linen made, and brought to market for sale in that kingdom, for its own use and ours, amounted to £2,150,000, and the yarn exported to about £200,000. This immense value, the employment of such numbers, hath its source in North America. The flax seed from thence, not worth £40,000, a trifle to that continent, forms the basis of Ireland, and reverts largely in manufacture from her to the original seat of growth. In reply, what is the cry of my magnanimous countrymen without doors? Dignity! Supremacy! &c. Upon the North American imports I shall only remark, that the most considerable part of their bulky productions is bought by the foreigner; and of the amount consumed in Great Britain, the exchequer hath a capital share."

3. In the calculation which Mr. Burke presented to the House of Commons, in his speech on the Conciliation with America, he included the export trade of Great Britain to the West Indies, upon the ground that this trade and the North American were so interwoven, that the attempt to separate them would tear to pieces the contexture of the whole, and if not entirely destroy, very much depreciate the value of all the parts. The observation was eminently just, as nothing can be more certain, than that the prosperity of the West Indies would have been infinitely less, without their trade with the North American colonies. It was by this means that they were enabled to yield those ample benefits which Great Britain derived from them, in the great consumption and increase of her manufactures; in the employment and increase of her shipping and sailors; in the enrichment of individuals; and in the abundance of the valuable produce poured into her lap. Great as these benefits were, they fell, however, far short of those of the same kind, which accrued to her directly from the North American colonies. For five years, from 1754 to 1758, inclusive, her exports to the latter, were, in the total, near eight millions sterling; to the West Indies, not four millions; and in the course of the term just mentioned, the increase of export to the northern colonies, was almost four millions; whereas that to the West Indies, did not amount to half a million.

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The value of the provisions sent from Great Britain to her West India islands was trifling. They were furnished with the necessaries of life by the North American colonies, and generally at about half the price at which they could have been supplied from Great Britain. We are told by Dr. Davenant, in his Discourse on the Plantation Trade, that, "before the period at which he wrote, (1698,) so little care was taken for the convoys which were to protect the supplies of provisions for the West India Islands, they must, many times, have perished for want, if they had not been supplied by the northern colonies." The mother country was, indeed, for the most part, unable to supply them at all, and occasionally indebted to the same source as her islands, for her vital sustenance. "Our harvests," says an able English writer,* "in a series of years were not sufficiently productive to afford support to the people; whilst America was blessed with abundance, and like another Egypt to another Canaan, relieved us from the apprehension of a want of food, and from the danger of popular commotions, to obtain by force what the poor were not able to procure by purchase. Such was the scarcity of corn in this country, at the period preceding the American war, that even the immense importations from thence proved no more than a bare supply."

To this state of things, Mr. Burke thus eloquently alludes, in the speech mentioned above. "For some time past the old world has been fed from the new. The scarcity which you have felt, would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent."

* Richard Champion, Esq. deputy pay master general of his Britannic majesty's forces, (1784,) in his reply to Lord Sheffield's pamphlet. On the head of the provision for the West Indies, the same enlightened economist makes the following remarks. "It has been asked by the noble lord, how did the West India colonies subsist, during the war, when even Canada and Nova Scotia, any more than England, were not open to them, without great expense and risque? To this question, it is to be answered, that the greater part of the Windward and Leeward Islands were in possession of the French; and the three which remained in our hands, were frequently reduced to great distress. The planters in some of them compromised the labour of their slaves for a slender daily food. The situation of Bermuda was so deplorable, that some of the poorest inhabitants were actually famished; and it was owing to the *humanity of the Americans who suffered them, upon their application, to supply themselves with provisions from their states,* (from Delaware and Connecticut in particular,) that the whole people did not perish for want."

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Besides provisions, supplies of other kinds, which might be also said to have been indispensable, and unattainable from any other quarter, were carried to the West Indies by the North American colonies. We are told by the English writers, that not less than one hundred thousand casks and puncheons were in a year, made in Jamaica, from American staves and heading; that the different towns and the buildings in most of the settlements upon the sea coast of that island, were constructed with timber imported from America, and that the same use of those articles,—many of them in a greater proportion,—prevailed in the other sugar islands. Bryan Edwards* estimated the whole value of the American commodities imported into them annually, at seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. The Americans received West India produce in barter, to the amount of about two-thirds, and the excess of one-third found its way to England for the purchase or payment of goods. Sugar to a great amount, and a vast quantity of rum, saleable at no other than the American market, were among the chief articles taken in return. Some short extracts from the testimony which the West India merchants gave at the bar of the House of Commons in 1775, will exhibit this intercourse with more minuteness, and authority.

"North America is truly the granary of the West Indies: from thence they draw the great quantities of flour and biscuit, for the use of one class of people, and of Indian corn, for the support of all the others; for the support not of man only, but of every animal; for the use of man, horses, swine, sheep, poultry. North America also furnishes the West Indies with rice. Rice, a more expensive diet, and less capable of sustaining the body under hard labour, is of a more limited consumption, but it is a necessary indulgence for the young, the sick, the weakly, amongst the common people, and the negroes. North America not only furnishes the West Indies with bread, but with meat, with sheep, poultry, and some live cattle; but the demand for these is infinitely short of the demand for the salted beef, pork and fish. Salted fish (if the expression may be permitted in contrast with bread,) is the meat of all the lower ranks of people in Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands. It is the meat of all the slaves in the West Indies. Nor is it disdained by persons of better condition. The North American navigation also furnishes the

* Thoughts on the connexion between America and the West Indies.

sugar colonies with salt from Turk's Island, Sal Tortuga, and Anguilla, although these islands are themselves a part of the West Indies. The testimony which some experience has enabled me to bear, you will find confirmed by official accounts." SECT. V.

"For almost every purpose of the carpenter and the cooper, it is the lumber of North America that is used. The part which is furnished by the middle colonies of North America, is out of all proportion to the others. Without lumber to repair the buildings they run immediately to decay. And without lumber for the proper packages for sugar, and to contain rum, they cannot be sold at market; they cannot even be kept at home."

"As to rum, the dependence of all the islands, except Jamaica, is as great upon the middle colonies of North America, for the consumption of their rum, as it is for subsistence and for lumber. The rum of Barbadoes, the Leeward Islands, and the government of Granada, does not come into England, except in small portions. It goes in part to Ireland; and all the rest, the great quantity, is distributed chiefly among the middle colonies of North America, agreeable to the law of reciprocal exchange."

4. The mother country was benefitted in her eastern empire, by the great consumption of tea in North America. Our advocates in England, during the disputes which immediately preceded the rupture, alledged that her usual annual demand had amounted to £600,000 sterling, besides great sums for piece-goods and china ware. It is suggested in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce,* that there was probably, some exaggeration in this statement; but admitting the amount to have been less, it must still have formed an important contribution to the funds of the East India Company.

Of the vast quantities of lumber imported by Great Britain and Ireland, no inconsiderable part was drawn from the middle colonies of North America. The trade arising out of the cod fishery, furnished near one half of the remittances from the New England provinces to the mother country. The produce of their cod fishery was divided into two-fifths of salted fish for the European market, and three-fifths for the West India market, and the amount of sales in the European continental markets, went to Great Britain in payment of goods purchased there. The spermaceti, whale oil, and whale bone, proceeding from the whale fishery,

* Vol. iii. p. 545.

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as well as the greater part of the cod oil, were sent to Great Britain, and ministered essentially to her manufactures. According to the statements made in 1775, by the merchants engaged in the American trade, to the House of Commons, the fishery generally, and carrying the fish to market from New England, employed at that period about fourteen hundred and fifty vessels, of one hundred thousand tons burthen, and eleven thousand fishermen and seamen.

The growth and extent of the American fisheries are thus exhibited by Seybert in his Statistics. "In 1670, the cod fishery was commenced by the people in New England; such was their application, that in 1675, they had in this employment six hundred and sixty-five vessels, which measured 25,650 tons, and navigated by 4,405 seamen; at that early period, they caught at the rate of from 350,000 to 400,000 quintals of fish per annum. In 1715, our fishermen first pursued the whale. The fish then known as the Greenland whale, frequented our northern coasts; in a very short time, the activity and success of the colonists in taking them, forced them into more southern latitudes, where the intruders were followed by the harpoons of their former enemies; they were chased off the Azores, along the coast of Africa and Brazil, to the remote regions of Falkland's Island. The discovery of a new species of whale was the consequence of this extensive and perilous circumnavigation; the new fish was found to be more valuable than that on our northern coasts; to it they gave the name of the spermaceti whale."

"In 1771, the Americans employed one hundred and eighty-three vessels, measuring 13,820 tons, in the northern; and one hundred and twenty-one vessels, measuring 14,020 tons, in the southern whale fishery; these vessels gave employment to 4,059 seamen. From 1771 to 1775, Massachusetts employed annually one hundred and eighty-three vessels, of 13,120 tons, in the northern whale fishery, and one hundred and twenty-one vessels, of 14,026 tons, in the southern; navigated by 4,059 seamen."

"Before the revolutionary war, the small island of Nantucket had sixty-five ships, of 4,875 tons, annually employed in the northern; and eigthty-five ships, of 10,200 tons, in the southern fishery."*

* Feb. 9, 1778, on the examination of witnesses at the bar of Parliament, respecting the commercial losses by the war with America—"Mr. George Davis averred that he had been 26 years concerned in the whale and cod fishery; in respect to the former, *he tried to take whales with men from England*, but though they could strike them, and had struck several of late, he had not as yet taken one," &c.

The fact is not a little significative, that for the encouragement of the British fisheries separately, oil and whale fins, taken in ships belonging to Great Britain, were allowed to be imported in her vessels, duty free; while a duty was imposed on the importation of the same articles, taken or imported in vessels belonging to the plantations. Few of my readers can be strangers to the splendid panegyric of Burke upon the unparalleled industry and hardihood displayed by New England in the pursuit of the whale. It may not be unseasonable to recall the rebuke addressed to the British Parliament, with which he prefaced it, as well as the merit which he commemorated. "As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value, since they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your admiration. What in the world is equal to it." &c.

5. So considerable a trade as that between the colonies and the rest of the British empire produced a correspondent increase of shipping. The one hundred thousand hogsheads of tobacco, and the sixty thousand barrels of rice,* annually imported into Great Britain,—employed in the transportation, seventy thousand tons of shipping, almost wholly belonging to Great Britain. Altogether, one thousand and seventy-eight ships, and twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and ten seamen, were engaged in the American trade. The building of ships for sale formed a material branch of the industry of the northern and middle colonies, and was brought to great perfection, particularly at Philadelphia. They supplied the mother country with considerable numbers, at prices much inferior to the standard rate of her cheapest ports. She found an important advantage in this supply, in as much as it was necessary to the support of her carrying

* By the act of 3 Geo. II. c. 28. all rice was, for the second time, declared to be among the enumerated commodities, which were to pay a tax on being transported from colony to colony, and who could not be carried directly to any foreign market. This act established, however, an *exception* to the general rule; and allowed that "any of his majesty's subjects, in any ship or vessel *built in Great Britain*, or belonging to any of his majesty's subjects *residing in Great Britain*, navigated according to law, and having cleared outward in any port of Great Britain for the province of Carolina, may ship rice in the same province, and carry the same directly to any part of Europe, to the southward of Cape Finisterre."

PART I. trade, which, to use the language of her writers, "attained to an amazing height by the aid of her colonies." She was unable to provide enough of ships of her own construction to answer her purposes; and this is attested by the fact, that in the course of the revolutionary war, when America ceased to be the provider, the foreign shipping employed in her commerce, which before had borne the proportion of twelve to forty, rose to that of twenty-nine to thirty-five. Of the shipping employed in the commerce of Great Britain, 398,000 tons were of the built of America. According to Dr. Seybert's Statistics, the proportion of the tonnage employed in the commerce of the colonies and Great Britain, owned by the inhabitants of Great Britain, amounted to about three and two-third eighths; the proportion which belonged to British merchants, occasionally resident in those colonies, was about two-eighths, making together nearly six-eighths of the whole, and the proportion of the tonnage so employed, which belonged to merchants, who were natives and permanent inhabitants of those colonies, was rather more than two and one-third eighths of the whole.

Of the tonnage employed in the trade of the colonies with the British West Indies, five-eighths belonged to merchants, who were permanent inhabitants of those colonies, and three-eighths to British merchants, who resided occasionally in the colonies.

None of the colonies to the north of Maryland ever had a balance in their favour in the trade with the mother country; but always, on the contrary, a large balance against them. The exports of all the colonies, for the year 1770, amounted at least to three millions sterling;* the whole of which may be said to have turned to her account. What she did not consume herself of their productions, she received as the entrepot for Europe, to the great inconvenience and loss of the American owner; and the proceeds of that proportion of them—one-sixth only—which went directly from America to continental Europe, were invested in her manufactures. I do not think it necessary to mark the particular utility of the several articles which she consumed, and will content myself on this head, with repeating after Mr. Burke, "If I were to detail the imports of England from North America, I could

* "An estimate was made this year," (1769) says Macpherson, (Annals, vol. iii. p. 493,) "of the trade of the North American Provinces, including Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland; and the exports from Great Britain, are made to amount to 3,370,900*l.* and the exports from the colonies to 3,924, 626*l.*" &c.

show how many enjoyments they procured, which deceive the burden of life; how many materials which invigorated the springs of national industry, and extended and animated every part of British foreign and domestic commerce." With respect to the trade with the Indians in America, that was wholly on account of Great Britain. Dr. Franklin stated, in his examination before the House of Commons, what could not be denied,—that this trade "though carried on in America was not an American interest; that the people of America were chiefly farmers and planters, and scarce any thing which they raised or produced was an article of commerce with the Indians; that the Indian trade was a British interest; was carried on with British manufactures for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers." SECT. V.

Connected with this head of the trade between the colonies and the mother country, there is one accusation often repeated against the former, on which I would say a few words: I allude to their pretended backwardness in paying their debts to the British merchants. This accusation was abundantly refuted by the British merchants and manufacturers themselves; who bore emphatic testimony at the bar of the House of Commons, in 1775, of the fair dealing and good faith of their American customers. It is, moreover, rendered highly improbable, by the fact, that, although six millions sterling were owing the latter, in December, 1774, yet, in December, 1775, two millions only remained to be paid; four millions having been remitted, even when a separation seemed inevitable.* It is true, that at an earlier period, some few British traders had complained of the laws in force in the plantations, for the recovery of debts, and that parliament had, in consequence, passed a tyrannical bill,† which altered the nature of evidence in their courts of common law, and the nature of their estates, by treating real estates as chattels. To facilitate the proof and recovery of debts, it enacted, that an affidavit taken before the mayor, or other chief magistrate of any town in England, and properly authenticated, should be received as legal evidence in all the courts of the plantations, and have the same force and effect as the personal oath of the plaintiff made *there* in open court; and that lands, houses, negroes, and all *real* estate whatsoever, should be liable to, and chargeable with all debts due either to the king, or any of his subjects, and be assets for the satisfaction thereof, &c.

* Champion, p. 269.

† 5 Geo. II. c. 7.

PART I.

6. On this subject of the trade of America with the mother country, it would have been almost enough to have cited the testimony borne by Mr. Burke and Lord Chatham. The following passage of the speech of the former, on the Conciliation with America, arose immediately out of his consideration of the custom house returns, and of the evidence of notorious facts. "The trade with America alone is now within less than £500,000 of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of this century with the whole world! If I had taken the largest year of those on your table, it would rather have exceeded. But, it will be said, is not this American trade an unnatural protuberance, that has drawn the juices from the rest of the body? The reverse. It is the very food that has nourished every other part into its present magnitude. Our general trade has been greatly augmented; and augmented more or less, in almost every part to which it ever extended; but with this material difference; that of the six millions which in the beginning of the century, constituted the whole mass of our export commerce, the colony trade was but one-twelfth part; it is now (as a part of sixteen millions) considerably more than a third of the whole."

There is something still more direct and conclusive in the language of Chatham. He spoke with all the authority which official station could possibly give in any matter. "When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself," said this illustrious statesman, in one of his speeches against Grenville's scheme of taxation, "of the means of information, which I derived from my office; I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profit to Great Britain, from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is *two millions a year*. *This* is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. *You owe this to America. This is the price America pays you for her protection.*"

The quotations which I have made from Adam Smith, in the first section, develop the nature of the commercial restraint under which the colonies existed. It was, in the theory, a condition of rigorous servitude. They could import no commodity,—with the exception of a few articles,—of the growth or manufacture of Europe, but through Great Britain; they were allowed a direct foreign trade, only so far

as was required by her interests. "The policy of Great Britain," said Mr. Burke, addressing the House of Commons, "was, from the beginning, the system of a monopoly. No trade was let loose from that constraint, but merely to enable the colonists to dispose of what, in the course of your trade, you could not take; or to enable them to dispose of such articles as we forced upon them, and, for which, without some degree of liberty, they could not pay. Hence all your specific and detailed enumerations; hence the innumerable checks and counterchecks; hence that infinite variety of paper chains by which you bind together this complicated system of the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no less than twenty-nine acts of parliament, from the year 1660 to the unfortunate period of 1764."* SECT V.

The celebrated navigation act of 12 Car. II. not only prescribed in what vessels, and to what places, the goods of the colonies might be exported, but it limited one of their internal rights; it prescribed what persons might act as merchants or factors, in the colonies. Three years afterwards, the Parliament passed another bill, "to maintain," as they expressed themselves, "a greater correspondence and *kindness* between the colonies and England; to keep them in a firmer *dependence* on it; to make the kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries for supplying them." This act (15 Car. ii. c. 7.) directed accordingly, that no European goods should be imported into the plantations, but such as should be shipped in England, and proceed directly on board English or plantation ships, &c. The penalty was forfeiture of the goods and vessel; one-third to the king, one to the governor of the plantation, if the seizure were made there, and one third to the informer. And to facilitate the recovery of the penalties, the informer had his option of suing either in the king's courts, where the offence was committed, or in any court of record in England.

Many of the articles which the colonies were compelled to buy of the mother country, could have been procured at a much cheaper rate elsewhere. She could charge her manufactures with what imposts she pleased, and the burden fell ultimately upon the American consumer. It was stated to her ministers, by the agents of the colonies, that from the extraordinary demand in America, for her fabrics, she reaped an advantage of at least twenty per cent. in the price, beyond

* Speech on American taxation.

PART I. what the articles could be purchased for at foreign markets. The forced accumulation of American produce in her ports, reduced its price, by which she gained, on what she consumed, exactly in proportion to the loss of the colonists. The profit accruing to her from the portion re-exported, was obviously considerable. Taking off, as the colonies did in the latter years of their dependence, two millions annually of her manufactures, and depositing with her, compulsorily, produce nearly to the same amount, it must be sufficiently clear, when the other circumstances just stated, are kept in view, that they paid an enormous indirect tax, independently of the charges to which they were liable, as a consequence of her European quarrels. Happily their domestic governments, cast in the simplest mould, and unincumbered with pageantry or surplusage of any kind, subjected them to no heavy expense. "All the different civil establishments in North America," said Adam Smith, "exclusive of those of Maryland and North Carolina, did not, before their revolt, cost the inhabitants above £64,700 a year; an ever memorable example at how small an expense three millions of people may not only be governed, but well governed."*

What has been said conveys an adequate idea of the situation in which the North American colonies were placed as to trade, but I wish to offer something more in illustration of the precipitation and levity, with which their interests, and the true interests of the mother country at the same time, were sacrificed, under the influence of an undistinguishing selfishness, I may quote as of perfect accuracy,—since no British writer ventured to contradict them,—the following statements which Franklin published in London, in 1768.

"They (the colonies,) reflected how lightly the interest of *all* America had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of Great Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expense of a voyage, one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be re-shipped for America; expenses, amounting in war time at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have

* W. of N. c. vii. b. iv. It bespeaks an extraordinary share of political virtue in the colonists, to have resisted, as they did, during so long and close a connexion, the example of the mother country, on the score of public expenditure and aristocratical distinctions.

been charged with; and all this merely, that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. SECT. V.

"On a slight complaint of a few merchants trading with Virginia, nine colonies were restrained from making paper money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce, from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain. But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*, but the interest of any small body of British tradesmen or artificers, has been found to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies.

"Iron is to be found every where in America, and beaver are the natural produce of that country: hats and nails and steel are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the king gets his living by making hats on this or on that side of the water. Yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America, in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured; and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and still a smaller body of steel-makers, (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England,) prevailed totally to forbid, by an act of parliament, the erecting of slitting mills, or steel furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages," &c.

7. I may be permitted, before I leave this topic of commercial obligation, to advance to a more recent period. If a British statesman could not, after the American war, say absolutely, as Chatham had done before its occurrence—"America is the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the basis of our power," he might, however, safely ascribe no inconsiderable share of the continued prosperity of the British isles, to the commercial intercourse which was re-established with her, and to her increase in wealth and population. Her vast consumption of British manufactures, her abundant production of the raw materials, cotton particularly,* her imports

* In 1791, the first parcel of cotton of American growth, was exported from the United States. Calculated on the average of the six years, from 1806 to 1811, there was annually imported into Great Britain, from the United States, 34,568,487 pounds, and in 1811, 46,872,452 pounds.

PART I. from the East Indies, her traffic with the West, the diffusion, through her means, of the British commodities of every description over the continent of Europe, gave her, in her independent state, an aspect nearly approaching to that under which Chatham saw her in the colonial. A distinguished member of the British parliament, Mr. Alexander Baring, examined fully in 1808, with the advantages of practical knowledge and much general commercial learning, the question of her increased utility, and pronounced that, upon the whole, she had, in her independent situation, to a greater degree than could have been expected from any other, been the means of *augmenting the British resources, in the war with the continental powers*—that *she contributed in the highest degree possible, all the benefits which one nation could derive from the existence of another*, or that one mother country could receive from that of the best regulated colony.* The same enquirer ascertained, that three-fourths of the money proceeding from the consumption of the produce of the soil of America, in all parts of the world, were paid to Great Britain for her manufactures. He developed other benefits, the reality of which did not admit of dispute, and found it unpardonable "that his countrymen should entertain a jealousy of the prosperity and wealth American independence had produced, which not only served to circulate the produce of their industry, where they could not carry it themselves, but by increasing the means of America, augmented in the same proportion her consumption of that produce, at a time when the loss of their former customers, by the persecutions of France, rendered it most valuable."

It will be enough, for the present, in addition to these remarks, to state the leading facts in the history of our independent trade with the British empire, as they are exhibited in the valuable works of Pitkin and Seybert.

The amount of goods imported into the United States from England in the year 1784, must have been about eighteen millions of dollars, and in 1785, about twelve millions; making, in those two years, thirty millions of dollars; while the

In 1755, the cotton manufacture, in England, was ranked "among the humblest of the domestic arts;" the products of this branch were then almost entirely for home consumption; in 1797, it took the lead of all the other manufactures in Great Britain, and in 1809, gave employment to 800,000 persons, and its annual value was estimated at 30,000,000*l.* or 132,000,000 of dollars.—Seybert.

* Examination of the Orders in Council, &c.

exports of the United States to England, were only between eight and nine millions. SECT V.

On the average of the six years, posterior to the war of our revolution, ending with 1789, the merchandise annually imported into Great Britain, from the United States, amounted to 908,636*l.* sterling; and the importations into the United States, from Great Britain, on the same average, amounted annually to 2,119,837*l.* sterling; leaving an annual balance of 1,211,201*l.* sterling, or 5,329,284 dollars, in favour of Great Britain. In 1792, according to the estimate of the American Secretary of the Treasury, our exports to Great Britain and her dominions amounted to 9,363,416 dollars, and our imports to 15,285,428 dollars. Much the greater part of the imports was from Great Britain, exclusive of her dependencies.

From sundry British documents it appears, that the United States, from 1793 to 1800, imported from Great Britain a greater amount of manufactures than were exported from Great Britain during the same period to all foreign Europe. In 1800, the United States received from Great Britain more than one-fourth of the amount of the manufactured articles exported by her to all parts of the world.

During the seven years from 1795 to 1801, both inclusive, the balance of trade with Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, was uniformly against the United States, and in the aggregate amounted to 106,118,104 dollars, or 15,159,748*l.* per annum. The balance in favour of Great Britain was only 70,116 dollars less than the apparent unfavourable balance produced by our trade with all parts of the world collectively taken.

In 1800, the merchandise exported from Great Britain was worth 16*l.* 14*s.* sterling, or 74.23 dollars per ton; and that imported from Great Britain into the United States was worth 54*l.* 4*s.* sterling, or 240.89 dollars per ton.

In 1802, 1803, and 1804, there was annually imported into the United States, from the British possessions in Europe, of merchandise paying duties ad valorem, and of other manufactured articles subject to specific duties, the aggregate of 27,400,000 dollars: if we admit that one-fourth of this amount was re-exported, 20,550,000 dollars of the value thereof remained for the annual consumption of our population; the profits on which were gained by Great Britain. It is generally calculated that raw materials gain seven fold by being manufactured. Such were our contributions in those

PART I. years, for the advancement of the skill and industry of the British nation.

On the average of the three years, 1802, 1803, and 1804, the annual value of the merchandise exported from the United States to the dominions of Great Britain, amounted to 18,665,777 dollars; and on the average of the same three years, the annual value of the merchandise imported into the United States from Great Britain amounted to 35,737,030 dollars; leaving an annual balance of 17,071,253 dollars against the United States.

The *real* value of British produce and manufacture exported to the United States, on an average of the years 1806 and 1807, was 11,417,834*l.* sterling, or about 50,500,000 dollars; making one quarter and one-third of all the exports of British produce and manufacture during those two years. By the English accounts, the *real* value of cotton and woollen goods exported to the United States from England, on an average of the same two years, was 8,984,886*l.* or about 39,500,000 dollars, as valued in England.

In 1807, the amount of goods, paying duties ad valorem, was nearly 39,000,000 of dollars; when we add the goods imported, in the same year, duty free, and those subject to specific duties, the whole amount imported from Great Britain in 1807, would not, it is believed, fall much short of 50,000,000 of dollars.

The aggregate value of the exports of every description to the United States from Great Britain, during the seven years, from 1805 to 1811, amounted to 62,266,668*l.* sterling, or annually to 36,470,471 dollars; their aggregate value to all parts of the world during the seven years amounted to 376,977,160*l.* sterling, or annually to 220,800,498 dollars; or, the United States received annually, of the merchandise of every description, exported to all parts of the world from Great Britain, 16.51 per centum, or one-sixth of the aggregate value thereof.

On the average of the seven years, from 1805 to 1811, the aggregate value of the British produce and manufactures annually exported from Great Britain to the United States, amounted to 35,441,367 dollars; and the annual value of the domestic produce of the United States exported to Great Britain, calculated on the same average, amounted to 9,124,941 dollars; leaving an annual balance of 26,316,426 dollars in favour of Great Britain. Or the annual value of the exports of every description from Great Britain to the United States, on the average aforesaid, amounted to 36,470,471

dollars; and the aggregate annual value of the exports of every description from the United States to Great Britain and her dependencies, her East India possessions excepted, amounted to 16,438,362 dollars; leaving an annual balance of 20,032,109 dollars in favour of Great Britain.

On the return of peace between the two countries, in 1815, the importation of British goods was great beyond example. From the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1815, the amount of goods paying duties ad valorem, imported from Great Britain and her dominions, was 71,400,599 dollars. Nearly the whole of this sum was made up from goods coming directly from Great Britain, consisting principally of woollens and cotton. The value of articles paying specific duties, from Great Britain and her dependencies, during the same period, (calculating their value at the place of importation) was 11,470,586.80 dollars, making the whole amount no less than 82,871,185.80 dollars from Great Britain and the countries in her possession.

During the six years from 1802-3 to 1807-8 inclusive, the United States exported in bullion to India, only 1,742,682*l.* sterling, less than had been exported during the same term, by the British East India Company, the officers of the Company's ships, and by the British private trade: the amount which we exported, was more than two-thirds of that exported from Great Britain.

It appears that the United States, during the six years from 1802 to 1808, exported to the British East Indies, in merchandise, an aggregate of 2,589,589 dollars; or annually, 431,598 dollars. The treasure (specie) exported in the same term, in the aggregate, amounted to 17,626,275 dollars, or 2,937,712 dollars per annum. The importations into those settlements, consisting of money and merchandise, from the United States, amounted to 3,369,310 dollars per annum. During the six years aforesaid, there was exported, from the British East Indies, to the United States, merchandise, amounting to 18,633,426 dollars, or annually to 3,105,571 dollars. The treasure exported as aforesaid, amounted in the aggregate to 69,500 dollars, or annually to 11,583 dollars; leaving an annual balance in favour of India, of 2,662,390 dollars.

During the years 1804, 1805, and 1806, the United States supplied the British West India Islands with more than nine tenths of their flour, meal and bread, about two-thirds of their Indian corn, oats, peas and beans, about one-half of their beef

PART I. and pork, more than one-half of their dried fish, and nearly the whole of their live stock and lumber.

The average quantity of staves and heading, sent to the British West Indies, in the years 1805, 1806, 1807, was 17,614,000, being nearly one-half of the quantity exported during these years. The quantity of boards and plank, for the same years, on an average was 40,000,000. In 1803, 260,555, and in 1807, 251,706 barrels of flour were exported to these islands.

The value of flour, bread, and biscuit exported to the British West Indies, on an average of the years 1802, 1803, 1804, was about 2,000,000 dollars; of lumber of all kinds about 1,000,000; of beef, pork, bacon, and lard, about 800,000 dollars; and of Indian corn, rye, and Indian meal, about 600,000. The quantity of rum imported, during the same period, was about 4,000,000 gallons annually, and was valued at about 2,500,000 dollars. The quantity imported, in the years 1805, 1806, and 1807, was about 4,614,000 gallons annually.

The average amount of duties upon merchandise, annually imported into the United States from the British West India islands and North American colonial possessions, from 1802 to 1816, excluding the period from the commencement of the restrictive system to the termination of the late war, exceeds 2,000,000 dollars. The value of the merchandise upon which these duties accrued is supposed to be equal to 7,000,000 dollars per annum. The average annual amount of exports to the same places, principally of domestic production, up to 1817, excluding the time of the operation of the restrictive system, and the continuance of the war, have exceeded 6,500,000 dollars. In 1815, the amount of the duties on merchandise imported in American vessels from the British West India Islands and North American colonial possessions, was, to the amount of duties imported in British vessels, as one to four; in 1816, as one to five and a half, or two to eleven. Taking the ratio of 1816, as the basis of calculation, and it is believed to afford the safest and most solid,—as past experience shows a constant diminution of the amount of duties on goods imported in vessels of the United States—it is estimated, supposing the same proportion exists in the exports, that American vessels are used on the transportation annually of 2,177,924 dollars worth of merchandise, and British vessels, of 11,322,076 dollars worth of the most bulky articles of commerce, one-half of which are of the growth, production, or

manufacture of the United States. This inequality in the advantages of this commerce, to the navigating interest of this country, arises from the rigorous enforcement of the colonial system of Great Britain, as to the United States, while it is relaxed to all nations who are friendly to the British empire and her colonial possessions. SECT. V.

SECTION VI.

OF THE RELATIVE DISPOSITIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA, FROM THE PEACE OF 1763.

PART I.

1. The oppression and losses which the colonies had endured; the shackles imposed upon them; the destitution to which they had been so long consigned; the parsimony and unskilfulness with which aid was finally administered by the mother country; the faint praise or the bitter sarcasm which attended their noblest exertions; the despicable character and habitual malversation of their governors;* the immeasurable evils which they could trace to the indifference, incapacity, or corruption of British ministers; the general complexion of the domestic government of Great Britain, so livid in the contrast with their own, and so ghastly in the pictures of her party writers; all, were insufficient to stifle their affections, or shake their allegiance. In the season of their severest distress from the incursions of the Indian and Canadian; at the height of their dissatisfaction with the restraining and disfranchising system of the mother country; they did not turn their eyes to France, who could have arrested the steps of their savage invaders, and who would gladly have made any compromise, or concession of privileges, to attach them to her empire. Franklin boasted with truth in 1768, "Scotland has had its rebellion; Ireland has had its rebellion; England its plots against the reigning family; but America is free from this reproach." What is related of the Greek colonies, could be more emphatically said of those of Great Britain—that they remembered the land of their fathers with filial respect and affection; that they retained an invincible predilection for its laws and customs, for its religion and language; that they followed devotedly its fortunes, and exulted in its glory. The peace of 1763 seemed to banish every chilling recollection; to heighten their complacency in the connexion with

* See Note K.

Great Britain and their admiration of the English constitution. They fondly thought the true and highest panegyric and triumph of the American, to be comprised in the verses of the Poet, SECT. VI.

> And *English* merit his, where meet combin'd
> Whate'er high fancy, sound judicious thought,
> An ample generous heart, undrooping soul,
> And firm, tenacious valour can bestow.*

Testimony of a convincing nature superabounds with respect to these dispositions. Out of the mass, I will select that of the two men who, by their opportunities of knowledge, and soundness of judgment, were entitled, perhaps, to most weight in the question; Governor Pownall and Dr. Franklin. The first had been long in some of the highest offices which the crown could confer in America—governor and commander-in-chief of Massachusetts Bay—governor of South Carolina—lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, &c.: the second gave the evidence which I shall quote from him, in 1785, when he could have no interest in making a false or exaggerated statement.

"I profess," said Pownall in 1765, "an affection for the colonies, because having lived amongst their people in a private, as well as in a public character, I know them—I know that in their private social relations, there is not a more friendly, and in their political one, a more zealously loyal people, in all his majesty's dominions. When fairly and openly dealt with, there is not a people who has a truer sense of the necessary powers of government. They would sacrifice their dearest interests for the honour and prosperity of their mother country. I have a right to say this, because experience has given me a practical knowledge, and this impression, of them."†

"The duty of a colony is, affection for the mother country: here I may affirm, that in whatever form and temper this affection can lie in the human breast, in that form, by the deepest and most permanent impression, it ever did lie in the breast of the American people. They have no other idea of this country than as their home; they have no other word by which to express it, and till of late, it has constantly been expressed by the name of home. That powerful affection, the love of our native country, which operates in every breast, operates

* Thompson.

† The Administration of the Colonies—Dedication to George Grenville.

PART I. in this people towards England, which they consider as their native country: nor is this a mere passive impression, a mere opinion in speculation—it has been wrought up in them to a vigilant and active zeal for the service of this country."*

"The true loyalists," said Franklin, "were the people of America against whom the royalists of England acted. No people were ever known more truly loyal, and universally so, to their sovereigns: the protestant succession in the House of Hanover was their idol. Not a jacobite was to be found from one end of the colonies to the other. They were affectionate to the people of England, zealous and forward to assist in her wars, by voluntary contributions of men and money, even beyond their proportion."

In my first and second sections, I have quoted the language of several of the British politicians, imputing to the colonies, even in their infancy, the design of acquiring independence. As it was my purpose there, merely to set the apprehensions of the mother country, and the energetic character of our American forefathers, in a more striking relief, I did not formally deny the truth of the charge; and it appeared to me that if it were admitted to be true, the circumstances under which the settlers repaired to this continent, and consolidated their fortunes, would furnish them with an obvious and a complete justification. But it is far from being well-founded; and some observations on the subject, in this place, may not be deemed superfluous. The excessive jealousy of power, and the consciousness of tyrannical rule, raised the suspicion in the administration of the Stuarts and of the Roundheads; the selfish and domineering spirit of the nation at large rendered her susceptible, at every moment, of lively alarm for her monopoly and sovereignty. Government and people were, from these causes, in the language of Mr. Burke, "too acute; perpetually full of distrusts, conjectures and divinations, formed in defiance of facts and experience." Whenever a natural or chartered right, a local privilege and immunity, was pleaded against the encroachments of their arrogant will or oppressive acts, they at once fancied and proclaimed, that their whole authority was denied, and that the litigant provinces either meditated, or had committed rebellion. They could not perceive that the very assertion of a privilege implied an acknowledgment of their supremacy; that the eagerness of the colonists to obtain charters from the crown, and their anxiety to preserve unimpaired those which they obtained,—their

* Debate on Disturbances in America, 1770.

claims to the liberties of Englishmen as defined and pledged by the British constitution; their perpetual appeals to the authority of Parliament; amounted to a constant renovation of fealty, and indicated any other drift than that of separation. When, after the peace of 1763, the scheme of American taxation and servitude was matured, and the determination fixed to persist in it at all hazards, its immediate authors and abettors, in order to render it more acceptable to the nation, exerted themselves particularly, to spread the impression, that New England had constantly aimed at independence; that "the Americans had been obstinate, undutiful and ungovernable from the very beginning." This was the text taken by the orators in Parliament, and the writers out of doors, on the ministerial side, with a view to the conclusion, that all concession or gentleness to the intractable provincials would be futile; that "they never could be brought to their duty and the true subordinate relation, till reduced to an unconditional, effectual submission."* SECT. VI.

To convict New England of treasonable dispositions in all stages of her existence, is, palpably, the main object of Chalmers, in his Annals; and it would seem, that he, or those in whose service he writes, did not deem it advisable to relinquish the argument, as late as the year 1814. In the preface to a work published under his name in that year, and entitled "Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, on various points of English Jurisprudence, chiefly concerning the Colonies, &c." I find the following passage: "None of the statesmen of 1766 or 1768, nor those of the preceding nor subsequent times, had any suspicion that there lay among the documents, in the Board of Trade and Patent Office, the most satisfactory proofs from the epoch of the Revolution in 1668, throughout every reign, and during every administration, of the settled purpose of the revolted colonies, to acquire *direct independence:* the design had long been entertained of acquiring positive sovereignty."

We have seen what these proofs are, in the extracts which I have made from his Annals. They amount to no more than what was extant in the public history of the colonies; and may be resolved into a determined assertion, on their part, of fundamental liberties, and into acts of sheer necessity. In illustrating their political intrepidity, I have cited many instances of an inflexible tenacity as to natural and chartered rights, but none of a rebellious or seditious temper. Evidence

* Earl Talbot, House of Lords, 1776.

PART I. is not wanting that they would never have submitted to the deprivation of their privileges; but none exists even of a wish for independence, while those privileges could be preserved. If we fix our attention, for a moment, on the situation of the first settlers, particularly the northern, we shall perceive that, to exist at all in order and safety; to constitute a regular and stable commonweaith; it was indispensable for them to transcend the letter of the royal patents. They had no alternative in the first instance, but to erect judicatories, and establish representative assemblies, in reference to their domestic weal; and, when no hope of protection from abroad could be indulged, to confederate for external defence.

We may wonder that Dr. Robertson, acknowledging the dereliction of the New England colonies during the civil commotions in the mother country, and the extremity of their peril from the plots of the Indians, should yet censoriously represent their league of 1643,—the only means of their preservation,—as "a transaction in which they seem to have considered themselves as independent societies, possessing all the rights of sovereignty, and free from the controul of any superior power."* Thrown as they were into a wilderness, rather as reprobates to be sacrificed, than as subjects to be defended; committed to the exigencies and chances of a distant settlement, and pressed with the highest degree of danger at the season when all was confusion and dissension in the mother country; they must have fallen into anarchy themselves, had they waited to consult her rulers respecting their domestic arrangements; or have perished by the tomahawk of the savage, had they looked to her for a system of defence, and delayed to combine their strength and sagacity, so as to assure a common exertion, whenever it might be wanted, whether for military or civil objects. The institutions and prosperity that arose out of this compulsory exercise of discretion, under such untoward circumstances, excite in me anew, the surprise and admiration which I have more than once expressed.

The measure of coining money, taken by Massachusetts, during the civil wars, gave a handle to her enemies in England, which was used eagerly, from the period of the Restoration, to the apparition militant of Chalmers and his numerous associates in the same crusade. That writer lays, as we have seen, the greatest stress upon its sufficiency, as evidence of the early disloyalty of New England; and Dr. Robertson found it "a usurpation;" an unambiguous indication of "the aspiring

* Vol. iv. History of America.

spirit prevalent among the people of Massachusetts."* I cannot refrain from offering, in answer to these invidious suggestions, a quotation from a paper on the subject published in the English Monthly Magazine for January, 1799. It comprises an anecdote which gives the proper air to the orthodox historian's umbrage "at the tree stampt upon the Boston coin as an apt symbol of its progressive vigour." SECT. VI.

"It seems to be the opinion of Dr. Robertson, that the people of Massachusetts assumed this 'peculiar prerogative of sovereignty' in defiance of, or at least, in opposition to, the royal authority. But it ought to be particularly noticed, that the first coinage was made in the year 1652. Instead, therefore, of ascribing this measure to the 'aspiring spirit of the people of Massachusetts,' the Doctor might just as well have said, that the colonists being nearly deserted, at this time, by the rulers at home, on account of the civil wars, and the various forms of government which afterwards followed, were obliged to coin money from absolute necessity. The following extract from the Memoirs of the late truly patriotic Thomas Hollis, will prove this to have been the principal, if not the only cause, and consequently point out the mistake which Dr. Robertson has inadvertently fallen into."

"Sir Thomas Temple, brother to Sir William Temple, resided several years in New England during the interregnum. After the Restoration, when he returned to England, the king sent for him, and discoursed with him on the state of affairs in the Massachusetts, and discovered great warmth against that colony. Among other things, he said *they had invaded his prerogative by coining money.* Sir Thomas, who was a real friend to the colony, told his majesty, that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles asked what tree that was? Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak, which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good humour, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favour, calling them a '*parcel of honest dogs.*'"

"The jocular turn which Sir Thomas gave to the story, was evidently calculated to amuse the monarch in his own

* Vol. iv. History of America.

PART I. way, and had the desired effect, in disposing him to hear with good humour, that just defence of the colonies which Sir Thomas was so well qualified to make. We find he pleaded, that the colonists thought it no crime to make money for their own use; at a time too, when the confusions in the mother country prevented them from receiving those occasional supplies of coin, which were absolutely necessary for common circulation. Such an uncommon exigency required an uncommon expedient; and this will account for the proceedings of the people of Massachusetts in a more rational manner, than Dr Robertson has done."

By the act of 14 Geo. II. c. 37, the Americans were restrained from creating banks; by that of 24 Geo. II. c. 53, the governors and assemblies of the respective American provinces were prohibited from making "any act, order, resolution, or vote, whereby paper bills or bills of credit, shall be created or issued, under any pretence whatever; or from protracting or postponing the times limited, or the provisions made, for calling in such as were then actually issued and subsisting." After the peace of 1763, most of the colonies were reduced, in consequence of the enforcement of these and other regulations of a like purport, to a situation worse than that of Massachusetts in 1672. It is thus stated by Macpherson in his Annals. "Their foreign trade was almost entirely ruined by the rigorous execution of the new orders against smuggling, and the collection of the duties in hard silver, which soon drained the country of any little real money circulating in it. And, as if government had intended to prevent the colonists from having even the shadow of money, another act was passed, in a few days after that for the new duties, declaring that no paper bills, to be thenceforth issued, should be made a legal tender in payment, and enjoining those in circulation to be sunk (that is, paid off in hard money) at the limited time."

Had the colonies—some of which were driven to the expedient of barter,—possessed bullion, and proceeded to coin it, on this emergency, it would not have been difficult for any liberal enquirer to decide whether the proceeding was to be interpreted into "an indication of an aspiring spirit," or into a mere and natural effort for temporary relief from an oppressive privation. I find it the more unpardonable in Dr. Robertson to have mistaken or misrepresented the views of the colonists, since he has himself furnished an explanation of much of their apparent indocility in the following paragraph: "In writing the history of the English settlements in America, it is

necessary to trace the progress of the restraining laws with accuracy, as in every subsequent transaction, we may observe *a perpetual exertion* on the part of the mother country, *to enforce and extend them;* and on the part of the colonies, endeavours no less unremitting to elude or to obstruct their operation." SECT. VI.

The inveterate design of the colonies to become independent, continued to be a leading topic in the British parliament, notwithstanding the evidence furnished in their conduct on the repeal of the stamp act in 1766.* We have a specimen of the manner in which the charge was supported, in the argument of Sir Richard Sutton, who said in the House of Commons, on the 22d April, 1774, "If you ask an American—who is his master, he will tell you he has none; nor any governor but Jesus Christ!" Lord Mansfield was quite sure that the Americans had meditated a state of independency, particularly since the peace of Paris, and upon this ground chiefly, he rested his celebrated declaration in the House of Lords, "if we do not kill the Americans, the Americans will kill us." In the quotation which I have made from one of his speeches on the same point, *Davenant* is brought forward as having "foreseen that America would endeavour to form herself into a separate and independent state, whenever she found herself of sufficient strength to contend with the mother country." The learned judge did not, however, deal fairly with Davenant. This great political teacher—by far the ablest of his time, and whose treatises, according to his editor, Sir Charles Whitworth, "may be properly called the foundation of the political establishment of England"—had delivered, in his Discourse on the Plantation Trade, opinions respecting the colonies, which Lord Mansfield would have been very unwilling to produce in their real shape. The following, written in 1698, are of this number, and will compensate for the space they may occupy in these pages, by their historical value.

"Generally speaking our colonies while they have English blood in their veins, and have relations in England, and while

* "When the news of the repeal of the stamp act reached America," says Macpherson, "it was, notwithstanding the disagreeable nature of the concomitant act, received with universal demonstrations of joy. Subscriptions were made for erecting statues to Mr. Pitt, who had exerted himself for the repeal; and resolutions were made to prepare new dresses *made of British manufactures for celebrating the 4th of June, the birth day of their most gracious sovereign,* and to give their homespun clothes to the poor," &c.

PART I. they can get by trading with us, the stronger and greater they grow, the more this crown and kingdom will get by them; and *nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate, can bring them to rebel.*"

"While we keep a strict eye upon their conduct, and chiefly watch their growth in shipping of strength and for war, whatever other increase they make, either in wealth or in number of inhabitants, cannot be turned against us, and can *never* be detrimental to this nation While we are strong and they weak at sea, they may be compelled to obey the laws of England, and not to trade directly and upon their own account with other countries. I do not think the greatness these colonies may arrive at in a natural course, and in the progress of time can be dangerous to England. To build ships in the way of trade or for their own defence, can administer no true cause of jealousy."

"It is true, if in New England, or in other parts there, they should pretend to set up manufactures, and to clothe as well as feed their neighbours, their nearness and low price would give them such advantages over this nation, as might prove of pernicious consequence; but this fear seems very remote, because new inhabitants, especially in a large extent of country, find their account better in rearing cattle, tilling the earth, clearing it of woods, making fences, and by erecting necessary buildings, than in setting up of manufactures, which is the last work of a people settled three or four hundred years, growing numerous and wanting territory."

"When we contemplate the great increase and improvements which have been made in New England, Carolina, and Pennsylvania, we cannot but think it injustice not to say, that a large share of this general good to those parts is owing to the education of the planters, which, if not entirely virtuous, has, at least, a show of virtue."

"And to the sobriety and temperate way of living, practised by the dissenters retired to America, we may justly attribute the increase they have made there of inhabitants, which is beyond the usual proportion to be any where else observed."

"Had it not been for provinces begun and carried on by people of sobriety, the English empire abroad would be much weaker than it is at present."

"If ever any thing great or good be done for our English colonies, industry must have its due recompense, and that cannot be, without encouragement to it, which, perhaps, is only to be brought about *by confirming their liberties.*"

"And as great care should be taken in this respect, so, without doubt, it is advisable, that no little emulations, or private interests of neighbour governors, nor that the petitions of hungry courtiers at home, should prevail to discourage those particular colonies, who in a few years have raised themselves by their own charge, prudence, and industry, to the wealth and greatness they are now arrived at, without expense to the crown: Upon which account, any innovations or breach of their original charters (besides that it seems a breach of the public faith) may, peradventure, not tend to the king's profit."

"We shall not pretend to determine whether the people in the Plantations have a right to all the privileges of English subjects; but the contrary notion is, perhaps, too much entertained and practised in places *which happen not to be distant from St. Stephen's Chapel.* Upon which account it will, peradventure, be a great security and encouragement to these industrious people, if a declaratory law were made, that Englishmen have right to all the laws of England, while they remain in countries subject to the dominion of this kingdom."

2. On the side of the British government, the bias and impressions taken after the epoch of 1763, were altogether, and by an almost incredible perversion of heart and of judgment, the reverse of those which I have ascribed to the colonies. It was to be expected that the exertions and sufferings of the latter during the war, and the value of the results to Great Britain, would have warmed the feelings, and relaxed the gripe, of any ministry or parliament, however greedy of revenue, or tenacious of dominion. The British nation had acquired, by the war, lands more than equal in value, to the amount of all the expense she had incurred in America from its first settlement; and she saw opened to her new avenues of a most beneficial commerce. No share was sought or reaped by the colonies, in the millions of acres which they had helped to conquer; they seemed to desire no more than the loosening of their fetters so far, as to enable them to recover from their wounds.

But, to allow them an interval of ease entered not into the imagination or heart of their task-masters. The Lords of the Admiralty issued forthwith, instructions to the commanders on the American station, to enforce all those acts of trade to which I have adverted, in the most rigid manner. "The ministry" says Gordon, "obliged all sea-officers stationed on

PART I. the American coasts, to act in the capacity of the meanest revenue officers, making them submit to the usual custom-house oaths and regulations for that purpose. This proved a great grievance to the American merchants and traders. Many illegal seizures were made; no redress could be had but from Britain. Besides, the American trade with the Spaniards, by which the British manufactures were vended in return, for gold and silver in coin or bullion, cochineal, &c. as occasion served, was almost instantly destroyed by the armed ships under the new regulations."* Immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, the intentions of the government to quarter ten thousand troops in America, and to support them at the expense of the colonies, were authentically announced. Mr. Grenville avowed it, in the House of Commons, to be his purpose, to raise the money for the support of those troops, by a duty on the foreign sugar and molasses imported into America, and by stamps on all papers legal and mercantile. In 1764, Parliament passed an act imposing duties on the two first articles; and to secure its execution, the penalties for the breach of it, or of any other act relating to the trade and revenues of the British colonies, were made recoverable in any court of admiralty in the colony where the offence should be committed, or—at the election of the informer or prosecutor—in any court of vice-admiralty, which might be appointed by the crown in any part of America. Thus the trial by jury might be withheld, and the defendant called to support his claim to property seized, at distances which would make the expense of the pursuit more than the value of the prize. Moreover, the act provided that he could recover neither costs nor damages, if the judge certified that there was probable cause of seizure.

I do not know of any moral phenomenon which history offers, more hateful—than that those who were entrusted in Great Britain with the supreme administration, should not only have proved utterly insensible to the services and distresses of the colonies, but have at once resolved to take advantage of the expulsion of her rival from the American continent, effected, in great part, through their vigorous assistance, and of the mighty increase and complete disengagement of the national strength, produced by the same generous co-operation—to enforce in all its rigour the whole digest of commercial subjection; to plunge them into what Mr. Burke so justly described as " a perfect uncompensated slavery, by joining together

* Vol. i. p. 207.

the restraints of an universal internal and external monopoly, with an universal internal and external taxation."

There seems to be now but one voice throughout the world, respecting the expedients employed to establish this cumulative despotism—the revenue-acts, stamp-acts, restraining and starving acts, Boston-port acts, acts for disfranchising legislatures, for quartering soldiers in private houses, dragging men to England for trial, &c. English writers of every party-denomination, finding that the verdict of Europe was given unanimously and irreversibly, against this headlong career of injustice and folly, have concurred in passing upon it, themselves, the severest sentence of reprobation. They tell us without hesitation that a scheme of new modelling the colonial government, so as to increase the power and patronage of the crown, and enable ministers to enrich their relations and dependents, was the cause of the war, and of the loss of America. They adduce these as the prominent features of the hopeful scheme :—

First, to raise a revenue in America by act of parliament, to be applied to support an army there; to pay a large salary to the governors, another to the lieutenant governors, salaries to the judges of the law and admiralty; and thus to render the whole government, executive and judicial, entirely independent of the people, and wholly dependent on the minister. Second, to make a new division of the colonies, to reduce the number of them by making the small ones more extensive, to make them all royal governments, with a peerage in each, &c.

Mr. Burke gave to parliament, in his unanswerable speech on American taxation, a full account of the dawn and progress of the new plan of colonial administration. His relation stands as a monument of the genius of that rule, under which the colonies, by their own admirable energies, and a train of providential dispensations, had grown to a strength, and preserved a spirit, too firm to be broken by its utmost pressure, when all other barriers to its natural action were removed. The following is a part of the testimony of Burke:

"At the period immediately on the close of the war of 1756, a scheme of government new in many things seemed to have been adopted. I saw, or thought I saw, several symptoms of a great change, whilst I sat in your gallery, a good while before I had the honour of a seat in this house. At that period the necessity was established of keeping up no less than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of seats in this house. This scheme was adopted with very general applause from all sides, at the very time that, by your conquests in

PART I. America, your danger from foreign attempts in that part of the world was much lessened, or indeed rather quite over. When this huge increase of military establishment was resolved on, a revenue was to be found to support so great a burthen. Country gentlemen, the great patrons of economy, and the great resisters of a standing armed force, would not have entered with much alacrity into the vote for so large and so expensive an army, if they had been very sure that they were to continue to pay for it. But hopes of another kind were held out to them; and, in particular, I well remember, that Mr. Townshend, in a brilliant harangue on this subject, did dazzle them, by playing before their eyes the image of a revenue to be raised in America."

The conduct of the colonies in resisting this scheme did not want for advocates in the parliament; and we may claim for it particularly, the unqualified sanction of Camden and Chatham, the most enlightened and conscientious among the British statesmen of that day. "We have been," said the first, "the original aggressors in this business; if we obstinately persist, we are fairly answerable for all the consequences. When we contend that we aim only to defend and enforce our own rights, I positively deny it. I contend that America has been driven, by cruel necessity, to defend her rights from the united attacks of violence, oppression, and injustice. I contend that America has been indisputably aggrieved. Perhaps, *as a domineering Englishman*, wishing to enjoy the ideal benefit of such a claim of taxation, I might urge it with earnestness, and endeavour to carry my point; but if, on the other hand, I resided in America, that I felt, or was to feel, the effects of such manifest injustice, I certainly should resist the attempt with that degree of ardour so daring a violation of what should be held dearer than life itself, ought to enkindle in the breast of every freeman."

"Pursuing the ideas of a native American, or a person residing in that country, what must be the sense they feel of the repeated injuries that have for a succession of years past been heaped on them? To have their property, under the idea of asserting a right to tax them, voted away by one act of parliament, and their charters, under an idea of the supreme authority of the British legislature, swept away by another vote of parliament. Thus depriving them, or rather claiming a right to dispose of every shilling they are worth, without one of them being represented by the persons pretending to exercise this right; and thus stripping them of their natural rights, growing out of the constitution, confirmed by charter, and

recognized by every branch of the legislature, without examination, or even without hearing."*

"The Americans," said Chatham, "are a wise, industrious, and prudent people. They possess too much good sense, and too much spirit, ever to submit to hold their properties on so precarious and disgraceful a tenure. They see us, besides, immersed in luxury, dissipation, venality, and corruption; they perceive, that, even if they were willing to contribute, to what purposes their contributions would be applied; to nothing but the extinction of public and private virtue there, as has already been the case here."†

An American finds not only instruction, but a gratification such as is commonly enjoyed, in looking back upon a hideous evil from which you have lastingly escaped, when he retraces the portraits drawn by near observers, whose title to credit is beyond dispute, of the cabinets and men to whom the English monarch and nation committed the liberties and fortunes of the colonies. Let us see how they are described by three statesmen of different political views and connexions, and of the fullest and most intimate experience in the ministerial government of the kingdom. In the debate of the House of Lords of Feb. 1st, 1775, Lord Mansfield said—"I have seen much of courts, parliaments and cabinets, and have been a frequent witness to the means used to acquire popularity, and the base and mean purposes to which that popularity has been afterwards employed. I have been in cabinets where the great struggle has not been to advance the public interest; not by coalition and mutual assistance to strengthen the hands of government; but by cabals, jealousy and mutual distrust, to thwart each others designs, and to circumvent each other, in order to obtain power and pre-eminence."

Lord Chatham, in concluding the defence of his plan of Conciliation at the sitting of the Lords of the 1st February, 1775, apostrophized the ministers of the day thus:

"Yet when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished; I am not surprised that men who hate liberty should detest those that prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves, should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to carry this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance,

* Debate in the House of Lords, Nov. 15, 1775.
† Ibid.

PART I. futility, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests. in that view, you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know if the present measure (of reconciliation with the colonies) should prevail, that you must instantly lose your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms: but sure I am, that such are your well known characters and abilities, any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situation, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and nature designed you."

Earlier—in the debate respecting the disorders in America, 1770,—Lord Shelburne held this language in the same house:

"My lords,—I scarcely remember a period in history, ancient or modern, where the ministers of a state, however dead to the feelings of justice, were so lost to the sentiments of shame, that they gloried to be detested by every honest individual of their country. This pinnacle of profligacy was reserved for the present ministers of Great Britain, who have adopted the principle of the Roman tyrant as far as they were able; and if our heads were beyond their power, have at least cut off all our liberties with a blow."

3. As the fellowship of enterprise, suffering, and object, during the war of 1756, between the colonies and the mother country, the copious effusion of their blood in the same military operations, and their joint triumph, failed to inspire her even with the sympathies natural to the most common alliance, the more intimate relations with them into which that war brought her; the opportunities which it afforded for a thorough observation of their character and situation; had no effect in curing her profound ignorance on these points. It appears, indeed, the less extraordinary, that the metropolitan councils should have remained in this state, when it is noted, that most of the royal governors in America seemed, with all the advantages of their situation, to have no clearer insight. Indignation might relax into mirth, when we read the language which the governor of Massachusetts addressed to his principals in 1774. "The colonists talk of fixing a plan of government of their own; and it is *somewhat surprising*, that so many in the other provinces interest themselves so much in the be-

half of this of Massachusetts. I find they have *some* warm friends in New York and Philadelphia; and I learn by an officer who left Carolina, the latter end of August, that the *people of Charleston are as mad as they are here.*"* SECT. VI.

If any British statesman could be expected to understand thoroughly the nature and condition of the Americans, it was Chatham; yet, he is reported to have spoken in parliament in 1776, in this strain:

"There were not wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp-act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. A great deal has been said without doors, of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. *There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience, to make a governor of a colony there.*"

In their first projects for subverting the liberties of America; in every step which they took as they prosecuted their aim; in all that they uttered, the ministry betrayed that they were entire strangers to her spirit and resources. Indeed, the almost universal ignorance of the British on these points, rendered them altogether unfit to hold dominion over the colonies, and constituted, in itself, a sufficient reason why the connexion should be dissolved. We may judge of the delusions, common to rulers and people, by the following specimens drawn from the parliamentary debates.

"My Lords," said the Lord Chancellor Northington to the Upper House, in 1766,† "the colonies are become too big to be governed by the laws they at first set out with. They have therefore run into confusion, and it will be the policy of this country to form a plan of laws for them. If they withdraw allegiance, you must withdraw protection; *and then the little state of Genoa, or the kingdom, or rather republic of Sweden, may soon overrun them.*"

"I have the best reasons for thinking," said the prime mi-

* Letter from the Hon. Gov. Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 20th Sept. 1774.

† Debate on disturbances in America.

PART I. nister, Lord North, in 1770,* "that the American associations not to buy British goods, must be speedily self-destroyed; because the Americans, to distress us, *will not injure themselves;* because they are already weary of giving an advanced price for commodities they are obliged to purchase; and because, after all the hardships which they say their commerce groans under, it is still obviously their interest not to commence manufactures."

The eloquent Glover, in the speech at the bar of the Commons, which I have already cited, taught that body a more accurate lesson, while he took an instructive review of the successive delusions of the nation.

"I would have accompanied others more speculative through their several gradations of hope, still disappointed, and still reviving, but for one observation, which I have generally kept concealed, but will soon reveal to you. But for this observation I might have concurred with the public belief, that the capital of a province, now declared in rebellion, would have submitted on the landing of a few regiments; this failing, that other provinces from ancient jealousy and disgust would not have interfered, and would have rather sought their own advantage out of that town's distress; this failing, that they never would have proceeded to the length of constituting a certain inauspicious assembly among themselves; this failing, that the members of such assembly would have disagreed, and not framed a single resolution. This last hope having proved abortive, a new one is popularly adopted, that the first intelligence of enforcing measures, at least the bare commencement of their execution will tame the most refractory spirits. I will here state the grounds of this, and all the preceding hopes; afterwards with your indulgence the ground of my original and continued doubts.

"Our trading nation naturally assumed, that the present contention would be with traders in America. The stock of a trader, whether his own, or in part, and often the greatest part, a property of others, confiding in him, is personal, lodged in a magazine, and exposed in seasons of commotion to instantaneous devastation. The circumstance of such property, the considerations, suggested by common prudence, by the sense of common justice to those, who have given a generous credit, rarely make room for that intrepidity, which meets force with force. Hence I admit, that the mere traffickers would have submitted at first, and will now, whenever they

* Debate on American tea duty.

dare. The reason, why they have not dared, is the foundation of my doubts. SECT. VI.

"I am speaking to an enlightened assembly, conversant with their own annals. In those ages, the reverse of commercial, when your ancestors filled the ranks of men at arms, and composed the cavalry of England, of whom did the infantry consist? A race unknown to other kingdoms, and in the present opulence of traffic, almost extinct in this, the yeomanry of England; an order of men, possessing paternal inheritance, cultivated under their own care, enough to preserve independence, and cherish the generous sentiments attendant on that condition; without superfluity for idleness, or effeminate indulgence.

"Of such doth North America consist. The race is revived there in greater numbers, and in a greater proportion to the rest of the inhabitants; and in such the power of that continent resides. These keep the traffickers in awe. These, many hundred thousands in multitude, with enthusiasm in their hearts, with the petition, the bill of rights, and the acts of settlement, silent and obsolete in some places, but vociferous and fresh, as newly born, among them; these, hot with the blood of their progenitors, the enthusiastic scourges at one period, and the revolutional expellers, of tyranny, at another; these, unpractised *in frivolous dissipation and ruinous profusion*, standing armed on the spot; possessing, delivered down from their fathers, a property not moveable, nor exposed to total destruction, therefore maintainable, and exciting all the spirit and vigour of defence; these, under such circumstances of number, animation and manners, their lawyers and clergy blowing the trumpet, are we to encounter with a handful of men sent three thousand miles over the ocean to seek such adversaries on their own paternal ground.—*But these will not fight, says the general voice of Great Britain*," &c.

It was long before the British government and the majority of the British people, could be persuaded that America would have the resolution to look the mother country in the face, and steadily resist its immense power. They supposed a successful resistance impossible, arguing from considerations natural enough in the frame of mind, and habits of action, almost universal throughout Europe. America consisted, to their eye, only of *parts* of a nation, and those the meanest in quality, because the least artificial in the modification, and tinselled in the drapery; she had neither standing armies, disciplined forces, fleets nor fortresses; she wanted great and small arms, flints, ammunition; she laboured under a scarcity of coin; she

PART I. would have terrible difficulty in procuring clothing, salt, medicines; jealousies rankled between the several provinces, and must quickly break their precipitate league, &c. When the revolution took a consistent character, and generated resources, its impetus was ascribed, by these sagacious reasoners, to any other cause, than the heroic spirit which informed it, and which easily surmounted all common obstacles. They were never touched by what they could not discern, and their infatuation continued therefore nearly the same in all points. In 1776, their commissioner on the coast of America, Lord Howe, was instructed to offer *pardon upon submission;* and the letters which passed between this herald of clemency and Dr. Franklin, as one of the committee of conference deputed by Congress, were published the same year, in London, to show the *insolence of the insurgents in refusing the offer of pardon upon submission.*

The following extract from a speech of Lord George Germain, of May, 1777, in the House of Commons, will furnish still more striking evidence of the manner in which the ministry indulged their own spleen, and fed the delusion of their followers. His Lordship said—"As to the campaign, he thought he had the greatest reason to expect success from the army of General Howe, being in good order, and more numerous from recruits than in the last campaign; while that of the rebels was in much worse order, and less numerous: that the fleet was also reinforced with some ships of the line, which were wanting last year; that he thought himself farther founded in his expectation from the minds of the people turning; from their experiencing the misery of anarchy, confusion, and despotism, instead of the happiness and security they enjoyed under the legal government of this country; that these emotions had operated so strongly in their minds, that very many deserters had left the rebel army, and come in to General Howe with their arms; many hundreds were coming in every day: *that he had formed his opinion from the circumstances of the Congress having given up the government, confessing themselves unequal to it, and created Mr. Washington dictator of America;* these circumstances, he thought, promised divisions among them. That another circumstance which every day proved of yet greater importance, was, their *being disappointed in their expectations of assistance from France.* They had been buoyed up with that hope, and made to believe, that a superior French fleet would be seen riding on their coasts; in all which they now felt themselves deceived, and resented it accordingly. That they had met with the same disappoint-

ment from Spain; not that he asserted they had not received underhand assistance from both, in officers, &c. but what they were promised was open avowed assistance. Yet, Sir, added his lordship, for the protection of France they would pay largely; they have offered largely; they have, by their pretended ambassadors, *actually offered to the French court all our West India islands!* There is liberality, Sir! There is love of freedom, to consign so readily to French dominion and despotism, the whole West Indies!"* SECT. VI.

It was about the date of this happy effusion,—only a few months before the surrender of Bourgoyne,—that Lord Stormont, the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, being addressed by Messrs. Franklin and Deane, commissioners of the American Congress at the same court, on the subject of an exchange of prisoners, answered in these words—"The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels unless they come *to implore his Majesty's clemency!*"

4. Besides the consideration of the colossal power of the mother country, and the many acknowledged obstacles to successful resistance inherent in the condition and habits of the colonies, other encouragements were wanted by the ministerial majority in parliament, and still more by the body of the people, for perseverance in the system of tyrannical coercion. In defiance of the fresh experience of the war of '56; of the whole current of the colonial history; of positive evidence of every description; the moral and intellectual character of the colonists was made to furnish those encouragements. They were at once cowards, knaves, and dolts, rebellious and insolent, whom it would be easy to subdue, and just to bring under a rigorous discipline. The most was made on every occasion, of these pretended traits and dispositions, for the support of the ministerial policy, the gratification of spleen, or the display of wit, both in and out of parliament. What passed in that body ought not to be forgotten; for, it affords a portentous and instructive example of national arrogance trampling on all public decorum, all experience and verisimilitude, all self-interest and self-respect; all justice and gratitude; all the most sacred regards, and endearing affinities.

With respect to the House of Commons, a single extract from the Reports of its debates, may suffice. The tenor of this extract will strike every reader who is familiar with the tone, and favourite topics, of the late English publications concern-

* See note L.

PART I. ing America. Colonel Grant said—"he had served in America; knew the Americans very well; was certain they would not fight; they would never dare to face an English army; and that they did not possess any of the qualifications necessary to make a good soldier; *he repeated many of their common-place expressions; ridiculed their enthusiasm in religion, and drew a disagreeable picture of their manners and ways of living.*"*

The picture sketched by the gallant colonel is said to have produced much mirth in the House, and obtained implicit credit from the majority. The chronicles of the time relate that a suspicion of its accuracy did not arise, until some months after, when news was received in England of the battle of Breeds' Hill; and of the expedition to Canada, which, as it is related by Brougham in his Colonial Policy, furnishes an excellent comment on the speech of Grant.

"While the most sanguine friends of American independence scarcely ventured to hope that the colonists would be able to maintain their ground against the forces of the mother country, they astonished the world, by commencing offensive operations. The very first campaign of that unhappy war, was signalized by a successful expedition of the revolters against the stations of the British forces on the frontiers of Canada; and the gates of that province were thus thrown open to the most formidable invasion, which threatened the total conquest of the country before the end of the same year. The gallant leaders to whom those operations were entrusted, actually reduced the whole of Upper Canada, and were only foiled in their attempts on Quebec, by the ill choice of the season, owing chiefly to the divisions of opinion that constantly attend the offensive measures of governments newly formed upon a popular model; the union of the besieged in defence of their large property, which they were taught to believe would be exposed to the plunder of the rebels; and the extensive powers wisely confided by the British government to General Carleton—powers formerly unknown in any of the colonies, and utterly inconsistent with a government bearing the faintest resemblance to a popular form. Thus had the infant republic of America, immediately at the commencement of separate operations, and above half a year previous to the formal declaration of independence, almost succeeded in the conquest of a

* Debate of Feb. 2d, 1775. This Colonel Grant was the same that commanded the detachment whose defeat near Fort Duquesne I have noticed in my 4th Section, and which was preserved from utter destruction by the bravery of the Virginia militia.

British colony, strong by its natural position, by the vigour of its internal administration, by the experience of the veteran troops who defended it, and by the skill of the gallant officer who commanded these forces; while the only advantages of the assailants consisted in the romantic valour of their leaders, the enthusiasm of men fighting in their own cause, and the vigorous councils of an independent community."* SECT. VI.

In the House of Lords, the empyrean of British legislation and senatorial dignity, " that great body of his majesty's brave and faithful subjects with which his American provinces happily abounded,"† was still more roughly handled than in St. Stephen's Chapel. " A little before I left London, in 1775," says Franklin,‡ " being at the House of Lords when a debate in which Lord Camden was to speak, and who, indeed, spoke admirably on American affairs, I was much disgusted from the ministerial side, by many base reflections on American courage, religion, understanding, &c. in which we were treated with the utmost contempt, as the lowest of mankind, and almost of a different species from the English of Britain; but particularly the American honesty was abused by some of the lords, who asserted that we were all knaves, and wanted only by this dispute to avoid paying our debts; that if we had any sense of equity or justice, we should offer payment of the tea," &c.

The parliamentary history furnishes copious proof of this statement of Franklin. Such specimens abound as the following: " Earl Talbot said, the noble Earl who spoke last has certainly hit off one leading feature of the Americans. His lordship tells you that even in the midst of their zeal for freedom and independence, they were not able to conquer their *natural propensity to fraud and concealment*," &c. &c.

" The duke of *Chandos* rose, and moved an address of thanks. His grace began with stating the many public and private virtues of the sovereign, and *the obstinacy, baseness, and ingratitude, of his rebellious subjects in America*," &c. &c.

The extent to which this obloquy was carried on one point, is evidenced, even by a protest of the minority, who adduced it as one of their motives to dissent, in the following remarkable language: " We do not apprehend that the topic so much insisted upon by a lord high in office, namely, *the cowardice of his Majesty's American subjects*, to have any weight in itself, or be at all agreeable to the dignity of sentiment which ought

* Book II. Sect. i. † Vide page 121. ‡ Memoirs, vol. i.

PART I. to characterize this House. This is to call for resistance, and to provoke rebellion by the most powerful of all motives which can act upon men of any degree of spirit and sensibility."

The lord high in office alluded to in the protest, was the Earl of Sandwich, who presided over the admiralty, and possessed a considerable share of influence in the cabinet. His speech is a precious sample, of the general strain of the mother country at this period, respecting her transatlantic offspring. It is a model which has hardly been surpassed in the multitude of similar effusions at our expense, to which almost every year since its date has given birth. Its pleasantry is inimitable; and the truth of the details, as well as the delicacy of the tone, will be more strongly felt, on a reference to what I have narrated, in regard to the conduct of the provincials at Louisbourg, and the efficacy of their conquest.

"The Earl of Sandwich said—suppose the colonies do abound in men, what does that signify? They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish, instead of 40, or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field at least 200,000. The more the better: the easier would be the conquest; if they did not run away they would starve themselves into compliance with our measures. I will tell your lordships an anecdote that happened at the siege of Louisbourg. Sir Peter Warren told me, that in order to try the courage of the Americans, he ordered that a great number of them should be placed in the front of the army: the Americans pretended at first to be very much elated at this mark of distinction, and boasted what mighty feats they would do upon the scene of action; however, when the moment came to put in execution this boasted courage, behold, every one of them ran from the front to the rear of the army, with as much expedition as their feet could carry them, and threatened to go off entirely, if the commander offered to make them a shield to protect the British soldiers at the expense of their blood; they did not understand such usage. Sir Peter finding what *egregious cowards* they were, and knowing of what importance such numbers would be to intimidate the French by their appearance, told *these American heroes*, that his orders had been misunderstood, that he always intended to keep them in the rear of the army to make the great push; that it was the custom of generals to preserve the best troops to the last; that this was also the Roman custom, and as the Americans resembled the Romans in every thing, particularly in courage and a love to their country, he should make no scruple of following the Roman

custom, and he made no doubt but the modern Romans would show acts of bravery equal to any in ancient Rome. By such discourses as these, said Sir Peter Warren, I made shift to keep them with us, though I took care they should be pushed forward in no dangerous conflict. Now, I can tell the noble Lord, that this is exactly the situation of *all the heroes in North America;* they are all Romans. And are those men to fright us from the post of honour? Believe me, my lords, *the very sound of a cannon* would carry them off, in Sir Peter's words, as fast as their feet could carry them."* SECT. VI.

Although a majority of the noble lords chuckled at the waggery of the British commodore, and the *vis comica* of the head of the Admiralty, there was, as the above-mentioned protest teaches, a small minority of the assembly, who neither relished the joke, nor comprehended the manliness of this course of argument in favour of the proscription of a whole people. A generous indignation at the language held in the House of Commons, roused several of the members of that body, to stem the torrent of opprobrium, and I should commit an injustice, if I did not repeat something of what was uttered on the American side.

"Col. Barré said—the Americans had been called cowards, but the very regiment of foot which behaved so gallantly at Bunkers-hill, (an engagement that smacked more of defeat than victory) the very corps that broke the whole French column and threw them in such disorder at the siege of Quebec, was three parts composed of these cowards."† Governor Johnstone paid the following tribute: "To a mind that loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of freedom, no spectacle can be more affecting than the action at Bunkers-hill. To see an irregular peasantry commanded by a physician; inferior in numbers; opposed by every circumstance of cannon and bombs that could terrify timid minds, calmly waiting the attack of the gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the world, with an excellent train of artillery, and twice repulsing those very troops who had often chased the battalions of France, and at last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so respectable a manner that they were not even pursued—Who can reflect on such scenes and not adore the constitution of government which could breed such men!"‡

The pusillanimity of the provincials served as an enlivening topic for the circles of fashion, and the clubs of the coffee

* Debate, March 15th, 1775.
† Debate, October 26th, 1775.
‡ Ibid.—See Note M.

PART I. houses, as well as for the august body of parliament. According to Franklin,* "every man in England, in the year 1767, seemed to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seemed to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talked of *our subjects in the colonies.*" In 1775, almost every man in England thought himself able to conquer America, and talked, in the words of the ministry, of the palinode which the dastardly Americans would sing, at the very appearance of a single British regiment. The English newspapers of the day bear me out in this representation; and Franklin has left on record, in one of his letters,* a piece of concurrent testimony sufficiently pointed. It is to be inserted here, not merely for the sake of the historical fact, but for the concluding observations, which I wish to be taken as a commentary, upon all that I have quoted on this head from the British orators.

"The word general puts me in mind of a general, your general Clarke, who had the folly to say, *in my hearing*, at Sir John Pringle's, that with a thousand British grenadiers, he would undertake to go from one end of America to the other, and geld all the males, partly by force and partly by a little coaxing. It is plain he took us for a species of animals very little superior to brutes. The parliament too believed the stories of another foolish general, I forget his name, that the Yankees never *felt bold.*

"Yankey was understood to be a sort of Yahoo, and the parliament did not think that the petitions of such creatures were fit to be received and read in so wise an assembly. What was the consequence of this monstrous pride and insolence? You first sent small armies to subdue us, believing them more than sufficient, but soon found yourselves obliged to send greater; these, whenever they ventured to penetrate our country beyond the protection of their ships, were either repulsed and obliged to scamper out, or were surrounded, beaten, and taken prisoners. An American planter, who had never seen Europe, was chosen by us to command our troops, and continued during the whole war. This man sent home to you, one after another, five of your best generals baffled, their heads bare of laurels, disgraced even in the opinion of their employers. Your contempt of our understandings, in comparison with your own, appeared to be not much better founded than that of our courage, if we may judge by this circum-

* Letter to Lord Kames. London, April 11th, 1767.
† August 19th, 1784.

stance, that in whatever court of Europe a Yankey negociator appeared, the wise British minister was routed, put in a passion, picked a quarrel with your friends, and was sent home with a flea in his ear." SECT. VI.

5. The extreme of acrimony, nay ferociousness, into which the temper of the ministerial party towards the colonies had run in England, before the declaration of independence, and even within three or four years after the peace of Paris, is scarcely conceivable on a review of the many circumstances which tended, with such weight of reason, and force of pathos, to produce the opposite state of mind. We have seen that, from a mere calculation of interest, or from party-aims, the restoration of Canada was proposed, at the very moment, of the consummation of the common efforts of the mother country and the colonies in the struggle with France. When the colonies had barely ventured to denounce the stamp-act, the idea of a more direct *check*, of vindictive visitation by similar means, was admitted and inculcated. Franklin, writing from London in 1768, tells his correspondent, "I can assure you, that here are not wanting people, not now in the ministry, but that soon may be, who, if they were ministers, would take no step to prevent an Indian war in the colonies; being of opinion, which they express openly, that it would be a very good thing, in the first place, to chastise the colonists for their undutifulness, and then to make them sensible of the necessity of protection by the troops of this country."

We read in the history of Gordon, where he treats of the discussions in parliament respecting the repeal of the stamp-act, that "the Dukes of York and Cumberland, the Lords of the Bed Chamber, and the officers of the royal household, were for carrying fire and sword to America, rather than recal the obnoxious act; and that the bench of bishops joined them."* The unnatural rancour which dictated this fell policy, could readily tolerate that of starving the provinces of New England, by cutting them off from the fishery on their own coast. In extenuation of this measure, and in answer to the objections of the opposition in parliament, who, with the ministry, believed it might produce famine, the Solicitor General of Scotland, a ministerial oracle, said, "that though prevented from fishing in the sea, the New Englanders had fish in their rivers, to which this act did not prevent them from resorting; and that, though he understood their country was not

* Vol. ii. p. 139.

PART I. fit for grain, yet they had a grain of their own, Indian corn, *on which they might subsist full as well as they deserved.*"*

When such language was held on a question of this nature, it is not matter of surprise that, in the same year, the majority in parliament listened, not merely without shuddering, but with complacency, to the significative intimation already noticed, of one of its members, Governor Lyttleton, respecting the seduction of the American negroes.

The consoling image of a servile war in the southern colonies, had even become familiar, to the meditations of the politicians, and was industriously presented to the nation. "If the obstinacy of the Americans continues without actual hostilities," said Dr. Johnson, in his Taxation no Tyranny, "it may perhaps be *mollified* by turning out the soldiers to free quarters, forbidding any personal cruelty or hurt. It has been proposed, that the slaves should be set free, an act which surely the lovers of liberty cannot but commend. If they are furnished with fire-arms, *for defence*, and utensils for husbandry, and settled in *some simple form of government* within the country, they may be more grateful and honest than their masters."†

The Governors of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Florida, in carrying this plan into effect, forgot the utensils of husbandry, but not the fire-arms; and offered them to the negroes, to be used not strictly for personal defence, but *in defence of their sovereign!* The ministry upheld, in the House of Commons, Lord Dunmore's celebrated proclamation of the 7th Nov. 1775, of which the following passage is hardly yet effaced from the memory of the Virginians. "I do declare all indented servants, negroes or others appertaining to rebels, free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his majesty's troops as soon as may be, *for the more speedily reducing this colony to a proper sense of their duty to his majesty's crown and dignity.*"

Mr. Burke, referring to this subject in his speech on the Conciliation with America, made some remarks, the last of which may be particularly recommended to the attention of

* Debate of the Commons, March 6th, 1775.

† "That this pamphlet (Taxation no Tyranny) was written at the desire of those who were then in power, I have no doubt; and, indeed, Johnson owned to me, that it had been revised and curtailed by some of them. He told me, that they had struck out one passage, which was to this effect: "That the colonists could with no solidity argue from their not having been taxed while in their infancy, that they should not now be taxed. We do not put a calf into the plough; we wait till he is an ox." He said, "They struck it out either critically as too ludicrous, or politically as too exasperating." (*Boswell.*)

those British critics, who so often discharge upon us, on account of our slave-holding, "the splendid bile of their virtuous indignation." SECT. VI.

"With regard to the high aristocratic spirit of Virginia and the southern colonies, it has been proposed, I know, to reduce it, by declaring a general enfranchisement of their slaves. This project has had its advocates and panegyrists. But I could never argue myself into an opinion of it. Slaves as these unfortunate black people are, and dull as all men are from slavery, must they not a little suspect the offer of freedom from *that very nation, which has sold them to their present masters? From that nation, one of whose causes of quarrel with those masters, is their refusal to deal any more in that inhuman traffic?*"

The manifesto and proclamation which the British commissioners *for restoring peace*, addressed to the Americans in October 1778, denounced a war of havoc, in terms that occasioned a motion in parliament for solemn reprobation. In the course of the animated debate on this motion,* the American Congress of that era,—now classed by universal assent, with the wisest and most virtuous assemblies of the kind which are mentioned in history,—was the particular object of proscription and opprobrium, with members of both parties. Mr. *Powys* said, "if the Congress could be picked up, man by man, and put to the most exemplary punishment, they should all fall unpitied by him, because they really deserved every severity that could be inflicted on them."

Governor *Johnstone*† "approved of the proclamation throughout, and condemned the American Congress in the strongest terms. *He thought no quarter ought to be shown to them; and if the infernals could be let loose against them he should approve of the measure.* He said, the proclamation certainly *did mean a war of desolation;* it meant nothing else: it could mean nothing else; and if he had been on the spot when it was issued, he would have signed it."

Mr. Attorney General Wedderburn said, "that the proclamation was as sober, conscientious, and *humane* a piece of good writing as he ever saw: he explained away the phrase of the 'extremes of war,' and asserted that nothing *could* be done but what was necessary to self preservation, which he avowed was a sufficient plea for all the horrors of war."

* Dec. 4th, 1778.

† His appointment by the ministry as one of the commissioners to America, explains the contrariety between his tone at this period, and that which he adopted at the beginning of the war.

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Mr. Macdonald "understood the part of the proclamation which gave such an alarm, to be nothing more than a warning to the rebels not to expect that lenity in future, which we had shown to them during the course of the war, when we looked upon them as our fellow subjects, and whom we wished to reclaim by the *most singular mildness and indulgence*. By their alliance with France, the natural enemy of our country, they had forfeited all right to clemency; they were therefore in future to be treated no longer as subjects of Great Britain, but as appendages to the French monarchy, whose interests they had preferred to the British: *parental fondness* should no longer sway the breasts of our rulers; war should assume a different form from that in which it had been conducted from the beginning of the rebellion; and the Americans might prepare to be treated, not, indeed, like beasts, or savages, but like common enemies, for whom we no longer retained any trace of affection, which their unnatural alliance had absolutely effaced, but which had subsisted longer than it could have prudently been expected, after the many unprecedented provocations they had given Great Britain to take off the ties of affection at a much more early period. War now they should have in its full vigour; not such an one as they had been all along accustomed to, and which had been *so tempered with peace*, that it scarcely deserved the name of war. This he conceived to be the meaning of the words in the proclamation; he hoped it would have the desired effect on the rebels; he flattered himself that it was a happy omen to see the friends of America so alarmed at it; and their terrors he would deem the forerunners of that general consternation in America, which would make the deluded colonists open their eyes before it should be too late, and return to their allegiance to the mother country."

6. There is still a sort of incredulity of the imagination when we reflect, how soon the *parent* state resorted to the expedient of annoyance—the last which, in the order of penal visitation, would present itself to the fiercest hate against the most detestable object, or to the most just revenge for the deepest and bitterest injury. It will be at once understood that I mean the employment of the savages as auxiliaries; an enormity of rancour and desperate ambition, which drew down those blasting thunders from the genius of Chatham, that seem to be still heard, when we look at the faint image of them conveyed in the parliamentary history. Two years after the commencement of the revolution, had this prophetic and generous spirit

to tell his countrymen, in an agony of shame and grief, "It is not a wild and lawless banditti whom we oppose:—the resistance of America is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots." The cruelty and degeneracy of associating to the British arms the *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife*—of "trafficking at the shambles of every German despot" for the purpose of crushing that resistance; of butchering a people chiefly descended from British loins, and from whose labours Britain had reaped so rich a harvest of power and glory, might well produce the "sanctified phrenzy" to which he was wrought. But he recollected, besides, how long that people had struggled with "the merciless Indian" for the possession of the soil, on which they had reared English communities and institutions; and he felt, in seeing the same inveterate enemy led back upon them, by the country for whose benefit nearly as much as their own, they had fought so bravely, and bled so profusely, the peculiar hardship and bitterness of their lot, and the unparalleled barbarity and callousness of England. There was enough to rouse all the energies of his humanity and his patriotism, in the item which the treasury accounts presented, of £160,000 sterling, for the purchase of warlike accoutrements for the savages;—in that phrase, as ridiculous as it was ferocious, of Bourgoyne's speech to the congress of Indians at the river Bouquet (June 21st, 1777)—"Go forth in the might of your valour and your cause; *strike* at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, disturbers of public order, peace, and happiness; destroyers of commerce; parricides of the state;"—and in the proclamation of governor Tonyn of East Florida, offering a reward for every American scalp delivered to persons appointed to receive them. SECT. VI.

It is an aggravation of guilt that the utmost efforts of the highest degree of human eloquence, seconded by the most mature wisdom and approved patriotism, were wholly without effect. Throughout the war, the mother country displayed as haughty and ruthless a spirit, as if she were in fact engaged in crushing "a wild and lawless banditti," or resisting an hereditary enemy and rival, alien and odious to her by every principle of estrangement and aversion.* The Americans whom she made prisoners in the contest, persisting, as they did, in rejecting all temptations to enter into her service against their country, so far from conciliating kindness by their magnanimity, experienced a more rigorous treatment than the French and Spaniards in the same situation. After many hundreds

* See Note M.

PART I. of them had languished for several years in a cruel captivity, they petitioned the government in vain for an equal allowance of provision. The earl of Shelburne affirmed in the House of Lords, in the debate of December 5th, 1777, that "the French officers taken prisoners going to America, had been inhumanly treated; but that the American prisoners in England were treated with unprecedented barbarity."

The American Board of War had a conference with Mr. Boudinot, the commissary general of prisoners, at York town, on the 21st of December, 1777, and after having carefully examined the evidence produced by him, agreed upon the following report: "That there are about 900 privates, and 300 officers prisoners in the city of New York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers in Philadelphia:—That the privates in New York have been crowded all summer in sugar-houses, and the officers boarded on Long Island, except about 30, who have been confined in the provost guard, and in the most loathsome jails:—That since the beginning of October all these prisoners, both officers and privates, have been confined in prison ships, or the provost:—That the privates in Philadelphia have been kept in two public jails, and the officers in the state house:—That, from the best evidence which the nature of the subject will admit of, the general allowance of prisoners, at most does not exceed four ounces of meat and as much bread (often so damaged as not to be eatable) per day, and often much less, though the professed allowance is from eight to ten ounces:—*That it has been a common practice with the enemy, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four, or even five days without a morsel of provisions of any kind, and then to tempt him to enlist to save his life:*—That there are numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger from their severe treatment:—That being generally stript of what clothes they have when taken, they have suffered greatly for the want thereof, during their confinement."

Mr. Burke, in one of his publications of the year 1776, sarcastically remarks, "it is undoubtedly some comfort for our disappointments and burdens, to insult the few provincial officers we take, by throwing them with common men into a gaol, and some triumph to hold the bold adventurer Ethan Allen, in irons in a dungeon in Cornwall."

This gallant American was taken prisoner, fighting with the utmost bravery, in Canada, under the banners of Montgomery. He was immediately loaded with irons, and transported to England, in that condition, on board of a man-of-

war. On some observations being made in the House of Lords, by the duke of Richmond, concerning his treatment, the earl of Suffolk, one of the ministry, made this reply— " The noble duke says, we brought over Ethan Allen in irons to this country, but were afraid to try him, lest he should be acquitted by an English jury, or that we should not be able legally to convict him. I do assure his Grace, that he is equally mistaken in both his conjectures; we neither had a doubt but we should be able to legally convict him, nor were we afraid that an English jury would have acquitted him; nor further was it *out of any tenderness to the man*, who, I maintain, had justly forfeited his life to the offended laws of his country. But I will tell his Grace the true motives which induced administration to act as they did. We were aware that the rebels had lately made a considerable number of prisoners, and we accordingly avoided bringing him to his trial from considerations of *prudence;* from a dread of the consequences of retaliation; not from a doubt of his legal guilt, or a fear of his acquittal by an English jury."* SECT. VI.

The conduct and temper of the ministry in the case of Ethan Allen,—which would have been the same in that of Montgomery, had he fallen into their hands,—deserves to be visited with the contrast, which is afforded in such a trait as the following, related by general Bourgoyne in the House of Commons, on the 26th of May, 1778.

" The district of Saratoga is the property of major general Scuyler of the American troops; there were large barracks built by him which took fire, the day after the British army arrived on the ground. General Scuyler had likewise a very good dwelling-house, exceeding large store-houses, great saw-mills, and other out buildings, to the value altogether, perhaps, of 10,000*l.* a few days before the negotiation with general Gates, the enemy had formed a plan to attack me; a large column of troops were approaching to pass the small river, preparatory to a general action, and were entirely covered from the fire of my artillery by those buildings. Sir, I avow that I gave the order to set them on fire; and in a very short time that whole property, I have described, was consumed. But, to show that the person most deeply concerned in that calamity, did not put the construction upon it, which it has pleased the honourable gentleman to do, I must inform the House, that one of the first persons I saw, after the convention was signed, was general Scuyler. I expressed to him my regret at the event which

* 1776.

PART I. had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it; said the occasion justified it, according to the principles and rules of war, and that he should have done the same upon the same occasion, or words to that effect. He did more—he sent an aid-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed, to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Scuyler and her family; and in this general's house I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality."

7. I do not wish to depreciate the value, or detract from the glory, of the exertions made by the great champions of the American cause in the British parliament. The Chathams, the Camdens, the Shipleys, and the Barrés, were animated by a love of justice, and a hatred of oppression; and these noble sentiments predominated equally, in the breasts of many of our less conspicuous friends throughout the British nation. But nothing is more certain, than that the opposition, generally, to the plans of ministers, had no immediate or principal reference to the rights and interests of America. It arose out of pre-existing domestic divisions; and the parties marshalled themselves accordingly, in the new dispute—the tories and high churchmen on the side of government; the religious dissenters and the assertors of the principles of 1688, in the train of the whig-leaders in parliament, candidates for place, and invariable antagonists of those in possession. The old combat was renewed with fresh fury; the oppression of America served as a battery for the minority; while the treasury-bench and the dispensers of crown patronage, made use of the prospect of her subjection—which would open a new exchequer, and a new chapter in the red book,—to multiply adherents and fortify themselves in power. Doubtless, had they accomplished their object in America,—had their arms and their arts been successful in that quarter, with whatever havoc of free institutions, and noble lives, and fair creations of manly toil—they would have attained all their ends at home, and now flourish in British history, as do the Clives and the Hastings in the annals of the India-House.

The point is no longer open to controversy, that the ministry had a majority of the British people with them in the begin-

ning of the war.* The British nation sanctioned the harshest measures of coercion through ignorance of the true state of the case, and a blind pride of opinion. By degrees, as her agriculture, trade, and manufactures, began to be seriously affected by the expenses and embarrassments of the contest, the classes dependent upon the prosperity of those branches of industry, saw it in a less favourable light; and passing from private disagreements and expostulations with the ministry, to an open approval of the policy urged by an indefatigable parliamentary opposition, determined the peace and the recognition of our independence. Circumstances brought the affair to public opinion in the last resort; and that opinion yielded to a calculation of profit and loss. No generous sentiment or broad political reasoning, mingled itself in fact, or had any sensible influence, with the business-like deliberation of its arbiters and immediate instruments. There were none at this crisis, as there were none at any antecedent period, who "hailed it as an extension of British honour and happiness, that great, and happy, and independent communities of British descent, should exist in America, with the best characteristics of British manners and institutions." In parliament, all voices proclaimed the emancipation of the colonies as an evil of the first magnitude.† The question of our independence had, at the outset, to do with the spirit of corruption and tyranny in

* The testimony of the ministerial party is emphatically positive on this point. Lord North said (May 14th, 1777) "he might justly affirm, that there was a very great majority of the nation at large, who were for prosecuting the war against their rebellious subjects in America, till they should acknowledge the legislative supremacy of parliament." So, Mr. Jenkinson—(March 17th, 1778)—"All degrees of people arose in one unanimous resentment, and the war became a popular war. I say this war with America has been a popular war," &c.

† In the debate of July 10th, 1782, on American Independence, the Earl of Shelburne said,—"With respect to America, he had always considered her independence as a great evil which Britain had to dread, and to guard against. He had spoken of it in this manner for years past, and *when he believed he was joined in sentiment by every man in the country.* He had always believed and declared, that the independence of America was an evil as much to be apprehended and dreaded by America as by Britain! This had always been his opinion; and he had constantly laboured, by every means in his power, to persuade men, that this was the case, in his applications to private men and to public men, to individuals and to bodies of men. He wished to God, that he had been appointed to urge that proposition, and to maintain it before congress! He was one of the last men in the country who had been brought over to agree that Britain ought to acknowledge the independence of America; but circumstances, he confessed, were changed, and he was now of opinion that it was become a necessary evil which the country must endure to avoid a greater," &c.

PART I. the cabinet, and of arrogance and commercial monopoly in the people. In the end, it appeared not merely less dangerous to the monopoly than was thought, but even likely to prove the reverse. This consideration abated the fierceness and accelerated the submission, of pride, which had finally, a severer struggle, in yielding to France and Spain. The opposition leaders who succeeded the authors of the war in the cabinet, were carried onward, irresistibly, to the last concession, by the principles upon which they mounted to power, and by the course of events. As regards the dispositions and personal views of the Shelburne administration, the history, now fully disclosed, of the negotiations for peace, has left few grounds of admiration or gratitude.

8. It has been said, and it may be true, that, notwithstanding the addition of one hundred millions sterling made to the British national debt, the effusion of so much blood, the humiliation correlative to the triumph of France and Spain, the indelible stains left in the national character, not a few of the English politicians *finding the trade with America retained*, and even likely *to be indefinitely enlarged*, were glad, and openly rejoiced, that the struggle with such potent colonies, foreseen to be inevitable in progress of time, had ended on such easy terms. But it is much more certain that with multitudes of all classes, the dismemberment of the empire left an ulceration, "a galling wakefulness," which found relief only in the most extravagant or malignant hopes; and that the experience of the war was lost upon the majority of the nation, in regard to the character and destinies of the colonies. On the conclusion of peace, it was confidently announced and believed, that the confederacy of the States would quickly be dissolved; that the forces of Great Britain remaining among them, might be called in to quell the disorders, which the separation from the mother country must produce; that a second revolution would happen, and restore them, penitent and submissive, to her dominion. Indeed, to induce them to lay their independence at her feet, nothing more would soon be necessary, than to hold out the threat, of considering and treating them, as a foreign nation in matters of trade. The Americans were still cowards, for the Irish had fought their battles, as well by sea as by land;* and, at all

* The modesty of this assertion was the more remarkable from the notorious fact, that the Irish and Scotch troops, and the German mercenaries, formed the major part of the force which England employed

events, if they were not driven by intestine confusion and distress, to return to their allegiance, Spain would involve them in awful difficulties, by the claims she was likely to prefer on that part of Louisiana given up by the treaty.

Such were the topics of consolation administered by writers of authority, and greedily swallowed by men in office. Lord Sheffield embodied them in a pamphlet soon after the ratification of the definitive treaty, and took, by general consent, the station of oracle, which he ought never to lose, so marvelously have events confirmed all his opinions. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting some of the most striking of these, as they show the spirit of the times in England.—"It will not be an easy matter to bring the American states to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us." "We might as reasonably dread the effects of combinations among the German, as among the American states, and deprecate the resolves of the Diet as those of Congress." "Every circumstance proves that it will be extreme folly to enter into any engagements with them, *by which we may not wish to be bound hereafter.*"* "There is not a possibility that America will maintain a navy." "That country concerning which writers of a lively imagination have lately said so much, *is weakness itself.*"† "It is not probable the American states will have a very free trade in the Mediterranean; it will not be *the interest* of any of the great maritime powers *to protect them* from the Barbary states. They cannot protect themselves from the latter; they cannot pretend to a navy."‡ "The authority of the Congress can never be maintained over those distant and boundless western regions, and her nominal subjects will speedily imitate and multiply the examples of independence."§ "The population of America is not likely to increase as it has done, at least on her coast."‖ "There is no country in Europe which pays such heavy taxes as the American states,"¶ &c.

Looking back to the exasperation and commotions which were raised in America by the stamp-act, and to the total change of the scene on its repeal, Mr. Burke made the just remark that "so sudden a calm recovered after so violent a

against the colonies. The ministry conceived the plan of hiring twenty thousand Russians besides, to assist in "fighting their battles" on this continent.

* Observations on the Commerce of the United States, 2d edition, p. 198.

† Ibid. p. 206. § Ibid. p. 190. ¶ Ibid. p. 193.

‡ Ibid. p. 204. ‖ Ibid. p. 201.

PART I. storm was without parallel in history." The colonists almost universally vied in demonstrations of gratitude, and glowing expressions of loyalty, as if the repeal had been a spontaneous and inestimable boon, and not a retraction, produced by party interests, of an impolitic usurpation. There was something not less remarkable, and admirable, in the transition at the conclusion of the revolutionary war. Notwithstanding the enormity of the provocations on which the Americans had taken up the sword, the severity of their sufferings during the struggle, and the vindictive and ruthless character of the hostilities waged against them, the tide of their affections turned rapidly towards the mother country,* and the policy of renewing with her, the closest and most liberal relations compatible with independence, received the sanction of a large majority throughout the confederation.

Taking the representations of the British writers themselves concerning the merits of the dispute so solemnly terminated, it is impossible to imagine a case, in which natural duty, retributive justice, and the common good, more plainly exacted from the other side, more even than a mere correspondence of sentiments and views. And yet what a contrast! as proved by the vogue of Sheffield's writings and doctrines, and from such statements as the following, made in 1784, by his ablest antagonist.†

"It is sufficient, at this time, to support an opinion of the propriety of endeavouring to restore our broken connexion with America, by those conciliatory means, which best tend to regain the affections of a people, from whom we have derived, and from whom we may yet derive, the most solid benefits, to be deemed the sacrificers of the interests of Great Britain to those of America. However laudable, however necessary the pursuit, there is a prejudice among us arising from intemperate passion, and the vexation of disappointment, that precludes, obstructs, or, in some shape or other, ultimately destroys it."

It would lead me too far to detail the facts which have rendered unquestionable and notorious, the continued prevalence of those unworthy dispositions, and the steady prosecution of a scheme of action in itself demonstrative of their inveteracy. I could produce British authority on this

* This is not, indeed, the opinion of Judge Marshall (Life of Washington, vol. v. p. 355); but it is proved, by the victory gained for the politics most favourable to Great Britain in all respects.

† Champion—"Considerations on the present situation of Great Britain," London, &c.

head, in the shape of direct confessions and self-reproof, conveyed in books and parliamentary debates, for every consecutive year from the peace of 1782 to the present time. From the abundance of this kind of testimony, I will take, at random, some few morsels which no third party at least, will reject as invalid, and which shall have relation to periods so recent as 1808, and 1812. SECT. VI.

"In England," says Mr. Baring, "our insensible monopoly of the American trade does not appear ever to have been properly appreciated: the events of a civil war left naturally deeper impressions on the unsuccessful than the successful party, and while every little state of Europe was courted, that afforded limited markets for our manufactures, we seemed to regret that we owed any thing to our former subjects; and an increasing commercial intercourse has been carried on *under feelings of unsubdued enmity*, of which the government, instead of checking sentiments as void of common sense as of magnanimity, has rather set the fashion. To this error, in my opinion, the present state of the public mind towards America is in a great measure owing. Her success and prosperity, though we dare not fairly avow it, have displeased us, and sentiments have been imperceptibly encouraged towards her as ungenerous as they are impolitic."*

"I know," said Mr. Brougham, in parliament, in 1812, "the real or affected contempt with which some persons in this country treat our kinsmen of the West. I fear some angry and jealous feelings have survived our more intimate connexion with them,—feelings engendered by the event of its termination, but which, it would be wiser, as well as more manly to forget."

"No small part of the English nation," says the Edinburgh Review, "look with feelings of peculiar hostility towards the people to which they bear the nearest resemblance, and willingly abet their rulers in treating them with less respect and less cordiality than any other nation. Neither the government nor the populace of this country have forgiven America for having made herself independent; and the lowest calumnies and grossest abuse are daily employed by a court-faction to keep alive the most vulgar prejudices.—(No. 23. 1809.) "The Americans asserted their independence upon principles which they derived from us.—Their rebellion was the surest proof of their genuine descent. They are descended from our loins

* Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council. 1808. p. 19.

PART I. —they retain our usages and manners—they read our books—they have copied our freedom—they rival our courage—and yet they are less popular and less esteemed among us than the base and bigoted Portuguese, and the ferocious and ignorant Russians."

"There is not an individual who has attended at all to the progress of the present dispute with America, (1812) who does not see that it was embittered from the first, and wantonly urged to its present fatal issue, by the insolent, petulant, and preposterous tone of those very individuals who insisted upon that miserable experiment—and plunged their own country in wretchedness, only to bring down upon it the reluctant hostility of its best customers and allies," &c.

9. The reign of Lord Sheffield's sapient opinions, was naturally prolonged in Great Britain, by the comparative insignificance of the military and naval establishments of the United States under the federal administration; their total disarray after its overthrow; the simplicity of their institutions, and the vehement altercations of the parties into which they were thrown. It became anew a common belief and fond hope with the ministerial politicians, that America might yet be regained by arms or by arts; and even those of the opposition settled down in a contemptuous commiseration of her weakness and sinister destinies. The rencontre of the Chesapeake and Leopard made it quite certain, for all parties, that the Americans were cowards; that the Irish had fought their battles in the revolution; and that there was only food for merriment or pity in the idea of their meeting, at sea, British skill and valour. The Edinburgh Review told confidently of "the feeble and shadowy texture of the federal government;"*—it had "little hopes of a system of polity which, in an advancing society, offered no prizes to talents, and no distinctions to wealth;"† and foresaw that "the slender tie which held the United States together would burst at once in the tumult of war."‡ In 1809, the same journal, professing always superior liberality and closeness of observation, as to our affairs, discoursed of us in the following strain: "As it is quite impossible to have too much jealousy of France, so, towards America we can scarcely have too little. When such reasoners as Mr. Leckie, gravely talk of our being insulted by the Porte, we plainly perceive the errors of a man who has lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turks, until

* No. 28. † Ibid. ‡ No. 24.

he has forgotten their insignificance. But when France is stretching her iron coasts on all sides of us,—when her fleets and her camps are within sight—and we alone, of all Europe, have not been conquered by her arms;—it is almost as ridiculous to be jealous of America as of Turkey—of a nation three thousand miles off—scarcely kept together by the weakest government in the world,—with no army, and half a dozen frigates—and knowing no other means of intercourse with other countries than by peaceful commerce."* SECT. VI.

In 1812, Mr. Brougham struck the same key in parliament, and displayed an equal mastery of his subject.

"Jealousy of America! whose armies are yet at the plough, or making, since your policy has willed it so, awkward (though improving) attempts at the loom—whose assembled navies could not lay siege to an English sloop of war:—Jealousy of a power which is necessarily peaceful as well as weak, but which, if it had all the ambition of France and her armies to back it, and all the navy of England to boot, nay, had it the lust of conquest which marks your enemy, and your armies as well as navy to gratify it—is placed at so vast a distance as to be perfectly harmless! and this is the nation, of which, for our honour's sake, we are desired to cherish a perpetual jealousy, for the ruin of our best interests."†

The Quarterly Review scarcely deigned even to pass a jest upon the impotency of the states, and would not "stoop to degrade the British navy by condescending to enter into any comparison between the high order, the discipline, and *comfort*, of an English man-of-war, *and an American frigate*;" it "disdained any such comparison."‡ This high disdain of all the belligerant capacities of America pervaded, not only the royal councils, but the whole British naval and military service. In the first rencontre at sea, the Alert, with 20 guns mounted, bore down triumphantly upon the American frigate Essex, and fired a broadside, expecting to prove that "the assembled navies of America could not lay siege to an English sloop of war:" and though the issue gave an air of paralogy to the business, yet it was soon followed by an instance of the same happy confidence in the case of the frigate Guerriere.

I must do the two oracular journals which I have quoted on this head, the justice to remark, that, at the end of the contest, although they omitted to remind their readers of their

* No. 24.
† Speech on the present state of Commerce and Manufactures.
‡ No. 15. Article on Madison's War.

PART I. first opinions, they did not pass by the perplexing facts in absolute silence. The Quarterly Review could condescend to say, "The Americans have fought on the element of England with *British* spirit. On that element, let it be fairly acknowledged, we have much to commend in them, and *we have still something to redeem.*"* Even before the termination of hostilities, the Edinburgh Review told of "the discomfiture of the English naval resources by the American marine, of which, by a whimsical coincidence, we have learnt the existence in the same documents that detail its successes." And speedily came out the round, unvarnished tale:

"We have been worsted in most of our naval encounters with the Americans, and baffled in most of our enterprises by land—with a naval force on their coast, exceeding that of the enemy in the proportion of ten to one, we have lost two out of three, of all the sea-fights in which we have been engaged—and at least three times as many men as our opponent; while their privateers swarm unchecked round all our settlements and even on the coast of Europe, and have already made prize of more than seventeen hundred of our merchant vessels."†

It is true, and detracts a little from the force of these acknowledgments, that we read *in the same number* of the Journal—"the national vanity of the Americans has scarcely any other field of triumph than the discomfiture of Britain in the war of the Revolution." We might produce, by way of rejoinder, perhaps, from the same hand, out of a number of passages implying the existence of other fields of triumph, the following:

"History has no other example of so happy an issue to a revolution consummated by a long civil war, as that of the Americans. Indeed, it seems to be very near a maxim in political philosophy, that a free government cannot be obtained, where a long employment of military force is necessary to establish it. In the case of America, however, the military power was disarmed by that very influence which makes a revolutionary army so formidable to liberty; for the images of grandeur and power—those meteor lights, which are exhaled in the stormy atmosphere of a revolution, to allure the ambitious and dazzle the weak—made no impression upon the firm and virtuous soul of the American commander."‡

"In the United States, M. Talleyrand was surprised to observe, that a long and violent civil war had left scarcely any trace of its existence in the character of the intercourse of

* No. 30. † No. 48. ‡ No. 25.

the various factions which divided the people. No hatred or animosity was perceivable among individuals; no turbulence or agitation of character had been permanently engrafted on the sober, solid habits of the colonists. The profound remark of Machiavel appeared for once to fail, that every revolution contains the seeds of another, and scatters them behind it."* SECT. VI.

"The spectacle presented by America during the last thirty or forty years, ever since her emancipation began to produce its full effect, and since she fairly entered the lists as an independent nation—has been, beyond every thing formerly known in the history of mankind, imposing and instructive."†

Dr. Seybert has introduced into his Statistics a compendious statement of the naval events of the war, which furnishes an edifying commentary upon the first speculations of the British politicians.

"The American navy triumphed in fourteen engagements, in some of which, the contending forces were nearly equal, and in many of them that of the enemy was decidedly superior. The cases of the Chesapeake and the Argus are the only instances in which it can be pretended that the enemy had any fair claims to success, upon the ground of the equality of the respective forces.

"The superiority of our gunnery is confirmed by the number of killed and wounded on board the enemy's vessels, and the condition of their ships after the actions; in several instances the British vessels were sunk whilst the fight lasted: in most instances they were so materially injured as to make their destruction absolutely necessary; whereas our vessels were commonly, with scarcely any loss of time, ready to commence another combat."

The number of British merchant vessels captured by the Americans, and which arrived in port or were destroyed, is determined, by an irrefragable estimate,‡ to amount to five thousand five hundred; more, in all probability, than Britain lost in all the wars which grew out of the French revolution.

Much clamour, it may be recollected, was raised in England, concerning the real amount of force of the American ships, compared with the nominal. But we may judge with what grace this charge was so *indignantly* made, by the following statement which I copy from the Regulations relative to the Royal Navy, officially promulgated in 1817.

* No. 11. † No. 59.

‡ See that very useful work—Niles' Weekly Register, for Jan. 1816.

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"All ships of the second rate, though rated at 98, carry *upwards* of 100 guns.

"In the third rate, some of the ships rated at 80 guns, carry near 90, and others rated at 74, carry 80 guns.

"In the fourth rate, of the ships rated at 50 guns, one class (that on two decks) carries 58 guns; another (that on one deck) carries 60 and upwards.

"The frigates rated at 40 guns, carry 50; and those rated at 38, carry 46 and upwards.

"The majority of those rated at 36, carry 44; and some of those rated at 32, carry 46 and 48; being more than others that are rated at 38 and 36.

"Similar differences between the real and the nominal amount of force exists in the fifth rate, but it is unnecessary to specify the details."

In the article on Michaud's Travels in America, our friends of the Edinburgh Review remarked of the western Americans, with a mixture of contempt and compassion—"their generals distil brandy, their colonels keep tavern, and their statesmen feed pigs." But it was discovered, by the progress of events, that these generals and colonels could, notwithstanding, pursue the occupation implied by their titles; and the affairs of Plattsburg and New Orleans confounded the critics. "We have actually had to witness the incredible spectacle of a regular well appointed army of British veterans, retiring before little more than an equal force of American militia!"

The whole result of the war on the land, to which the generals that distil brandy, and the colonels that feed pigs, largely contributed, must have astonished them still more. An aggregate loss of nearly twelve thousand of his majesty's troops, and the inefficiency of a force of fifty thousand regulars operating at one time! And, with respect to *the statesmen who feed pigs*, there must have been a lively surprise, and some alteration of sentiment, when the Marquis Wellesley was found declaring in the House of Lords, that, "in his opinion, the American Commissioners at Ghent had shown the most astonishing superiority over the British during the whole of the correspondence; and that he had little doubt the British papers were communicated from the common fund of the ministers in England."*

* Speech respecting the Negociation for Peace with America, April 18th, 1815.

SECTION VII.

OF THE HOSTILITIES OF THE BRITISH REVIEWS.

1. After the Revolution of 1688, and still more after the establishment of the House of Hanover, the North American Colonies preferred titles of a peculiar force, to the highest esteem and favour of every Briton, who respected and loved the principles, with which those events were connected. They had been obnoxious to the despotic plans of the Stuarts, and suffered from their tyranny; they had asserted the rights proclaimed in Magna Charta, with more boldness, and maintained them with more success, than the mother country; they had limited the ravages, and disappointed the voracity, of despotism and corruption, by furnishing a secure asylum for the persecuted, as well as the distressed from whatever cause.* On these grounds, and the many others developed in the foregoing pages, their merits might be supposed to be almost infinite with every English whig of the last fifty years; so great, at least, as to make it, for one of the present day, not only a perversion of natural feeling, but a political apostacy, to treat of their character and concerns, except upon a system of the utmost liberality and indulgence. Chatham and Charles Fox had given them an irresistible claim to his gratitude and respect, in ascribing to their revolt the salvation of the British Constitution. "The resistance of the Americans to the oppressions of the mother country," said the last of those canonized statesmen, in the House of Commons, "has undoubtedly preserved the liberties of mankind."

Our revolution, in its motive, conduct, and conclusion, united in its favour the suffrages of the most enlightened portion of continental Europe; and there has been of late years hardly an individual in England, holding a certain rank in the literary or political world, who has ventured, directly to deny it, the most exalted characteristics. The writers of the Quarterly Review have, indeed, seemed to refuse it all the felicity with which it had been invested by others, in asserting that, "when America became independent, she had no race of edu-

* See note N.

PART I. cated men to fill the situations which used to be respected,"* but even they, the official guardians of tory principles, prejudices, and interests, have yielded to it a tribute of no trifling import. "The anglo-Americans, an active and *enlightened* people, animated by the spirit and information derived from their mother country, contended, as they had done in the preceding century, with pertinacious zeal, for a civil right, the grant of which, in the early part of the contest, might have restored their tranquillity and preserved their allegiance. Happily for them, their patriots were not atheists, nor their leaders robbers; their men of property, *education*, and morals, took the lead, and the physical power of the poor and the profligate was not set up to plunder, to expatriate,"† &c. There is here enough of positive and negative praise, to induce us to impute the declaration first quoted, to an *honest* belief that all our educated men had perished in the course of the revolution!

The North American settlements presented, from their commencement, what was pre-eminently calculated to engage the affections, and kindle the benevolence, of the Christian and the philanthropist, in the rapid and extensive conquests made on the wilderness, for religion and civilization. Clothing the desert with beauty and reclaiming it to fruitfulness; enlarging indefinitely the boundaries of polished nature, and opening the way for the existence of millions of freemen of the English race over one of the most favoured portions of the earth, were achievements which, with all their dignity and value, did not more powerfully recommend our American forefathers to the favour and protection of the good and the wise, than the motives from which they were undertaken, and the manner in which they were performed. "There was no corner of the globe," exclaimed Chatham, "to which the ancestors of our fellow subjects in America, would not have fled, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical spirit which prevailed in their native country." Of such men, no Englishman boasting of his attachment to the present theory of the British constitution, should, to be consistent, think or speak without a glow of admiration. And we, their successors, whose spirit, as far at least as liberty is concerned, cannot be said to have degenerated from theirs; who have preserved their institutions, and continued their labours, so as, with similar dangers and toils, to bring under the dominion of Christianity and civilized art, regions immense beyond the

* No. 4. Article on Holmes' American Annals.
† Article on Spain and her colonies.

grasp of their imagination—we, constituting now a republic of "ten millions of British freemen, who may be numbered among the most intelligent, the most moral, the bravest, and the most happy, of the human race"*—might well expect, as we deserve, to find in the philosophers and whigs of the mother country, even though of the class of critics by profession, not scoffers and detracters, but earnest friends and panegyrists. The Scottish tribunal that sits in constant judgment over us, by virtue of a mysterious authority, seems to have been aware of our claims in some of the respects upon which I have touched. Such language as the following, from the thirteenth number of the Edinburgh Review, is in unison with reason and true sentiment, and will make the reproach double, if we should find those who uttered it, acting in contradiction to its spirit. SEC. VII.

"This immense sphere of activity in America, is the creation of yesterday. Even Mr. Ashe, disposed as he is to decry every thing American, is obliged to admit, that she displays, in the wonders of her growing industry, a picture at once striking and exhilarating. It is impossible to contemplate such a scene without exulting in the triumphs of industry. This peaceful power is here subduing regions of growing forests, which conquering armies would fear to enter; and extending, with silent rapidity, the limits of civilized existence. We cannot help wishing that our countrymen, in general, were a little more alive to the feelings which we conceive such a spectacle is calculated to excite; and that they could be brought to sympathize a little more in the progress of a kindred people, destined to carry our language, our arts, and *our interests too*, over regions more vast than ever acknowledged the sway of the Cæsars of Rome."

Notwithstanding this just and obvious view of the case; the commercial obligations of which I have treated; and all the ingratiating points of our history, with which the better informed among the British writers cannot be supposed to be unacquainted, the United States have invariably experienced from them more obloquy and ridicule, than the nations of the European continent, the farthest removed from Great Britain in their origin, institutions, policy, knowledge, and moral qualities. There has been no period since our revolution at which a liberal Briton, looking to the comparative treatment of the Americans, in the British books and parliamentary dis-

* Sir James Mackintosh. Speech on the Treaty with America, April 11th, 1815.

PART I. cussions, might not have repeated what Mr. Burke indignantly uttered in 1775—"The faults which grow out of the luxuriance of freedom, appear much more shocking to us, than the base vices which are generated in the rankness of servitude." The periodical publications have served as constant emunctories for those humours, respecting the diffusiveness and virulence of which, I have already produced adequate testimony. It is to the language and temper, of some of the most important of those publications, that I mean to direct my attention at present. I propose to fill up this Section with quotations of their invidious suggestions, and with cursory observations upon such of these as seem to call for immediate notice.

2. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews,—confessedly at the head of all publications of the kind in the world, and works of great authority wherever letters are cultivated,—have taken the lead in the war of defamation and derision against the American people and institutions. They have indeed, carried opposite ensigns, and made their attacks in modes somewhat dissimilar. The hostilities of the English critics have been more direct and coarse, and accompanied with fewer professions of moderation and good will; those of the Scottish, having been waged, almost always with protestations of friendship, and at times with the affectation of a formal defence of the object. When the one has said,*—"professing ourselves among the number of persons who experience no very particular degree of affection for our transatlantic *brethren;*" and the other—"the Americans are not liked in this country, and we are not now going to *recommend them as objects of our love*; "we are no admirers of the Americans;"†

* Quarterly. No. 24.

† The pliant Boswell set the example to his countrymen, of this form of speech, adding, however, a maxim which they seem to have overlooked. "Well do you know that I have no kindness for the Bostonians. But nations or bodies of men should, as well as individuals, have a fair trial, and not be condemned on character alone." (Letter to Dr. Johnson, Jan. 27, 1775). The Quarterly Review has preferred the more energetic spirit and sousing manner of the Dr. himself; of which a sample is afforded in the following passage of his Biography. "From a pleasing subject," says Boswell, "he (Dr. Johnson) I know not how or why, made a sudden transition to one upon which he was a violent aggressor; for he said, "I am willing to love all mankind, *except an American:*" and his inflammable corruption bursting into horrid fire, he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter;" calling them, "Rascals—Robbers—Pirates;" and exclaiming, he'd "burn and destroy them." Miss Seward, looking to him with mild but steady astonishment, said "Sir, this is an instance that we are always most violent against those

they approached near enough in language to betray the identity of their spirit. Both have canted about the tender forbearance due on the two sides of the Atlantic—"the sacred bond of blood and language;" "the endearing community of religion and laws;" "the inheritance of the same principles of government and morals;" "the beauty of the example of natural friends among nations, in contradistinction to the too readily admitted division of natural enemies," &c.—and they have harped upon these topics, in the sequel of a tissue of the bitterest contumelies and sarcasms. But the Edinburgh Review particularly, has gone farther, with a modesty which is truly unrivalled. Whilst uttering the most disparaging opinions, and discharging vollies of sneers, it has inveighed fiercely against "the bitter sneering at every thing in America" by the ministerial writers; reproached them for their insolent, petulant and preposterous tone; wondered profoundly at the little cordiality and respect for America among the British nation; and seemed to take to itself vast credit for the contrary dispositions.

Recently, it has furnished an instance of this manœuvre, which outstrips all competition, and has the air of a wanton mockery of the understandings of its readers, as much as of a device of party-strategy. In the body of that article of the 61st number, which contains the heaviest denunciations, and some of the most flippant undersaying, ever directed against this country, we read the following phrases, the first of which is, by the way, a fine specimen of purism in style. "Among other faults with which the present English government is chargeable, *the vice of impertinence* has *lately* crept into our Cabinet; and the Americans have been treated with ridicule and contempt." "We wish well to America; we rejoice in her prosperity, and *are delighted to resist the absurd impertinence with which the character of her people is often treated in this country*, but," &c.

I have already given, in the quotations which I have made, some evidence of the validity of these pretensions, and of the temper and consistency of the Quarterly Review. But we have not, perhaps, had enough exactly to determine, the degree of authority to which the two bands of critics are respectively entitled, in their judgments concerning America; whether on the score of liberality in their feelings, gravity in their deliberations, or steadiness in their opinions. I will, therefore,

whom we have injured."—He was irritated still more by this delicate and keen reproach; and roared out another tremendous volley, which one might fancy could be heard across the Atlantic." (Vol. ii. p. 12.)

PART I. look back upon the complexion of the articles which they have devoted to us, pursuing the design which I have mentioned above. To begin with the Edinburgh critics, those friends and patrons by pre-eminence, who have always been "delighted to resist the absurd impertinence with which the character of America has been treated in Great Britain."

They condescended to notice this republic directly, for the first time, in their fourth number, in the article on Davis' Travels; and certainly we had some reason to draw encouraging presages from their general tone in this outset. There were but two passages in the article, which had a sinister aspect—one which asserted roundly that habitual drunkenness was in no country so prevalent as in the United States—another concerning *Franklin*, as follows: "It is *certain* that the enlightened part of the American community begin now to consider *this boasted character* in a very ambiguous point of view, and to attach much less consequence and veneration to his memory than formerly. To him they are certainly indebted for the most important public services, and for his strenuous endeavours to introduce among them a taste for science and literature; but, on the other hand, *his canting exhortations to extreme frugality have had their effect in preventing the expansion of the noblest principles of the mind; and his example, in the dereliction of religion, has certainly lent an unfortunate support to the cause of scepticism and infidelity.*"

I should be unjust not to acknowledge that full amends were made, at the same tribunal, to the memory of this "boasted character," in two copious articles, devoted entirely to his panegyric, and producing one of those remarkable antinomies in its decisions, which fall within the scope of the present exposition. A few extracts will be sufficient for the intelligence of the case.

"Dr. Franklin, the self-taught American, is the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. No individual ever possessed a juster understanding. In much of what relates to the practical wisdom and happiness of life, his views will be found to be admirable, and the reasoning by which they are supported most masterly and convincing. Upon the mechanics and tradesmen of Boston and Philadelphia, he endeavoured, with appropriate eloquence, to impress the importance of industry, sobriety and economy, and to direct their wise and humble ambition to the attainment of useful knowledge and honourable independence. Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object than Dr. Franklin's compositions of this sort. The strong sense, clear information, and *obvious*

conviction of the author himself, make most of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence, &c.**We should think his account of his own life a very useful reading for all young persons of unsteady principle, who have their fortunes to make or mend in this world."* SEC. VII.

"In one point of view, the name of Franklin must be considered as standing higher than any of the others which illustrated the last century. Distinguished as a statesman, he was equally great as a philosopher; thus uniting in himself a rare degree of excellence in both those pursuits, to excel in either of which is deemed the highest praise. Each successive publication of this great man's works increases our esteem for his virtues, and our admiration of his understanding. We can offer the Americans no better advice than to recommend to them *a constant study* of Franklin, of his principles, as well as his compositions. The example of this eminent person teaches that *veneration for religion* is quite compatible with a sound, practical understanding. Franklin was a man of a truly pious turn of mind. He appears to have been a Christian of the unitarian school. If his own faith had not gone so far, he at least would greatly have respected the religion of his country, and done every thing to encourage its propagation. His moral writings are superior to almost any others, in any language; whether we regard the sound, and striking, and useful truths with which they abound, or the graceful and entertaining shape in which they are conveyed. His piety was sincere and habitual. Feelings of a devotional cast every where break forth in his writings. He is habitually a warm advocate for religion."†

The article on Davis' Travels suggested some kind apologies for us, on the important heads of intellect and literature, which augured favourably for the justness, as well as liberality, of the views, which would be always taken in relation to those subjects.

"We do not mean to deny the charges against the literature and learning of America: literature is one of *those finer manufactures* which a new country will always find it easier to import than to raise. There must be a great accumulation of stock in a nation, and a great subdivision of labour, before the arts of composition are brought to any great degree of perfection. The great avenues to wealth must be all filled, and many left in hereditary opulence or mediocrity, before

* No. 16. † No. 57.

PART I. there can be leisure enough, among such a people, to relish the beauties of poetry, or to create an effectual demand for the productions of genius. These causes may for some time retain the genius of America in a state of subordination to that of Europe."

"The truth is, that American genius has displayed itself, wherever inducements have been held out for its exertion. Their party pamphlets, though disgraced with much intemperance and scurrility, are written with a keenness and spirit, that is not often to be found in the old world; and their orators, though occasionally declamatory and turgid, frequently possess a vehemence, correctness, and animation, that would command the admiration of any European audience, and excite the astonishment of those philosophers who have been taught to consider the western hemisphere as a grand receptacle for the degeneracies of nature."

Afterwards, from time to time, we found general opinions uttered in the same quarter, which bespoke a correct apprehension of our case, and some of which I think it well to introduce here.

"Among men, the few who write bear no comparison to the many who read. We hear most of the former, indeed, because they are, in general, the most ostentatious part of literary men; but there are innumerable men who, without ever laying themselves before the public, have made use of literature to add to the strength of their understandings, and to improve the happiness of their lives."

"We must say, that the Americans are not fairly judged of by their newspapers; which are written for the most part by expatriated Irishmen, or Scotchmen, and other adventurers of a similar description, who take advantage of the unbounded license of the press, to indulge their own fiery passions, and aim at exciting that attention by the violence of their abuse, which they are conscious they could never command by the force of their reasonings. *The greater part of the polished and intelligent Americans appear little on the front of public life, and make no figure in her external history.*" (1814).

"It is pleasing to learn, that the isolated inhabitants of the western forests of America are cheered and enlightened with the distant literature of Europe; that there are here men capable of communicating the benefits of its discoveries; and emulous in their turn, to extend the boundaries of knowledge by new discoveries of their own." (1805).

"Whenever a taste for literature is created in America, we have no doubt that her authors will improve and multiply to a

degree that will make our exertions necessary to keep the start we now have of them." (No. 29).

"The great body of the American people is better educated and more comfortably situated than the bulk of any European community, and possess all the accomplishments that are any where to be found in persons of the same occupation and condition." (No. 25).

Having represented, or being capable of seeing, the question of our literature and intellectual condition in these lights, —discerning the general causes which either retarded our advancement, or prevented it from being visible abroad,— liberal critics, "well wishers to America," delighted to protect her character from the insults of malice and the judgments of ignorance, might have been expected to abstain, as much as possible, from reciting our unavoidable deficiences or unsuccessful attempts; and especially from making them, on every practicable occasion, the subject of burlesque or opprobrium: They might have been expected to treat our literary performances with the utmost lenity, and to hold out to us whatever degree of positive encouragement was consistent with the true interests of literature; the more as, whatever we may have arrogated to ourselves in other respects, we have rarely set up exorbitant pretensions on the score of our books. Let us see how far such expectations have been fulfilled by the *liberals* of the Edinburgh Review.

The first production of our press brought within their high cognizance, was the fifth volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. A society of this description, sprung from the most generous aspirations and benevolent aims; formed under the auspices of Franklin and Rittenhouse; arrested in its promising career by the war of the revolution, which required all the exertions of its members in other fields of public service; struggling anew, when the unnatural aggressor had consented to sheathe the sword, in a community universally engaged in business, and under all the disadvantages inseparable from a new country, to maintain the appearance of vital action, in order to present a rallying point, and nucleus of science, for an infant nation—such a society was in itself, independently of the general considerations intimated above, fitted to conciliate forbearance, and even tenderness and support, from the votaries of knowledge in the old world.* Its first offerings might be composed of no very

* See Note O.

PART I. excellent materials; they might be deficient in interest and instruction for an European savant; yet, liberal minds, alive to the excellence of its object, and the remote influences of its rude essays, would not fail to receive them with respect, and to rejoice in its very existence, as an auspicious omen, and a certain source of future good. Whether actuated by reflections of this kind, or a confidence in its positive merit, many of the most illustrious of the scientific world of Europe have sought to be ranked among its members; and displayed the title, when obtained, in the front of their works, with evident satisfaction. Of this number, I may cite Dugald Stewart, the most accomplished and enlightened of the countrymen of the Edinburgh critics.

These, our well-wishers, proceeded, however, with a spirit diametrically opposite. They heaped indignities upon the volume of the American Transactions, and made their account of it, the occasion of innuendos and sallies, against the taste and learning of America in general. The following extracts will speak for themselves.

"The want of refinement in arts and in Belles Lettres, is, by no means, the only circumstance, that distinguishes *our kinsmen* in North America, from the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere. They appear to be proportionably deficient in scientific attainments. The volume now before us, *one of the very few that ever issue from the American press*, contains the whole accumulation of American discovery and observation, during a course of peaceful years. It extends to 328 pages, and the most interesting communication it has to boast of is the valuable paper *of our countryman*, Mr. Strickland. Of all the academical trifles which have ever been given to the world, eighty-nine of the pages, the work of Americans, are the most trivial and dull. Our readers will judge with what difficulty this mite has been collected, when we mention the subject," &c.

"Some of the American philosophers themselves seem to have adopted the language of the ludicrously sentimental class to which M. Dupont de Nemours (the author of one of the papers) belongs, and to have thought it a good substitute for the eloquence and power of fine writing *which Providence has denied to their race.*"—"By the manner in which one of the American contributors cites, and more especially by his remarks upon classical learning, we are inclined to suspect that a man who reads the easier Latin poets is not to be met with every day in North America."—"We cannot resist the temptation of quoting a passage from his paper; the moralizing

part of it is *truly American*. It is only necessary to add, *for the information of the American Academies*, that the Latin quotation is nothing at all to the purpose," &c. "Meanly as our readers may be disposed to think of the American scientific circles, they appear to be highly prized by their own members. The society whose labours we have been describing, attaches to itself the name of 'Philosophical' *with peculiar eagerness;* and *the meeting-house*, where the transactions of its members are *scraped together*, and prepared for being inaccurately printed, is, *in the genuine dialect of tradesmen*, denominated 'Philosophical Hall.'" SEC. VII.

"We have dwelt longer upon this article than its merits justify, for the purpose of stating and exemplifying *a most curious and unaccountable fact—the scarcity of all but mercantile and agricultural talents in the new world.*"*

3. The American work that next attracted the attention of our patrons, happened to be from the pen of a minister plenipotentiary of the United States on the continent of Europe, the son of the American President. These qualities of the author, although they did not entitle him to deference as such, yet gave him claims to some particular personal favour and respect, from critics of the whig-school, and of the bon-ton of European society. And he would have every right to expect the most indulgent dispositions, for his work, if, composed of sketches which were reluctantly permitted to go before the American public in the pages of an American periodical paper, without ulterior destination, it had taken the shape of a distinct volume, through the cupidity of a London Bookseller;—if at the same time it was altogether free from pretensions, and professedly limited to certain heads of observation, upon which accurate information might be of particular utility to his countrymen. The "Letters from Silesia" of Mr. John Quincy Adams, to which it will be understood that I have been referring, were attended with these circumstances apparent upon the face of the volume into which they were collected. I will venture to affirm, moreover, that they possess much absolute, intrinsic merit; that they are greatly above the common standard of applauded English tours, and would have been declared creditable in all respects, had they been the production of an Englishman in a similar station. But the Edinburgh Review was as ungracious and wayward in this instance, as in that of the American Philosophical Society. It

* Compare this with the quotations in p. 218.

PART I. not only launched into broad generalities, and drew far-fetched analogies, to decry the work of Mr. Adams, but was at much pains to disparage his understanding and feelings; and turned aside from the only proper subject of animadversion, to carp and sneer at the studies and mind of his country. These assertions might be the more strikingly illustrated here, did not the same tone and design pervade nearly the whole of the article in question; at the same time that the critics cannot effectually conceal the sense, which they really entertain, of the merits of the Letters. A few excerpts from the article will be enough for the occasion.

"It may appear somewhat hard to subject a work *which does not offend by any pretensions* to a comparison with the excellent standards of its kind; but when we held this work in our hands, we could not help thinking of the American Presidency, and of the state of learning in that powerful and prosperous commonwealth."

"Although this author is neither lively nor very instructive, he shows *some* qualities which makes him *a tolerable companion for a very short tour.*"***"The feelings of Mr. Adams about his native country more resemble the loyal acquiescence of a subject, than the personal interest and ardour of a republican."***"His style is, in general, very tolerable English, which, *for American composition*, is no moderate praise."***"A spurious dialect, it is probable, will prevail even at the court and in the Senate of the United States, until that great commonwealth shall become opulent enough to break more distinctly into classes," &c.

At the appearance of another American work of the highest possible interest and elevation as to the subject, and proceeding from the first law-dignitary of the American republic, not more respectable by his exalted station, than by his general talents and private virtues—I mean the Life of Washington by Chief Justice Marshall—a fair opportunity was afforded the Edinburgh illuminati, to resist "the impertinence and vulgar insolence," and the "bitter sneering" of the ministerial party with respect to American concerns, by the force of example, in a generous exposition of the merits which they might discover in the performance; a scrupulous abstinence from harsh and supererogatory reflections on the author or his country, and a commemoration of those traits in the American revolution, which distinguish it as the purest and noblest among the most important and celebrated in the history of the world. Nothing would have seemed more remote from probability, than that the disciples of Fox could, on the occasion of re-

viewing an authentic biography of Washington, labour mainly to appear smart and knowing, at the expense of the nation which had produced this model of heroes, and even insult the faithful and unassuming biographer, who had been his companion in arms, had enjoyed his intimate friendship, and shared with him the labours and honours of his civil administration. Whether they pursued so unworthy a course, and how far they improved the opportunity above mentioned, to the very reverse of the proper ends, may be ascertained by the following short extracts from the article under consideration. SEC. VII.

"Mr. Marshall must not promise himself a reputation commensurate with the *dimensions* of his work."

"Mr. Chief Justice Marshall preserves a most *dignified* and mortifying silence regarding *every* particular of Washington's private life, &c. Mr. Marshall may be assured that what passes with him for dignity, will, by his reader, be pronounced dullness and frigidity."

"The Speeches in this work display great commercial knowledge, and a keen style of argument—but *oratory* is not to be looked for in a country which has none of the kindred arts. All the specimens of American eloquence grievously sin against the canons of taste."

"A more diffuse and undiscriminating narrative we have seldom perused. *It is deficient in almost every thing that constitutes historical excellence*," &c. &c.

This last stricture upon the narrative is followed immediately by the observation—"It displays industry, good sense, and, so far as we can judge, laudable impartiality; and the style, though neither elegant nor impressive, is yet, upon the whole, clear and manly." No ingenuity but that of the Edinburgh critics, would be adequate to explain, how a narrative acknowledged to possess these qualities—which Blair indicates "as the primary qualities required in a good historian"—could yet be justly proclaimed "deficient in almost every thing that constitutes historical excellence."

They are careful, in the abundance of their tenderness for America, to note, as they proceed with Judge Marshall, "the *ludicrous* proposition of her Congress to declare *herself* the most enlightened nation on the globe." This taunt had been so often in the mouth of the party stigmatized for an "odious, miserable, vulgar spirit of abuse against America," that the repetition of it by her friends, can be accounted for, only by its egregious pleasantry. I propose to enquire into its justice hereafter, and hope to render this point at least doubtful. Towards the conclusion of the article on the Life of Washington, there is

PART I. this invidious remark: "We think it a pretty strong proof of the poverty of the literary attainments of America, that she has not been able to tell the story of her own revolution, and to pourtray the character of her hero and sage, in language worthy such subjects."

I do not mean to affirm that the story of our revolution has been told absolutely well by Marshall, or by Ramsay, whose Life of Washington is so unceremoniously consigned by the Scottish reviewers to the circulating libraries. Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, which, it is probable, they had never deigned to open, is, however, a respectable production in all points of view; quite equal, as regards literary execution, to any historical essay respecting the affairs of England, for the last century, and superior, as regards the authenticity of materials, and opportunities of knowledge. The Somervilles, the Enticks, the Belshams, the Russels, the Adolphus', the Giffords, the Biglands, are certainly below the level of Ramsay.

To no people whatever can we apply more exactly, than to the American, the observation which I have quoted from the Edinburgh Review, that "among them the few who write bear no comparison to the many who read." According to the drift of the Review in making this observation, it would be unjust to declare the poverty of the literary *attainments* of America, on the ground that she has not yet produced a first rate history of her revolution; as, in point of fact, nothing can be more unfounded than the allegation. We are told by a Scottish authority, Blair, that the island of Britain, was not eminent for its historical productions, till within a few years prior to the time at which he wrote; that, during a long period, English historical authors were little more than *dull compilers*, when at length the distinguished names of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, raised the British character in that species of writing.* Now, if the logic of the Edinburgh Review, in reference to America, be adopted—if the circumstance of our not having told well the story of our revolution be "a pretty strong proof of the poverty of our literary attainments," we have, in the statement of Blair, "pretty strong proof" that Great Britain laboured under the same reproach until the middle of the eighteenth century. And the ignominy would be tenfold, considering the superior advantages of her situation for centuries before that period. The absence of historians of the highest order is, certainly, the last defect

* Lectures on Rhetoric.—Lecture 36.

in our literature to be censured by a nation whose historical authors were but *dull compilers*, so long after she had the full enjoyment of all those facilities to perfection in the arts of composition, which the Edinburgh Review has justly stated to be necessarily wanting to a new country.* SEC. VII.

There is no part of the matter introduced into the Life of Washington; there are none of the "provincial documents" with which it is peevishly said to be loaded, that are not interesting and important to the American public; and for this public the work was chiefly intended. It became, inevitably, a History of the American Revolution, not only on account of the connexion, more or less immediate, of the hero, with all the great occurrences of the drama, but from the tenor of his manuscripts upon which it was composed, and which the biographer was bound to turn to the fullest account. Its bulk is not, therefore, a well-grounded objection; or might, at least, have found indulgence with those, who could not have been ignorant of the more inordinate size of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; Roscoe's Life of Leo X.; Gifford's Life of Pitt; Fra-Paolo's History of the Council of Trent; Guicciardini's History, and many other similar works of great celebrity, of which the subjects are of less real importance and dignity, and extend through no greater portion of time. But, the true, and principally, exceptionable feature, in Marshall's volumes, is one which has never, as far as I know, been observed at home, and which the foreign critics, had they been able to perceive it, would have been careful not to signalize. He has given, as historical evidence, determining a general phasis of the revolution, the desponding representations made by Washington in his private letters to Congress; representations which took their hue as well from the design of the writer to stimulate that body, to the utmost pitch of a particular kind of effort, as from the engrossing disquietudes natural and common with the firmest minds, under the immediate pressure, or apprehension, of heavy embarrassments. The biographer has so exhibited the difficulties inherent in our defence, and the momentary impressions which their emergence made upon the Commander in chief, as to lend much colour of reason at least, to the derogatory suggestion of the Edinburgh Review—"He must be blind who does not see *in this History*, that all the array of American patriotism would have been utterly unable, but for the incapacity of her enemy, to

* Note P.

PART I. secure her independence." The main idea is certainly countenanced by some of the letters of Washington; but it is not, therefore, the less unsound, or easy of refutation upon a comprehensive and critical survey of the whole history of the revolution. No British writer will assert, or admit, that the success of the British forces under Wolfe, in the memorable siege of Quebec, was owing to the "incapacity of the enemy:" But the tone of the first despatches of that intrepid leader to the British secretary of state, is quite as desponding, as the private communications of Washington to the American congress, and would equally, upon the principles of the Edinburgh Review, warrant such a conclusion. The British politician of an enlarged and sagacious mind, who will look into the parliamentary history for the three first years of our struggle, will find there, in the facts and views presented by the whig orators, enough to convince him of the error of any hypothesis, implying, that we could not have worked out our political salvation, but for the mismanagement of the British ministry, and the aid of the French court.

4. The life of Washington having failed to draw the Edinburgh wits from the course, to appearance so little in unison with their professions, which was pursued with the letters of Mr. Adams, we cannot be surprised if the Columbiad of Barlow wrought no better effect. It seems to have been committed to the Momus of the fraternity for special diversion. Accordingly, the American Epic is introduced, with refined humour, as "the goodly firstling of the infant muse of America;" and, by way, no doubt, of manfully resisting ministerial impertinence, and generously soothing the feelings of the poet's countrymen for the sentence which it might be necessary to pass upon his work—the reviewer immediately salutes them as follows:—"These federal republicans are very much such people, we suppose, as the modern traders of Liverpool, Manchester, or Glasgow. They have a little Latin whipped into them in their youth, and read Shakspeare, Pope and Milton, as well as *bad* English novels, in their days of courtship and leisure."

I cannot undertake to repeat the exquisite jokes of this article on the Columbiad—such, for instance, as the one about "those *fluent* and venerable personages, the rivers Potomak and Delaware," nor the many quips respecting the American diction; but it is proper to quote one or two more phrases, to illustrate the obstinacy of that unlucky mood which

would be ever at variance with the most magnanimous designs of patronage. SEC. VII.

"We have often heard it reported that our transatlantic brethren were beginning to take it amiss that their language should still be called English. As this is the first specimen which has come into our hands of any considerable work *in the American tongue*, it may be gratifying to our philological readers," &c.

"These republican literati seem to make it a point of conscience to have no aristocratical distinctions—even in their vocabulary: they think one word just as good as another, provided the meaning be clear," &c.

Aspersions upon the capacity and literature of the American people at large, might have been spared by "well-wishers," even in a criticism upon an American work. But it would seem still more incongruous and wanton, to hold them up to contempt, in reviewing a mere book of travels in America, declared, at the same time, to be in the last degree incredible and despicable. This, however, is done in the account of Ashe's Travels, in the 30th number of the Edinburgh Journal; where, while the reviewer affects to reprobate and deride the tales of the wretched impostor and swindler,* he lends himself to his malignant purpose. It is from them that the magnates of Scottish literature take occasion to flout and decry a nation of *kinsmen* in the following language:

"We could just as readily believe that the orations of Sheridan are written by a *Philadelphia-man*, as that the

* Dr. Drake relates, in his "Picture of Cincinnati," the following anecdote of Ashe.

"In the years 1802-3, Dr. William Goforth, with an ardour of curiosity that deserved a better reward than awaited his exertions, dug up in Kentucky, and transported to Cincinnati, several waggon loads of Mammoth bones. They were, by the Doctor and George Turner, one of the members of the American Philosophical Society, examined attentively, and supposed to be the remains of no less than six non-descript quadrupeds, most of them gigantic! Among the rest, some of the bones of the rhinoceros were thought to be ascertained. Judge Turner made accurate drawings of the most curious of those fossils, but has been so unfortunate as to lose them.

"In the spring of the year 1803, the Doctor formed the design of transporting these bones to the Atlantic states. They reached Pittsburgh, and were there stored. Early in 1806, Professor Barton made an application to purchase them; but at that time they had attracted the attention of a foreign swindler, named Thomas Arville, alias *Ashe*, who obtained permission of the owner to ship them to Europe, for exhibition; since which they have not been heard of. To this personal injury of a worthy individual, the miscreant has since added a libel on the American people."

PART I. speech of an American orator is the work of a Scotch reporter."

"It is no doubt true, *that America can produce nothing to bring her intellectual efforts into any sort of comparison* with *that* of Europe. *These republican states have never passed the limits of humble mediocrity, either in thought or expression.* Noah Webster, we are afraid, still occupies the first place in criticism, Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow in poetry, and Mr. Justice Marshall in history: and, as to the physical sciences, we shall merely observe, that a little elementary treatise of botany appeared in 1803; and that this paltry contribution to natural history is chronicled, by the latest American historian, among the remarkable occurrences since the revolution In short, federal America has done nothing, either to extend, diversify, or embellish the sphere of human knowledge. Though all she has written were obliterated from the records of learning, there would, if we except the works of Franklin, be no positive diminution, either of the useful or the agreeable. The destruction of her whole literature would not occasion so much regret as we feel for the loss of a few leaves from an ancient classic."

"But, notwithstanding all this, we really cannot agree with Mr. Ashe in thinking the Americans *absolutely incapable, or degenerate;* and are rather *inclined* to think, that when their neighbourhood thickens, and their opulence ceases to depend on exertion, they will show *something* of the same talents to which it is a part of our duty to do justice among ourselves. And we are the more inclined to adopt this *favourable opinion*, from considering, that her history has already furnished occasions for the display of *talents of a high order;* and that, in the ordinary business of government, she displays no mean share of ability and eloquence."

"That the Americans have great and peculiar faults, both in their manners and in their morality, we take to be undeniable. Their manners, for the most part, are those of a scattered, migratory, but speculating people; and there will be no great amendment until their population becomes more dense, and more settled in its habits. As the population becomes concentered, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, *the sense of honour will improve with the importance of character.*" (No. 30.)*

The relish for the topic of the insignificance of American literature, and for the waggish citation of the names of some

* See Note Q.

of the American literati, proved so keen and lasting, that we have been recently treated with them again. What archness, sagacity, knowledge, and despatch in the following passage of the article on the travels of Fearon—that rightful successor of Ashe, worthy of exciting the same strain in the reviewer! SEC. VII.

"Literature the Americans have none—no native literature, I mean. It is all imported. They had a Franklin, indeed; and may afford to live for half a century on his fame. There is, or was, a Mr. Dwight, who wrote some poems; and his baptismal name was Timothy.* There is also *a small account* of Virginia by Jefferson, and an epic by Joel Barlow—and some pieces of pleasantry by Mr. Irving. But why should the Americans write books, when a six weeks passage brings them, in their own tongue, *our sense*, science, and genius, in bales and hogsheads. Prairies, steam-boats, grist-mills, are their natural objects *for centuries to come.* Then, when they have got to the Pacific ocean—epic poems, plays, pleasures of memory, and all the elegant gratifications of an ancient people who have tamed the wild earth, and *set down to amuse themselves!*"

5. The Edinburgh Review, preluded, as we have seen, with apologizing for our supposed deficiencies in literature, but quickly fell into the habit of emblazoning them to the utmost, whenever America happened to be in question, even as to matters entirely distinct. A similar course has been

* Dr. Dwight seems to have obtained a permanent niche in the memory of the critic. Thus we have, on another occasion. "The poetry of Dr. Dwight is evidently the growth of a country where only the coarser sorts of industry yet flourish." (No. 29.) Now, considering this utter unworthiness of the Connecticut poet, it is rather extraordinary that Darwin should have ascribed to his Conquest of Canaan "much fine versification." (Botanic Garden, note, line 364, part 1.); and that Campbell, whom the reviewers have placed above all the bards of the age, should have borrowed passages from his religious epic to adorn a compilation of the beauties of English poetry. In introducing these passages, Campbell remarks, indeed,—"Of this American poet I am sorry to be able to give the British reader no account. I believe his personal history is as little known as his poetry, on this side of the Atlantic." But, truly, the British reader might justly complain; for, Dr. Dwight made so conspicuous a figure in the affairs of New England, and was so diffusively and advantageously famous throughout this country, that it would not have been very difficult to come at his personal history, even in London. The President of Yale College, the second in the union in extent and consideration; an eminent divine, a politician of great influence, a voluminous, popular and able writer, could remain unknown only to those who were entirely ignorant of American affairs.

PART I. pursued by the critics in relation to our moral condition, manners, and general dispositions. Their excuses for their "kinsmen of the west," on these heads, have almost always had, more or less, the air of mockery, and carried a sharper sting than their open defamation. The following passages are wonderfully kind and encouraging, and furnish a specimen of the sapient, maternal discussions about us in the mother country.

"Why the Americans are disliked in this country we have never been able to understand; for most certainly they resemble us far more than any other nation in the world. They are brave and boastful, and national and factious, like ourselves;—about as polished as 99 in 100 of our own countrymen in the upper ranks—and *at least as moral and well educated in the lower*. Their virtues are such as we ought to admire—for they are those on which we value ourselves most highly: and their very faults seem to have some claim to our indulgence, since they are those with which we also are reproached by third parties." (1814).

"The complaint respecting America is, that there are no people of fashion—that their column still wants its Corinthian capital—or, in other words, that those who are rich and idle, have not yet existed so long, or in such numbers, as to have brought to full perfection that system of ingenious trifling, and elegant dissipation, by means of which it has been discovered that wealth and leisure may be most agreeably disposed of. Admitting the fact to be so, and in a country where there is no court, no nobility, and no monument or tradition of chivalrous usages—and where, moreover, the greatest number of those who are rich and powerful have raised themselves to that eminence by mercantile industry, we really do not see how it could well be otherwise—we could still submit, that this is no lawful cause either for national contempt, or for national hostility. It is a peculiarity in the structure of society among that people, which, we take it, can only give offence to their visiting acquaintance; and, while it does us no sort of harm while it subsists, promises, we think, very soon to disappear altogether, and no longer to afflict even our imaginations. The number of individuals born to the enjoyment of hereditary wealth is, or at least was, daily increasing in that country; and it is impossible that their multiplication,—with all the models of European refinement before them, and all the advantages resulting from a free government, and a general system of good education—should fail, within a very short period, to give birth to a *better tone of conversation and society*, and *to manners more dignified and refined*. Unless we are very

much misinformed indeed, *the symptoms* of such a change may already be traced in their cities. Their youths of fortune already travel over all the countries of Europe for their improvement; and specimens are occasionally met with even in these islands, which, with all our prejudices, we must admit, would do no discredit to the best blood of the land from which they originally sprung."*

There would have been too much of consistency in preserving, on all occasions, the condescension exerted in these passages. The tone of greeting is not so mincing or comfortable in the following extracts:

" The public functionaries in America are so poorly provided, that *no* prosperous counsellor, for instance, will accept of the office of judge, and few men of abilities will dedicate them to so unprofitable a task as the management of public affairs. Their legislature is therefore deficient both in talent and authority, and she has already experienced more than one shock from the irregular impulse of that ambition and talent for which no adequate recompense has been provided within the pale of her constitution." (No. 28).

" The Americans are all jealous republicans, and all outrageously proud of their constitution, and vain of their country. This passion exists, in America, in a degree that is both offensive and ridiculous to strangers!" (No. 40).

" They, of the western country, are hospitable to strangers, because they are seldom troubled with them; and *because they have always plenty of maize and smoked hams.*† Their hospitality, too, is *always* accompanied with impertinent questions; and a disgusting display of national vanity." (No. 13).

" There are no very prominent men at present in America; at least, none *whose fame is strong enough for exportation.* Munro is a man of plain, unaffected good sense. Jefferson,

* No. 40.

† The poor Irish at least, are placed out of the reach of so charitable an explanation; and if the people of England are hospitable, it is not certainly from this cause. I take the following from Bell's Weekly Messenger for Feb. 7th, 1819.

" On Friday a donation of the Regent gave cheerfulness to the lowly habitations of the indigent of Brighton. A large quantity of prime beef, to the value of one hundred pounds, by royal command, was distributed to the industrious poor with families, in proportions according to their number and necessities, by the parochial officers. *The widows' and the orphans' tears bore testimony of the gratitude felt, and expressions of thankfulness, directed towards their beloved and generous benefactor, were universal.*"

PART I. *we believe*, is still alive; and has always been more remarkable, *perhaps*, for the early share he took in the formation of the republic, than from any very predominant superiority of understanding." (No. 61).

It is well to be undeceived, let the nature of the error be what it may. But the Americans had credulously imagined, that the fame of the military and naval commanders by whom the British were, during the last American war, "worsted in most of their naval encounters, and baffled in most of their enterprises by land,"* was "strong enough for exportation." They thought the same, with respect to those "statesmen, most of whom survive, by whom the affairs of the United States have been administered in times of great difficulty, with a forbearance, circumspection, and constancy, not surpassed in those commonwealths who have been most justly renowned for the wisdom of their councils."† As regards Mr. Jefferson, it will not be deemed an unaccountable illusion in the Americans to have ascribed to him "a predominant superiority of understanding," when it is recollected that they had read the following remarks in the article of the Edinburgh Review on Janson's travels: "Mr. Janson *drags individuals into notice* without ceremony. As for his endless invectives against Mr. Jefferson, they belong to another class of wrongs, and only obtain their share of the dignified contempt by which *that eminently wise ruler* has consigned to oblivion all the spoken and written scurrility of his enemies."‡ While themselves engaged in "dragging individuals into notice," the Scottish critics should not have forgotten the names of John Adams, James Madison, John Jay, Rufus King, Thomas Pinckney, De Witt Clinton, John Quincy Adams, and even Mr. Chief Justice Marshall, all of whom, by a diligent perquisition, they could have ascertained to be still on the stage of life. Two of these at least, might be considered as prominent, since they wrote the principal portion of the work called the Federalist, which the Scottish dispensers of renown have themselves described as "a publication that exhibits an extent and precision of information, a profundity of research, and an acuteness of understanding, which would have done honour to the most illustrious statesman of ancient or modern times."§

* Edinburgh Review.—1814.

† Ibid. No. 61. Article on Universal Suffrage.

‡ No. 29.

§ No. 24. Article on Hillhouse's proposed amendment to the American Constitution.

In the number of this journal, the 61st, which tells us that we have no prominent men, it is obligingly said, "the Americans are a very sensible, reflecting people, and have conducted their affairs *extremely well:*" but at the same moment the compliment is retracted, in a burst of spleen more violent and acrid, than any of the effusions of the Quarterly Review, which I shall soon be called to notice. SEC. VII.

"The great curse of America is the institution of slavery—of itself far more than the foulest blot upon their national character, and an evil which counterbalances all the excisemen, licensers, and tax-gatherers of England."

"That slavery should exist among men who know the value of liberty, and profess to understand its principles, *is the consummation of wickedness.* Every American, who loves his country, should dedicate his whole life, and every faculty of his soul, to efface this foul stain from its character. If nations rank according to their wisdom and their virtue, *what right has the American, a scourger and murderer of slaves, to compare himself with the least and the lowest of the European nations?* much more with *this great and humane country*, where the greatest lord dare not lay a finger upon the meanest peasant? What is freedom, where all are not free? Where the greatest of God's blessings is limited, with impious caprice, to the colour of the body? And these are the men who taunt the English with their corrupt parliament, with their buying and selling votes. Let the world judge which is the most liable to censure—we who, in the midst of our rottenness, have *torn off the manacles of slaves all over the world*, or they who, with their idle purity, and useless perfection, have remained mute and careless, while groans echoed and whips clanked round the very walls of their spotless Congress. *The existence of slavery in America is an atrocious crime*, with which no measures can be kept—for *which her situation affords no apology*—which makes liberty itself distrusted, and the boast of it disgusting."

6. It was, perhaps, known to the authors of the Review, that no small part of the American public, in spite of all that I have quoted from it of an earlier date, still credulously relied upon its general professions and character. They magnanimously determined at length, to dissipate the delusion, or conceived the project of putting it to the last test, by these fierce invectives.

I will discuss, in another place, the validity of the sweeping

PART I. charges founded upon the existence of domestic slavery among us, my immediate object being little more than to exemplify the feeling, or the policy, of the leading journals of Great Britain. We may, however, delay a while, to illustrate further the consistency and modesty of the Edinburgh critics. In the same article which contains the charges just mentioned, they write thus. "Any person, with tolerable prosperity here in England, had better remain where he is. There are considerable evils, no doubt, in England; but it would be madness not to admit that it is, upon the whole, a very happy country. Now, it was only in the number of their journal immediately preceding, in the article on Birbeck's travels, that we read the following language.

"With all its excellencies, the English government is a most expensive one: protection to person and property is no where so dearly purchased; and the follies of the people, and the corruption of their rulers, have entailed such a load of debt upon us, that whoever prefers his own to any other country, as a place of residence, must be content to pay an enormous price for the gratification of his wish. In truth, a temptation to emigrate is now held out to all persons of moderate fortune, which must, in very many cases, prove altogether irresistible. Nor can any thing be more senseless than the wonder testified by some zealous lovers of their native land, at any family of small income, seeking a more fruitful soil and a better climate, where half their means may not be seized to pay the state and the poor. Mr. Birbeck, as a moderate capitalist, and the father of a large family, may be justified *in every point of view* for leaving this country."

In the last pages of the article on Birbeck's Travels, it is elaborately maintained by the reviewer, that the American union will continue: but, in the next number of the Journal, we are told that "it is scarcely possible to conceive that such an empire as the American should very long remain undivided." The truly sound doctrine of the article on Birbeck furnishes the best answer to this assertion. It is as follows.

"It might be proper, however, to consider the real ground of stability which the government of America possesses, before we decide in so positive a manner against it. There can be little doubt, that the whole question turns upon the difference of American and European society, and the total want in the former, of that race of political characters which abounds in the latter. In America, all men have abundant occupation of their own, without thinking of the state. Every person is deeply interested, and perpetually engaged, in driving his trade, and cultivating his land: and little time is left to any one for thinking of state affairs, except as a subject of conversation. As a business they engage the attention of no one except the rulers of the

country; and even they keep the concerns of the public subordinate to their own. The governor of a state is generally a large land owner and farmer of his own ground. A foreign minister is the active member of a lucrative and laborious profession, quitting it for a few months, and returning to its gains and its toils when his mission is ended. The business of the senate occupies but a few weeks in the year; and no man devotes himself so much to its duties, as to leave it doubtful to what class of the industrious community he properly belongs. The race of mere statesmen, so well known among us in the Old World, is wholly unknown in the New; and until it springs up, even the foundations of a change cannot be considered as laid. The Americans no doubt are, like other freemen, decided partisans, and warm political combatants; but what project or chance can counterbalance, in their eyes, the benefits conferred by the union, of cultivating their soil, and pursuing their traffic freely and gainfully, in their capacity of private individuals? A preacher of insurrection might safely be left with such personages as the American farmers; and until the whole frame of society alters, even a great increase of political characters will not enable those persons successfully to appeal to the bulk of the community, with the prospect of splitting the union. The cautious and economical character of the Federal Government seems admirably adapted to secure its hold over the affections of a rational and frugal people."

The Edinburgh Review is, doubtless, the last quarter in which we are to look for *proof* of the assertions that England is "a very happy country, where all are free"—"a great and humane country, which has torn off the manacles of slaves all over the world." In the same article in which those assertions are made, we read that "a very disgusting feature in the present English government is its extreme timidity, and the cruelty and violence to which its timidity gives birth;" that in government-cases the judges are not independent; that "the savage spectacle" is exhibited "of a poor wretch, perhaps a very honest man, contending in vain against the weight of an immense government, pursued by a zealous attorney, and sentenced, by some candidate, perhaps, for the favour of the crown, to the long miseries of the dungeon." On the point of England's having "torn off the manacles of slaves all over the world," the several articles of that Journal concerning the condition of the blacks in the British West Indies, of the Hindoos, of the Irish Catholics, furnish an admirable commentary. The same Number in which that glorious distinction is claimed for England, begins with an account of Mills' History of British India, and ends with a view of the state of the Irish Catholics; wherein her millions of Irish and Indian subjects are represented as labouring under the most galling and withering tyranny. The language of the following passages, for instance, is tolerably significative, and has the advantage of being undeniably true.

PART I.

"We find, at the very outset of the history of the East India Company as a governing body, a series of acts of treachery and unjust violence, such as it would not be easy to match in the annals of men whom we are accustomed to consider as the worst of tyrants."

"We are accustomed to rate very highly the security which is derived from being governed by men having the advantages of English education and English feelings. But it affords a lesson of melancholy instruction as to the feebleness of this security, when we see gentlemen eminently possessed of these advantages, and placed far above the reach of want, ready to destroy the commerce of a great country, to break down the administration of justice, to oppress the people, to violate treaties, to kindle a war, and to depose a monarch, their ally, merely to secure to themselves the profits of an illegal traffic."

"Such are the melancholy results of the attempts to improve the condition of Bengal, described not by inimical observers or severe judges, but by the magistrates who, from the prejudices of their situation, would be inclined to behold every indication of improvement, under the auspices of a British administration, with a favourable eye. Every person of rank and property reduced to the lowest condition,—the cultivator exposed to intolerable exaction,—the courts of justice virtually closed against suitors,—the most terrible of crimes increased to that extent, that no security for person or property can be said to exist,—minor offences not diminished,—dissoluteness of morals become more general,—and a police, of which the vices render it, instead of a benefit, a pest to the country: these, according to the highest authorities, are the characteristics of that part of India, where our reforms have had the longest time to operate."

"To this picture must those open their eyes, who have been consoling themselves, on every act of aggression and conquest, however unjust in itself, with the reflection that the extension of the British power was an extension of benefits and of security to the natives. One advantage has certainly attended the introduction of an English administration: the direct oppression which the superiors exercised, as of right, over their inferiors is lessened; but that oppression was much less terrible than the increased acts of violence and cruelty of the unlicensed plunderers who were kept in awe by the vigilance of the former rulers; nor can the occasional acts of violence, on the part of the native governments, towards its higher subjects, bear a comparison with those regulations, which have produced a greater change in the landed property than was ever known before, and in a few years reduced the majority of the zemindars to distress and beggary."

"The lawless habits of the people, in the ordinary and best state of the interior of Ireland, and all the occasional disturbances of a more serious character, are to be traced to the system of law which has divided the inhabitants of Ireland into a Protestant Oligarchy, administering in detail the government of the country over a Catholic multitude:—The one armed with all sorts of arbitrary powers; the other excluded from the constitution, and subjected to every species of penalties."

"In all former times of peace, the establishment for Ireland has been 8000 men. The number voted last year was 22,000. Besides the expense of maintaining this extra number of 14,000 men, there is also the expense of police establishments, prosecutions, and a variety of other charges, which grow out of the system of governing the people on the principle of exclusion from their civil rights. In the last year's public accounts, there is a charge of 38,952*l.* for police establishments in proclaimed districts; and another for 12,000*l.* secret service, in detecting treasonable conspiracies."

"In vain have the hands of government been strengthened in Ireland, and the terrors of its power let loose, in every *form of civil proscription and military execution.* The evil of an alienated population is not to be so overmastered. They cannot love a constitution from which they are excluded, nor venerate a law which withholds from them the rights which it secures to the more favoured part of the population, by whom it is made and administered."

With respect to the many hundred thousand blacks of the British West Indies, the manner in which their manacles have been "torn off" is sufficiently illustrated in the following passage, quoted by the Edinburgh Review, with full approbation, from a Report of the African Institution, for the year 1815. "In what country, accursed with slavery, is this sinking fund of mercy, this favour of the laws to human redemption, *manumission*, taken away! Where, by an opprobrious reversal of legislative maxims, ancient and modern, do the lawgivers rivet, instead of relaxing, the fetters of private bondage, stand between the slave and the liberality of his master, by prohibiting enfranchisements, and labour as much as in them lies, to make that dreadful, odious state of man, which they have formed, eternal? Shame and horror must not deter us from revealing the truth. *It is in the dominions of Great Britain.* This abuse has been reserved for assemblies, convened by the British crown, and subject to the control of Parliament."

In the article on Birbeck, the negro-slavery of the United States is spoken of, and with great truth, as existing "in a form *by far the most mitigated*," and it is unanswerably aksed, "Who can compare the state of the slave in the sugar islands with that in North America?" In the article of the 50th number, on the general Registry of slaves, all idea of emancipating those of the British West Indies is peremptorily disclaimed, in the name of the English abolitionists; and the Reviewer adds, "Unprepared for freedom as the unhappy victims of our oppression and rapacity now are, *the attempts to bestow it on them at once, could only lead to their own augmented misery, and involve both master and slave in one common ruin.*" The sagacity which provided this just reflection in favour of Great Britain and the West India legislature, might have discovered the same apology for the southern states of America, and arrested the unqualified sentence pronounced upon them.

In truth, all this sudden pother about the bare continued existence of domestic slavery in this country, may be at once understood to be mere parade, if not artifice, on a reference to the tenor of the article in the first number of the Review,

PART I. concerning the Sugar Colonies. The object of that article was to show, that "the subdivision of the negroes of the West Indies, under the power of masters armed with absolute power," had become an indispensable policy for Great Britain; that "the regulation of the treatment of the slaves" ought to be left to the colonial legislatures; and, principally, that Great Britain should assist the consular government of France (alias Bonaparte) in the attempt to reduce the negroes of St. Domingo to their previous state of bondage; to "their cane-pieces, coffee-grounds and spice-walks." The champions of universal emancipation, who now, in the fervour of their apostleship, proclaim it to be "the consummation of wickedness," on our part, to tolerate even the existence of slavery in our southern states, had, then, so little presentiment of their vocation, or susceptibility to the impressions which slavery, "in the most mitigated form," makes upon them now, as they contemplate this republic, that they were eager for its revival in its severest form, and on a very extensive scale, in St. Domingo; because the independence of the negroes of that island seemed to threaten the security of the trade which supplied in part "our (the British) fleet with seamen and our (the British) exchequer with millions." The article in question calculates sanguinely and argumentatively the advantage secured to Great Britain, on the supposition that "France had completely succeeded in her colonial measures, and, *with whatever perfidy and cruelty*, restored the slavery of the negroes." And it is curious to remark the language held in relation to the beings, for whose fate *with us*, so profound and resentful a compassion is now expressed.

"The negroes are truly the Jacobins of the West India islands—they are the anarchists, the terrorists, the domestic enemy. Against them it becomes rival nations to combine, and hostile governments to coalesce. If Prussia and Austria felt their existence to depend on an union against the revolutionary arms in Europe, (and who does not lament that their coalition was not more firm and enlightened?) a closer alliance is imperiously recommended to France, and Britain, and Spain, and Holland, against the common enemy of civilized society, the destroyer of the European name in the new world."

"We have the greatest sympathy for the unmerited sufferings of the unhappy negroes; we detest the odious traffic which has poured their myriads into the Antilles; *but we must be permitted to feel some tenderness for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy, which in Europe is only*

excited by the wrongs or miseries of the poor and the profligate; and, on the other side of the Atlantic, is never warmed but towards the savage, the mulatto, and the slave!!

"Admitting all that has been urged against the planters and their African providers, we are much of the opinion which Lord Bacon has expressed in the following sentence:—'It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of the blood of many commiserable persons.'"

The Edinburgh Review is as much at variance with itself, touching the points of the felicity and humanity of Great Britain, as in that of her being the dispenser of universal freedom. As far as the acknowledgment of overspreading pauperism may be considered as an acknowledgment of national wretchedness, we have it in repeated instances. In the 58th number, this evil is represented as "the menacing hydra who swells so gigantically and stalks so largely over the face of the British land." That this hydra had left the land, or had ceased to swell and expatiate, when the critic wrote the phrase "it would be madness not to admit England to be a *very* happy country," no one acquainted with the progress of her affairs could be bold enough to affirm. With respect to her humanity, it is strangely emblazoned in the abstracts and opinions which the Edinburgh Review has given, of the resistance to the abolition of the slave trade; of her administration of Ireland and India; of her penal code; of the state of her public charities, her prisons, her hospitals, and of the character of the ministry whom she suffers to remain in power. A single passage, which I take from their volume for 1817, may serve to show how the critics vindicate, in the detail, the reputation of superior humanity which they assert in the gross, for their country:—

"The condition of pauper lunatics, in public institutions, is shown sufficiently, by what has been already said. At private mad-houses, the management of the poor was no better. At Talbot's, Bethnal Green, where the number was 230, and at Rhodes's, Bethnal Green, where 275 paupers were crowded together, there is proof of circumstances that deserve severe censure. At Miles, Worston, of 486 patients, 300 were kept wholly without medical attention to their mental disorder. *The case is nearly the same throughout the whole of England;* and the sheriff of Edinburghshire states, that "in no instance did he find a pauper lunatic treated with kindness; in several, marked inhumanity was observable."

In remarking, in reference to the United States, that "it is not pleasant to emigrate to a country of changes and *revolu-*

PART I. *tion*," the same critics add, to enforce their observation—"then we have a parliament of inestimable value." In confirmation of this discovery, I will appeal to the authority of a late leader of the party to which they belong,—a man whose superlative judgment and candour they have celebrated without bounds.

Sir S. Romilly said—* "Let us recollect that we are the parliament which, for the first time in the history of this country, twice suspended the habeas corpus act in a period of profound peace. Let us recollect that we are the confiding parliament which entrusted his majesty's ministers with the authority emanating from that suspension, in expectation that when it was no longer wanted, they would call parliament together to surrender it into their hands—which those ministers did not do, although they subsequently acknowledged that the necessity for retaining that power had long ceased to exist. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which consented to indemnify his majesty's ministers for the abuses and violations of the law of which they had been guilty, in the exercise of the authority vested in them. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which refused to inquire into the grievances stated in the numerous petitions and memorials with which our table groaned—that we turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the oppressed—that we even amused ourselves with their sufferings. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which sanctioned the use of spies and informers by the British government—debasing that government, once so celebrated for good faith and honour, into a condition lower in character than that of the ancient French police. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which sanctioned the issuing of a circular letter to the magistracy of the country, by a secretary of state, urging them to hold persons to bail for libel before an indictment was found. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which sanctioned the sending out of the opinion of the king's attorney general and the king's solicitor-general, as the law of the land. Let us recollect that we are the same parliament which sanctioned the shutting of the ports of this once hospitable nation to unfortunate foreigners flying from persecution in their own country. This, Sir, is what we have done; and we are about to crown all by the present most violent and most unjustifiable act (the alien act). Who our successors may be I know not; but God grant that this country may never see another parliament as regardless of the liberties and rights of the people, and of the principles of general justice, as this parliament has been!"

As an American, I may be excused, if, yielding to the provocation of such language as that of the Edinburgh Review, I dwell a little longer, in this place, upon the evidence of the more perfect freedom and tender humanity of Great Britain, which is to be collected from other sources. It has been the uniform cry of the leading members of the opposition in parliament, as well as of the Scottish journal, that the ministry could at any time find a majority to enable them to suspend the habeas corpus act; and the same authorities have concurred in the assertions that when the habeas corpus act was suspend-

* Debate of June 15, 1818, House of Commons.

ed, there was no difference between the government of Great Britain and the rule of the most despotic sovereign; that the power which a minister had of committing to prison on such occasions, was quite as great and as dangerous, as that of the *lettres de cachet*, so celebrated in the annals of France. The last British parliament, dissolved in 1818, suspended the habeas corpus twice—in a time of profound peace with foreign nations, Lord Castlereagh averring on the second occasion, that unless the measure were adopted, "a bloody and disastrous catastrophe was to be expected." SEC. VII.

The state of things during the suspension will be made sufficiently known, by a few quotations from the debates in Parliament on the subject, and will show the real value of the boast for England, that "the greatest lord dare not lay a finger upon the meanest peasant."

Lord Holland said (Feb. 19th, 1818) "that forty British subjects had been, during the suspension of 1817, immured in prisons and discharged without any trial."

Lord A. Hamilton said (Feb. 10th, 1818) "that government had avowedly employed spies and informers,* who, it was generally admitted, had, in many cases, fomented the evil which it was the object to counteract. And he begged now to notice the lamentable condition to which suspected persons, innocent or guilty, were thus reduced in this frank and *free* country. Any man was liable, on the information of these fomenting instead of detecting spies—out of malice or to earn their pay—to be taken by secret warrant—to secret imprisonment—to distant gaol—all access denied him 'for fear of tampering'—a law officer to threaten or bribe—some accomplice to give agreeable evidence—under such circumstances, what chance had he of bare justice, much less of successfully encountering his enemies. Such proceedings were in direct opposition to all that they had been accustomed to venerate in the British constitution."

Mr. Fazakerley said (Feb. 11th, 1818) "that during the suspension of the habeas corpus, the powers with which it invested government were by no means sparingly used. The gaols were filled with suspected individuals, apprehended probably on the information of spies; and many persons were thus, in all probability, made the victims of the crimes of others. The various provinces witnessed the novel sight, of state prisoners, itinerant state prisoners, carried about from one place to another. Not that alone—they saw them loaded with irons and placed in close confinement."

Sir F. Burdett observed (March 11th, 1818) "that no contradiction had been attempted of the allegation, that men who had not been found guilty of any offence—who were merely accused, and, it was to be presumed, wrongfully, as they were subsequently discharged,—were confined in solitary cells, and loaded with irons. In one instance

* The Earl of Westmoreland, one of the ministry, observed, in the House of Lords, 5th March, 1818, "that spies and informers had, from the earliest periods of history, been the objects of popular dislike. But he believed that no government had ever existed by which they had not been used, and that hardly any conspiracy or treason had ever been detected and punished without their aid."

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two of these unfortunate individuals were chained together, compelled mutually to bear all the infirmities of human nature; a most inhuman practice, and one to which a tyrant of old is said to have resorted as to a refinement of cruelty."

Sir S. Romilly referred to "the petitions of the two booksellers at Warrington, who being charged with no higher offence than the publishing of a libel, had had their houses searched, their books and papers seized, and had been themselves loaded with irons like felons, and committed to the house of correction, and kept to hard labour, before any trial had taken place."

"There was another case of the same kind," he continued, "but of still greater cruelty It was the case of a man of the name of Swirdells, whose house had been broken open in the dead of night, and his books and papers seized His wife was at the time far advanced in her pregnancy; the terror produced a premature labour, which caused the death of herself and of the child; and another infant, the only remains of the unhappy man's family, was, when he was dragged to gaol, conveyed to the parish workhouse, and from thence, in a short time, to the parish burying ground. The man, however, had been guilty of no crime. His family was destroyed—he was himself discharged from prison, impoverished, ruined, a widower, and childless, because some unfounded charge had been brought against him."

Lord Holland said (Feb. 27th, 1818) "that the noble duke who had introduced the present bill (indemnity bill) had treated the subject rather lightly, by saying, that the government under the suspension act 'had merely abstracted a few individuals, for a time, from society' So then, you take men from their family, friends, and employments; you immure them in dungeons; you doom them to solitary confinement for months; you expose their persons to every species of hardship, and their characters to every kind of suspicion, and you call this 'only abstracting a few individuals from society for a time.'"

In March, 1817, an act was passed by the Parliament,—"the seditious meetings bill,"—declaring in the case of any public meeting, the punishment of death without benefit of clergy, for non-compliance with the order of a simple magistrate to disperse. At that period, there were no less than two hundred crimes, besides murder, treason, and burglary, legally punishable with death; and sixty of them had been made capital in the reign of George III.; seventeen of these by one act; and, of the number, one was for shooting a man; another the killing of a rabbit; a third, trying to kill a man in his bed; and a fourth, cutting down heads of fish-ponds. To this list of capital offences may be added cutting a hop-bine, or an ornamental tree in gentlemen's grounds; going to a masquerade with the face blacked, and many others of a similar cast which are detailed in the speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh, on the British penal code.

By the Marriage Act five capital felonies are created in one line. From official evidence presented to the House of Commons, it appears, that nineteen persons, and occasionally twenty-one, have been executed on the same day in London. We have an instance, within the three years last past, of a

woman of the name of Mary Ryan, who had assisted her husband in an attempt to escape from Newgate, being brought to the bar for this offence, a few hours after she saw him carried to execution; and tried and condemned with her infant at her breast, notwithstanding, as Sir James Mackintosh stated in the House of Commons, that she was, from the delirium of her grief, as incapable of proceeding on her defence, or of extenuating her act, as if she were in a state of confirmed insanity. Mr. Scarlett, a distinguished barrister, and member of the House of Commons, asserted, in his place, without contradiction, (on the 2d March, 1819,) that if there was any country more disgraced by sanguinary enactments than another, it was England. To illustrate further the recklessness of the legislature in such enactments, and the nature of the admonition to which it has remained insensible, I will extract from the parliamentary history, part of a speech delivered in the House of Commons by a member of high standing, the 13th of May, 1777, on the occasion of a bill for the better securing dock yards, &c. by the punishment of death.

Sir William Meredith said,

"Had it been fairly stated, and specifically pointed out, what the mischief of coining silver in the utmost extent is, the hanging bill on that subject might not have been so readily adopted; under the name of treason it found an easy passage. I indeed, have always understood treason to be nothing less than some act or conspiracy against the life or honour of the king, and the safety of the state; but what the king or state can suffer by my taking now and then a bad sixpence, or a bad shilling, I cannot imagine. By this nickname of treason, however, there lies at this moment in Newgate, under sentence *to be burnt alive*, a girl just turned of 14; at her master's bidding she hid some whitewashed farthings behind her stays, on which the jury found her guilty as an accomplice with her master in the treason. The master was hanged last Wednesday; and the faggots all lay ready for her; no reprieve came till just as the cart was setting out, and the girl would have been burnt alive on the same day, had it not been for the humane but casual interference of Lord Weymouth. Good God! Sir, are we taught to execrate the fires of Smithfield, while we are lighting them now to burn a poor harmless child for hiding a whitewashed farthing! And yet this barbarous sentence, which ought to make men shudder at the thought of shedding blood for such trivial causes, is brought as a reason for more hanging and burning."[2]

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"When a member of Parliament brings in a new hanging law, he begins with mentioning some injury that may be done to private property, for which a man is not yet liable to be hanged, and then proposes the gallows as the specific, infallible means of cure and prevention; but the bill in its progress often makes crimes capital, that scarce deserve whipping. For instance, the shop-lifting act was to prevent bankers' and silver-smiths', and other shops, where there are commonly goods of great value, from being robbed; but it goes so far, as to make it death to lift any thing off a counter with an intent to steal. Under this act, one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention: it was at the time when press warrants were issued on the alarm about Falkland's Islands. The woman's husband was pressed; their goods seized for some debts of his, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. It is a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young, (under nineteen) and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak; the shopman saw her, and she laid it down: *for this she was hanged!* Her defence was, (I have the trial in my pocket) 'That she had lived in credit, and wanted for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her husband from her; but since then, she had no bed to lie on; nothing to give her children to eat; and they were almost naked, and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did.' The parish officers testified to the truth of this story; but it seems, there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate; an example was thought necessary, and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shopkeepers in Ludgate-street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner, as proved her mind to be in a distracted and desponding state; *and the child was sucking at her breast when she set out for Tyburn.*"

"But for what cause was God's creation robbed of this its noblest work? It was for no injury; but for a mere attempt to clothe two naked children by unlawful means. Compare this, with what the state did, and with what the law did. The state bereaved the woman of her husband, and the children of a father, who was all their support; the law deprived the woman of her life, and the children of their remaining parent, exposing them to every danger, insult, and merciless treatment, that destitute and helpless orphans suffer. Take all the circumstances together, I do not believe that a fouler

murder was ever committed against law, than the murder of this woman by law. Some who hear me, are perhaps blaming the judges, the jury, and the hangman; but neither the judge, jury nor hangman are to blame; they are but ministerial agents; the true hangman is the member of parliament; he who frames the bloody law is answerable for all the blood that is shed under it. I cannot find in history any example of such laws as ours, except a code that was framed at Athens by Draco."

Not merely the act of killing, but the mere attempt to kill game at night, in an enclosed place, is felony subject to transportation for seven years, under the monstrous system of *game laws*. In 1816, according to official returns made to Parliament, twelve hundred persons were immured in various parts of the kingdom, for offences against those laws, to the utter ruin and overwhelming distress of many hundreds of poor families. *The preservation of game* for the tables of the rich, is the equivalent for this mass of human misery, which, at the same time, confessedly leads to a depravation of morals among the lower orders, considerably greater in the proportion.

One of the most respectable British Journals, Bell's Weekly Messenger, June 22d, 1818, holds this language :

"We have often had occasion to say, and we shall repeat it, that in no country in the world is the revenue so mercilessly collected and enforced as in England. In no country in the world is less conceded to private distress." The critics of Edinburgh can hardly claim for Scotland an exemption from this last reproach, if we are to credit the details given in the following extract from the "Proceedings of the House of Commons" for the 30th April, 1818.

"Mr. Findlay rose to move for a return of the number of prisoners confined for small debts in the several prisons of Scotland. The House, he was persuaded, could hardly imagine the degree of misery which the prisoners alluded to were condemned to suffer, and when the numbers who thus suffered were taken into account, combined with the insignificant debts for which they suffered, its astonishment must be excited, while its feelings must be severely afflicted. In the prisons of Glasgow alone, there were last year no less than ninety-three persons confined for sums under one pound, and it was to be recollected that not one of those was likely to come out of prison, without having his morals polluted by the persons he was obliged to associate with, while in prison. The whole number of prisoners thus confined in all the Scottish prisons, amounted, he had reason to believe, to several hundreds, while

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he apprehended that those confined for sums under £5, amounted *to some thousands.* He had also to observe that none of these poor prisoners were entitled to any prison allowance or succour, until ten days after their committal, while the receipt of each afterwards was only 4*d.* per day. Yet the creditor could not commit one of these prisoners, without expending ten shillings, nor could the debtor be released without paying six shillings."

Some more extracts from the parliamentary debates of the two last years, will restore the balance between England and our southern states, according to the mode of account opened by the Edinburgh Review, in the article on Fearon's Travels.

Lord R. Seymour observed (June 17th, 1817) "that gentlemen not conversant with parish workhouses, were not aware how harshly the pauper lunatics were treated in them. To prevent their escape, they were consigned to the constant wear of the strait waistcoat, and this being, of all instruments of personal restraint, the most heating and irritating, the poor lunatic in it becomes clamorous and noisy; when to prevent his annoying his neighbour by his noise, the lancet was applied to him, by which he was not unfrequently reduced to a state of exhaustion."

Mr. Bennet presented (Feb. 1st, 1819) "a petition from Dr. Halloran, now under sentence of transportation for seven years, for forging a frank to a letter, complaining of the hardships and cruelties to which he was exposed. This case," the honourable member observed, "had excited a good deal of interest, and very naturally, from the disproportion between the offence and the penalty, and in reply, it was said that Dr. Halloran's character was very questionable, and that he was no clergyman, &c. If the individual had assumed a character to which he was not entitled, why was he not prosecuted accordingly? but as the case now stood, it would appear as if the man were tried for one thing, and punished on account of another. After mentioning the severe treatment to which Dr. H. had been exposed before trial, in being confined among the most horrible characters, the honourable member proceeded to give an account of the convict vessel in which this individual was now confined; a statement, which he begged the House to understand, he made from his own personal observation. Dr. H. was conveyed to the hulks in an open boat, when extremely ill, and left in what was called a cabin, but what he (Mr. B.) should term a hole or dungeon, for *nineteen* hours, without any one going to him, saying nothing of the absence of medical aid; he was placed in a hole or dungeon with twenty other convicts—the division being twelve feet square. In this hole or dungeon were cribs six and a half feet long and five and a half feet broad; and into one of these cribs six human beings were stowed Here they passed the night without the opportunity of turning.

The honourable member added, that when he examined this vessel, he was compelled to have the aid of a candle; and he not only found the cabins limited and confined, as already described, but they were dirty and loathsome in the extreme. Such a sight was abominable to a country calling itself Christian, and particularly so to a government that was peculiarly Christian. The description of the inside of a black slave ship had recently excited a good deal of interest, not only in England, but throughout Europe. But what would the house say when they learned that the inside of this *white slave ship* was worse than that of a black slave ship. According to the section of the latter vessel, the

blacks had one foot six inches breadth of reposing room; but the white slave ship only offered one foot one inch. He described what he had seen—he pledged himself for the truth of what he stated."

Mr. B. Bathurst (one of the ministry) "did not mean to deny, that there might be merit due to the honourable member for his active and personal interference. Respecting the conditions of the vessels, those who were condemned to them must expect many privations and hardships, and *the ships were such as had long been used.* The arguments were therefore against the system, not against the particular case. The convict ships were now fitted up in the way in *which they always had been.*"

Mr Bennet said (April 3d, 1819) "the House was aware that Ilchester returned two members to parliament; it was a patronised place; or, in other words, if he might be permitted to use them, it was the property of a particular family. It appeared from the petition which he held in his hands, that the proprietor thought a small number of constituents more advantageous; and, to accomplish this object, he had pulled down a number of houses, by which about one hundred families had been driven from their homes, and were received into a sort of temporary poor-house, where they were sheltered for a time, yet only eighteen or twenty of them had been paupers, the rest maintaining themselves by honest industry. Notice was however given, in consequence of prevailing political dissensions, that these unhappy families would be deprived of even that shelter; the parish resisted, and an ejectment being brought, they were finally turned out; thus one hundred and sixty-three men, women, and children, from extreme infancy to extreme age, had been driven into the open streets in the most inclement season of the year; some had screened themselves from the cold, with straw and hurdles; some had taken refuge in open stalls or in the neighbouring fields; and a considerable number of old and young of both sexes, decrepit old people with helpless infants and women in the last stage of pregnancy, had been huddled together in the Town Hall without distinction. The unroofing of houses had been heard of as an expedient of exclusion; but it remained for the agents of the proprietor of this borough, to drive a man, his wife, and five children from their dwelling, by filling the upper floors with dung and filth, which oozed and dripped through the ceilings."

7. Few of the persons who may have followed me thus far in this section, will, I apprehend, any longer doubt that "the vice of impertinence" has "crept" into the councils of the Edinburgh Review, as well as into the British cabinet; that it has actually "shared in the odious, miserable, vulgar spirit of abuse" which it alleges the opposite political sect to be "fond of displaying against America;" that it has never even appeared to undertake her defence, but from party feelings and views; and that by perpetually contradicting itself when treating of her concerns or those of England, it has forfeited all claim to authority, on either side of the question. Its readers may still recollect how severely Cobbett was handled, in the 20th number, for the "versatility of his successive doctrines;" and they will readily apply the following paragraphs, with which it concluded its collation of those doctrines.

PART I. "Now, what is it that we infer from this strange alternation of praise and blame in the pages of Mr. Cobbett? Why, that nobody *should care much for either;* that they are bestowed from passion or party prejudice, and not from any sound principles of judgment; and that it must be the most foolish of all things, to take our impressions from a man whose own opinions have not only varied, but been absolutely reversed, within these four years."

"By the uncharitable, such a man will always be regarded as a professional bully, without principle or sincerity—whose services may be bought by any one who will pay their price to his avarice or other passions;—and the most liberal must consider him as a person without any steadiness or depth of judgment;—accustomed to be led away by hasty views and occasional impressions;—entitled to no weight or authority, in questions of delicacy or importance;—and likely to be found in arms against his old associates, on every material change in his own condition, or that of the country."

SECTION VIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

SEC. VIII.

1. The Quarterly Review is an avowed, implacable enemy, and somewhat more important to us in its hostilities than the Edinburgh, on account of its intimate connexion with the British government. It has constantly argued upon the general question of American concerns, by a reference to the single class of exceptions, and taken as the ground of universal reprobation, those partial irregularities in morals and manners, which are to be found in every country, and which, if they were sufficient to warrant the charge of barbarism or depravation against a whole nation, would be equally competent to prove that there is no civilization nor virtue left on the earth.

Mr. Burke said, in his speech on the Conciliation with America—"I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I cannot insult and ridicule the feelings of millions of my fellow creatures. I am not ripe to pass sentence on the gravest public bodies entrusted with magistracies of great authority and dignity, and charged with the safety of their fellow-citizens, upon the same title as a member of the British parliament." What this elevated and enlightened personage thus declared himself incompetent to perform, is the frequent and favourite achievement of a junto of poets and politicians in London, who profess to be of the number of his most faithful disciples and enthusiastic admirers. What he pronounced to be "for wise men, not judicious; for sober men, not decent; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild and merciful;" they can practise without shame, even with ostentation, towards the same country, the vilification of which occasioned his remarks.

Opinions utterly repugnant to each other; the most intemperate and incautious sallies of hate and jealousy; allegations so exorbitant as at once to betray and defeat the purpose of the writers, characterize the articles of the Quarterly Review which relate to the United States. At the same time, nothing is to be found in them of the judgment, humour, knowledge, and elocution, which recommend other parts of the Journal.

PART I. The Edinburgh Review is jocose at our expense through pertness and arrogance; the Quarterly from national fears and monarchical antipathy; and the leer of the one is, accordingly, only smirking, while that of the other is Sardonic.

It was utterly unworthy of men of high rank in the world of literature and criticism; of political teachers of the loftiest pretensions; of wits claiming to be the successors of the Swifts and Arbuthnots; to appear speculating, and deciding, and jesting upon a great country, like America, with such manuals as the travels of Ashe, Janson, Parkinson, Fearon, illiterate and interested slanderers, for whom they could not conceal their own hearty contempt, and whose publications, on any other subject, they would have cast from them in disdainful silence.

If it had become necessary, for state purposes, such as the prevention of emigration, the weakening of a contrast unfavourable to the British order of things, and the counteraction of a dangerous influence with the nations of the continent,—or for the gratification of a prurient wit, a restless arrogance, or private political pique,—that the United States should be reviled and derided, self-respect and sound policy exacted an exertion of patience to await, or of ingenuity to contrive, some other occasion than those afforded by reports, the whole cast and tone of which, betrayed to the world, the insufficiency and venality of the authors. The British reviewers would have consulted their own dignity, and the important object of plausibility in their expositions of our character and condition more, had they resorted altogether for texts even to the newspapers written among us by "the expatriated Irishmen and Scotchmen," of whom the Edinburgh Journal speaks, rather than to books coarsely manufactured in London, out of the meanest and flimsiest materials brought thither by disappointed or stipendiary Englishmen, whose pursuits and views made it impossible, for any reflecting person to believe, that they had possessed either the opportunity, capacity, or inclination to represent the Americans justly and fairly. Other oracles besides these; or a course of original, and well-adjusted detraction, by argument, assertion, and ridicule, were wanting to enable critics, of whatever general authority in their vocation, to sophisticate the feelings, and bewilder the reason, of mankind, in relation to the United States. I question whether a single auxiliary has been raised on the continent of Europe, for the crusade against the American name, by the passages which I am about to quote from the Quarterly Review, as samples of its liberality and veracity.

"An American's first play-thing is a rattle snake's tail—he cuts down a tree on which the wild pigeons have built their nests, and picks up a horse load of young birds."

"Intoxication with the Americans is not social hilarity betrayed into excess; it is too rapid a process for that interval of *generous feeling which tempts the European on.* Their pleasure is first in the fiery stimulus itself, not in its effect—not in drunkenness, but in getting drunk."

"Hence the ferocity with which the Americans decide their quarrels: their rough and tumbling: their *biting* and lacerating each other, and their *gouging*, a diabolical practice which has never disgraced Europe, and for which no other people have ever had a name."*

"Living in a semi-savage state, the *greater part* of the Americans are so accustomed to dispense with the comforts of life which they cannot obtain, that they have learned to neglect even those decencies which are within their reach."

"They have overrun an immense country, not settled it. In this as in every thing else, the system of things is forced beyond the age of the *colonies.*"

"The manners are boorish, or, rather, brutal.**In America nothing seems to be respected; there the government is better than the people. The want of decorum among the Americans is not imputable to their republican government; for it has not been found in other republics; it has proceeded from the effects of the revolutionary war, from their *premature independence*, and from that passion for gambling which infects *all orders of men, clergy as well as laity*, and the legislators as well as the people."*

"The state of law in America is as deplorable as that of religion, and far from extraordinary."†

"*Two millions* of slaves are now smarting under the lash in the American states: more than *three millions* have been imported and sold in those pure regions since the defeat of Cornwallis."‡

* No. 4.—Article on Holmes's Annals. See Note R.

† No. 6.—Article on Northmore's Washington.

‡ This allegation was made in 1809, only 28 years from the period of the defeat of Cornwallis: so that on an average more than 100,000 must have been annually imported! By the census of the population of the United States for 1810, the whole number of slaves was then only 1,191,364. Therefore, at least two millions must have perished among us since 1781! It is wonderful that the African Association of London has not yet availed itself of this portentous fact, vouched by the Quarterly Review.

PART I.

"*Every* free woman is a voter in America."*

"The judges are not independent; but are subservient to the government, and creatures of the President and Senate."†

"No such character as a respectable country gentleman is known in America."‡

"For the practitioners of law, physic, and surgery, no preparatory course of study, no testimonial of competency, no kind of examination, no particular qualifications, no diploma, no license are required."§

"Franklin in grinding his electrical machine and flying his kite, did certainly elicit some useful discoveries in a branch of science that had not much engaged the attention of the philosophers of Europe. But the foundation of Franklin's knowledge was laid, not in America, but in London. Besides, half of what he wrote was stolen from others, and the greater part of the other not worth preserving. It would be rating his moral writings very high to estimate them at the same value to the community as his eleemosynary legacy.‖

"The supreme felicity of a true born American is inaction of body and inanity of mind."¶

"Strange as it may appear, the south western part of the New World has already begun to consider the north eastern *as having passed the meridian of life*, and accordingly given it the name of old America."**

"The founders of American society brought to the composition of their nation no rudiments of liberal science."

"America is all a parody—a mimicry of her parents; it is, however, the mimicry of a child, tetchy and wayward in its infancy, abandoned to bad nurses, and educated in low habits."

In the 4th number we were told—"there has been little mixture of nations in America, not more than in England;" but in the 20th number, we find the reviewer talking of America as "a nation derived from so many fathers," and explaining "why the thoughtless, dissolute, and turbulent of all nations should *in commingling*, so neutralize one another in America, that the result is *a people without wit or fancy*."

At times, this journal has gone into a train of elaborate reasoning to prove the opposition of interests between "Old *worn out*," and "New America," and the certitude of their speedy severance. From the same motive—political jea-

* No. 20. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ¶ No. 38. ** Ibid.

lousy and alarm—which it has never been able to conceal, it has dealt in menacing cautions, of which the following will serve as an amusing specimen, and disclose the kind of comfort which is sought among the ministerial literati of London, for the increase of our power. SEC. VIII.

"It is not in Europe only that the prosperity of Russia is likely to be advantageous to the British monarchy. There is a nation without the limits of Europe, to whom, for the sake of our kindred race and common language, we would gladly wish prosperity, but whose hope of elevation is built on our expected fall; and who, even now, do not affect to conceal the bitterness of their hatred towards the land of their progenitors. Already we hear the Americans boasting that the whole continent must be their own; that the Atlantic and Pacific are, alike to wash their empire, and that it depends on their charity what share in either ocean they may allow to our vessels. They unroll their map and point out the distance—between Niagara and the Columbia. Let them look to this last point well. They will find in that neighbourhood a different race from the unfortunate Indians *whom it is the system of their government to treat with uniform harshness!!* They will find certain bearded men with green jackets and bayonets, whose flag is already triumphant over the coast from California to the straits of Anian, who have the faculty wherever they advance, of conciliating and even civilizing the native tribes to a degree which no other nation has attempted, and whose frontier is more likely to meet theirs in Louisiana, than theirs is to extend to the Pacific. These are not very distant expectations, and *they are not unfavourable to England.*" (April, 1818).

2. Our backwardness in the production of good books, has not been quite so favourite and frequent a topic with the Quarterly Review, as the other assailable points more in the line of the *political object.* In the midst of the first general denunciation of this country,* we find it admitted, we may presume inadvertently, that "it is no great reproach to the Americans if they have not yet done more in literature; and that more ought not to be expected from their circumstances and population." Nevertheless, the same writers have not failed to ring all the changes upon the works of Dwight, Barlow, and "Mr. Chief Justice Marshall." The course pursued with three of the American publications,—Inchiquins's

* Review of Holme's Annals.—No. 4.

PART I. View of the United States, the Travels of Lewis and Clarke, and Colden's Life of Fulton—to which they afterwards extended their notice, is marked by traits as discreditable and disgusting as individuate any case in the annals of British criticism.

The "View of the United States" was a mere vindication of the native country of the author from the aspersions cast upon it abroad; it simply represented the main features of our character and condition; pourtrayed with an impartial hand some of our most conspicuous statesmen; and asserted the merits of two of the American works, which had been traduced in England. It attempted no reprisals upon the English aggressors; used no harsh language; decried no European nation. It did not even run into an indiscriminate panegyric of the United States, though it professed to be a "favourable view of them," which might be considered as at least pardonable, after so much had been written in Europe on the opposite side. Its general complexion argued liberal studies, and it was recommended by a diction, liable indeed to some exceptions, but, on the whole, classical, elegant, and vigorous. In short, there was enough about it to soften the national prejudices, and even to win the praise, of a European critic of ordinary liberality. The Quarterly Review, however, assailed this, in itself inoffensive and commendable performance, with the utmost asperity; it reviled the author personally; misrepresented his opinions and misquoted his language; and took occasion to rake in all the lampoons and gazettes already noticed, for materials, out of which it framed what it called "a correct portrait of the people of the United States," but what no perspicacious and generous mind can see in any other light than as a malignant libel, and hideous caricature.

The "History of Lewis and Clarke's Expedition" had not merely nothing in it, to give umbrage, or to rouse national antipathies, but seemed to prefer irresistible claims upon the favour of all the friends of knowledge, and to leave scope only for the most generous sympathies. The book is a simple, clear narrative, without reference to any invidious topics; and the expedition itself was alike unexceptionable in the design, conduct, and results, all of which, indeed, bear a salient character of excellence and dignity. It stifled the petulance, and extorted the admiration, of the Scottish critics, who set the proper example to their brethren of London, by pronouncing upon it the following eulogy.

"We must remark, that this expedition does great credit

both to the government by which it was planned, and to the persons by whom it was executed. The good sense, activity and perseverance of the commanders cannot be too much commended; their treatment of the natives was humane and kind; and though their mission was in its intention conciliatory, yet this purpose could not have been carried into effect but by men of much good temper and sound understanding, considering how long they were exposed to the vexations arising from the suspicion, caprice, and levity of savages. The great harmony that seems to have prevailed, the spirit, steadiness, and exertion in the midst of so much hardship and danger, are highly meritorious; and exhibit a band of active and intrepid men, which no country in the world would not be proud to acknowledge."

This was a strain worthy of the theory of the critical institute, but the spirit of the Quarterly Review could not be exorcised as completely. It relented so far as to admit that Lewis and Clarke "travelled near 9000 miles—the longest river voyage undertaken since that of Orellana;" and that "they performed with equal ability, perseverance, and success, one of the most arduous journies that ever was accomplished." Acknowledged merits of such magnitude called for tenderness to the reputation of the individuals in all points; for the kindest interpretation of appearances in the least doubtful; yet the English Reviewer did not hesitate scornfully to intimate, that they took pleasure in the obscenities of the Indians of the Missouri;* and this affront is given upon no other foundation than that those obscenities are related. The relation, too, is in Latin, uncouth Latin indeed; but such as it is, it evinces, in the use of this veil, a refinement of feeling, the opposite of the imputed grossness. Let the voyages of Captain Cook, Captain Wilson, and other English navigators; or the narratives of any of the English travellers among savage nations, be consulted, and it will be seen that they are much less studious of decorum; and that a charge of the kind might be made against them with more plausibility, if we admit there could be any colour of reason for making it on

* "The women of the Aricara Indians prostitute themselves publicly, in the intervals of dancing. The writer cannot be charged with offending decency in describing this abomination,—he has related another not less abominable, in Latin, *from respect to decorum, but in both instances it is evident that he and his companion were not men who felt any pain at beholding the degradation of human nature.*" The very reverse is evident to all who are not of the class of moralists and philanthropists "willing to love all mankind, *except an American.*"

PART I. such a foundation. The personal acquaintance of the two gallant leaders of the American expedition, requires no argument to be convinced of their uniform elevation of sentiment and deportment.

They were, certainly, unfortunate in the choice of names for the natural objects which they were the first to bring to the knowledge of the civilized world. But this merit of discovery, and the sagacity, fortitude, perseverance, exemplary temper displayed throughout the expedition, rendered doubly venial so inconsiderable a fault. A refined classical taste has belonged to very few of the illustrious men to whom we are indebted for the enlargement of geographical science; and the exploration of the wild creation through which Lewis and Clarke penetrated, presented the case, if ever there was one, in which the absence of that accomplishment could be considered as excusable in itself, or its effects—nay even advantageous on the whole, and immediately conducive to the more perfect achievement of the gigantic enterprise. Instead of the gentle and courteous reproof which became the occasion, the Quarterly Review made their homely nomenclature the subject of unsparing satire, and turned it into doggerel levelled not only against the heroic adventurers, but their country, and particularly against the high officers of state with whom the expedition originated. If the wretched diatribe to which I refer, coarser by far in its texture than the occasion of it; too low even for a place in "Coleman's Broad Grins," belongs to the pen of the Author of the Baviad and Mœviad, and the Translator of Juvenal; of the scourge of poetasters, and the assayer of English verse, it furnishes a striking example of the power of national prejudice and party-devotion, to work the most violent and pitiable transformations. How capital this stroke at the Americans, on the occasion of their disclosing a new world to the gaze of philosophy and the march of civilization!

> "Flow, Little Shallow, flow, and be thy stream
> Their great example, as it will their theme!"

And how natural and happy the transition from such wit in numbers, to such wit in prose, as the following!—"From Big-Muddy, they, the explorers—to borrow a title of American extraction—proceeded to Jefferson, and with not less felicity to Madison from Little Shallow," &c.

Before I have done with the article in question, I would call attention to two more passages as illustrative of the spirit presiding over the American department of the Journal.

"It was not long before they (Lewis and Clark) reached the remotest source of the Missouri, and drank of the fountain —a situation *not altogether unworthy of being compared* with that of Bruce at the fountain of the Abyssinian Nile." SEC. VIII.

"Langsdorff notices a curious trade which the Americans carry on in this article of fire arms on the North West Coast. He says they send out a gunsmith in *every* ship, to buy up at one place all the guns which want repairing, and sell them as new pieces at another!"

I aver, upon the authority of some of the distinguished American merchants who trade with the North West Coast, that this statement, so kindly copied from Langsdorff, is utterly false. Were it true, it would not enable us as yet, to dispute the palm of fraudulent ingenuity, with our English *kinsmen*. It falls short of such a practice as the following related by Mr. Southey in "Espriella's Letters;" a better authority than Langsdorff. "A regular branch of trade here, at Birmingham, is the manufacture of guns for the African market. They are made for about a dollar and a half: the barrel is filled with water; and, if the water does not come through, it is thought proof sufficient: *of course they burst when fired, and mangle the wretched negro, who has purchased them upon the credit of English faith, and received them, most probably, as the price of human flesh! No secret is made of this abominable trade; yet the government never interferes; and the persons concerned in it are not marked, and shunned as infamous.*"*

The story from Langsdorff is entitled to about the same credit as the assertion made in the 26th No. of the Quarterly Review, that Captain Porter of the American frigate Essex, after losing half his crew, *was taken by a ship of inferior force*. The hardihood of the Reviewer may almost confound those who read the following extract, from the official letter, dated 30th March, 1814, of Captain Hillyar of his Majesty's ship Phœbe (the antagonist of Porter) to Commodore Brown, stationed at Jamaica. "The defence of the Essex, *taking into consideration our great superiority of force*, the very discouraging circumstances of having lost her main top-mast, and being twice on fire, did honour to her defender, and must fully prove the courage of Captain Porter."

The 'Life of Robert Fulton, by Cadwallader D. Colden of New York,' has experienced a treatment from these upright critics, more remarkable still, and, if possible, more

* See also, on this head, Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. II. c. iii.

PART I. shameless. The work of Mr. Colden appears as a mere Biographical Memoir, read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, conformably to one of the principal ends of that respectable institution. It obtained the shape of a book at the request of those to whom it was addressed; and the proceeds of its publication, whatever they might be, were assigned to the erection of a monument to the memory of the illustrious engineer. The author announced himself, even in the title-page, emphatically as his friend, and took charge, avowedly, of his panegyric. This,—for one who had known him in relations of the closest intimacy, and when the deceased had left so many titles to the most solemn commemoration—was unexceptionable in itself, and sanctioned, moreover, by abundant precedents in the practice of the European nations. Mr. Colden was not a writer by profession or habit; he belonged to the bar, at which he had established the highest reputation, and filled the highest office. He is now mayor of the city of New York; a station of great consequence and dignity. He is the grandson of the Lieutenant Governor Colden who wrote the celebrated History of the five Indian Nations, and whose merits and honours in the world of science, are second only to those of Franklin, among the men that have flourished on the American continent as politicians and philosophers.* The biographer of Fulton has shown himself worthy of this descent, by an acknowledged, invariable probity; a versatile genius; and the assiduous cultivation of the sciences and liberal arts in the midst of extensive professional engagements, and of arduous municipal duties. It was in moments snatched from these, that, to gratify his feelings and the wishes of the learned society which ranks him as one of its most useful and erudite members, he framed the Memoir in question, with a full conviction, derived from the nearest observation, of the reality of the services and qualities which he celebrated: and, whatever he may have claimed of excellence for the labours of Fulton, it is impossible he could have been more unassuming, or unpretending, as respects his own production. If he has asserted extravagant titles for his subject, it is manifestly without any designs,—from no impulses—which can lay him open to personal reproach or incivility. The tenor of his book proves his competency to his task; in point of style, arrangement, and general instructiveness, it is all that could be expected or desired for the occasion.

He was led by the nature of his theme, and the wonders of steam-navigation which he witnessed about him, to medi-

* See note S.

tate much, and lay the utmost stress, upon the magnitude of its benefits to the human race. It is not surprising that these should appear of less consequence and sublimity, to an observer in England, where, from the shortness of the distances and the facilities of canal navigation, so little, comparatively, remained to be done for internal communication; where the small steam-boats, plying on the diminutive streams, and serving only the purpose of conveying passengers a few miles with greater convenience, are so little imposing either to the eye or to the imagination. But in America, the actual and future scene, in this respect, has an engrossing and transporting influence, and is of a real importance and magnificence, which scarcely leave scope for exaggeration in feeling or representation.

Mr. Colden saw steam-vessels of four and five hundred tons, constructed as commodiously, and furnishing as perfect security for merchandise or passengers, as the ware or the dwelling-house; overcoming with unexampled velocity the powerful currents of our mighty rivers; multiplying indefinitely on the innumerable waters of this vast country, and almost accomplishing the wish of the lover—the annihilation of time and space—in the domestic intercourse of North America. He could at once extend his view to the southern regions of this hemisphere; to the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and see in prospect the same prodigies wrought there, and the same train of moral and physical advantages ultimately realized. He had seen a steam-frigate of gigantic size, moving on the Hudson with the facility and force of motion, and the military faculties, which would assure invulnerability to the seaports of his country, and might give a new and desirable character to maritime warfare.* He had seen, to use his own words, "the Paragon, of three hundred and thirty-one tons burthen, tow the steam frigate Fulton, which is of the burthen of two thousand four hundred and seventy-five tons, from the ship yards in the Sound, where she was launched, to the dock or the city of Jersey, on the Hudson, where she was to receive her machinery, at the rate of four miles

* "Every one," says Cuvier, in his brilliant Discourse of 24th April, 1816, on the Progress of the Sciences, before the French Institute—"every one may see how much this invention of Steam-Boats will simplify the navigation of our rivers, and how much agriculture will gain in men and horses, that may now return to the fields; but what we may be also permitted to descry, and what will, perhaps, be more important, is the revolution to which it will lead in maritime warfare and in the power of nations. It is extremely probable that we shall have to reckon this among the experiments, that can be said to have changed the face of the world."

PART I. and an half an hour; the same frigate, propelled by that machinery alone, make a passage to the ocean and back, a distance of 53 miles, in eight hours and twenty minutes—the Fulton steam boat, which navigates the East river, passing daily through Hell-gate against a rapid frequently running at the rate of six miles an hour."

The crossing of the broadest and most rapid rivers, before alike dangerous, difficult, and tedious, had been rendered safe, easy, and expeditious, by the use of steam ferry-boats, capable of carrying hundreds of passengers and vehicles at a time, and almost any mere burden.

From these performances, prospects and hopes naturally opened upon the mind of our author, which would have warmed any fancy; and sentiments of admiration and gratitude towards Fulton were excited, which cannot appear hyperbolical to an American, especially at this time, when we know that a steam-ship is on her passage across the Atlantic; and that a fleet of steam-vessels are making their way, with a detachment of the army of the United States, to establish a post at the Yellow Stone, on the Missouri, in the interior of our continent, two thousand miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. These two facts render it not improbable that, by the same means, the passage between Europe and America will be made in less time, and with less inconvenience, than a journey between Edinburgh and London was accomplished half a century ago; and that a commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans may be maintained, through the Columbia and Missouri, with as much certainty and facility, as it is between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

With such ulterior results as likely, and with the incalculable, realized good, before him, Mr. Colden ventured to say of the man whom he considered as its immediate, intelligent author, that "there could not be found in the records of departed worth, the name of a person to whose individual exertions mankind are more indebted, nor one which would live farther into time, if not robbed of the fame due to superior genius, exerted with wonderful courage, industry, perseverance, and success." No impartial and reflecting reader could view this declaration as extravagant, or fail to approve both of the tone and purport of the passage which immediately follows in the biography. "If the construction of a bridge, or the formation of a canal, has often given a celebrity which has been transmitted through many ages, what fame and what gratitude does not he deserve, who has furnished a means of transportation which may bring the inhabitants of the different quarters of the world nearer to each other than, previously, those of the same

territory considered themselves; which will spread with a facility before unknown, the influence of religion, civilization, and the arts; which will bring the whole human species to an intimate acquaintance with each other; and will unite mankind by the bonds of mutual intercourse." SEC. VIII.

Fulton himself had never pretended that he was the first projector or inventor of steam-boat navigation; and his biographer is far from having ascribed to him this merit. Mr. Colden admitted that "some ingenious attempts to propel boats by steam had been made long before the time Mr. Fulton was known to have thought of it;" and that the *idea* originated with an Englishman, Mr. Jonathan Hulls, who published his scheme in 1737, at London. Our author received implicitly the statement respecting Hull's suggestions, which he read in Buchanan's "Treatise on Propelling Vessels by Steam," a work that appeared in Scotland in 1817. What he claimed for Fulton, and what alone Fulton claimed for himself, was, his being the first, who, by improvements on the mere conceptions or vain attempts, of others, *established* steam-navigation so as to render it perpetually practicable and unboundedly useful—improvements effected not by a lucky chance or cunning plagiary, but by a rare combination of inventive powers, of mathematical and philosophical science, of mechanical knowledge and experience, and of intrepidity and perseverance. Buchanan, the Scottish writer whom I have just mentioned, had owned in his treatise, while vindicating the credit of origination for Hulls, that "the steam-boats of Fulton were the first that succeeded in a profitable way." A more absolute admission, ratifying fully the doctrine of Mr. Colden, has been made in the April number of Dr. Thompson's Annals of Philosophy, in an able paper on the origin of steam-boats. The writer holds the following language. "It is not a little remarkable in the history of the arts, and forms a striking instance of the slow and progressive steps by which they advance, that that most elegant and useful discovery, the steam-boat, first brought forward in 1736, by Jonathan Hulls of London, and afterwards publicly investigated and tried by Lord Stanhope and Mr. Miller, of Dalswinton, should have been carried to America, and there first have changed its character from *mere experiment to extensive practice and utility*, and that it should again have been introduced into Britain *upon the experience of Americans*, only so lately as the year 1813, when it was first employed upon the river Clyde." Even the Quarterly Review, in the article upon which I am about to animadvert, avows it to be

PART I. "beyond all question that Mr. Fulton made considerable improvements in the application of the steam-engine to the navigation of boats;" and adds—"It is quite natural that the Americans should uphold the reputation of their own countrymen. We cannot blame them for it, and some allowance may reasonably be made for excess of panegyric, in speaking of artists of native growth."

I have premised all these details, in order to the better understanding of the article in question, which I will now cursorily examine. It begins thus:

"Although our readers may be inclined to give us credit for some knowledge of our transatlantic brethren, yet we can *honestly* assure them that we were not quite prepared for such a sally as this of Cadwallader Colden, Esq." &c. alluding to his declaration noticed above of the obligations of mankind to Fulton. We have then a series of sneers at the panegyrics pronounced upon the engineer by others of his countrymen, and at the New York Historical Society. The Reviewers themselves sit in judgment upon Fulton, and describe him as "a man who possessed just talent enough to apply the inventions of others to *his own purposes*." Mr. Colden is taxed with *disingenuity* and misrepresentation, and ever and anon, with as much urbanity as wit, styled "Mr. Cadwallader Colden," "friend Cadwallader," "the conscientious and consistent friend," &c. The critics, by way, we must suppose, of teaching him a lesson of ingenuousness and truth, assume, that he had arrogated for Fulton the merit of discovery, in the case of the steam-boat, and proceed laboriously to refute the pretended doctrine.

It is unlucky, that in setting out, they could find no stronger language in the work of Mr. Colden, than the phrase—"We and all the world are indebted to Fulton for the *establishment* of navigation by steam." With the biography in their hands, and acquainted, no doubt, with what Buchanan had written, they do not scruple to introduce and parade the theory of Hulls, in such a way precisely, as if they were the first to announce it, and Mr. Colden and America to be confounded with the disclosure. They give an account of Mr. Miller's experiments, in the year 1787, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, which they acknowledge "did not succeed to his entire satisfaction;" and they lay great stress upon those of one of his assistants, of the name of Symington, who pursued his ideas, with no better success in the end. We are told by them, that Fulton paid a visit to Symington, and examined his boat; and in the same manner, it is affirmed, equally with-

out the production of any evidence, in the paper of Thompson's Annals, to which I have referred, that Fulton saw the experiments of Miller—a circumstance highly improbable, since Fulton was born only in 1765, and did not leave this, his native country, until after his majority.

The very attempts of the Reviewers to invalidate the claim set up for Fulton, tend to show that it is well founded. We may admit, as Mr. Colden has done, that Jonathan Hulls was the first who thought of using the power of steam for navigation;* but it is not pretended that he ever proceeded to apply his conception, even so far as to make an experiment. It cannot but be perceived by every one conversant with what is now in practice, that Mr. Hulls' scheme would not have been effectual to drive the tow-boat itself, much less to drag "a two-decker." The steerage of balloons, and plans for the purpose, have been often suggested; we have seen representations of them, beating to windward under full sail. Should the art of governing them be hereafter discovered and perfected by the same individual, it will be quite as equitable to deny him the merit of balloon-navigation, in favour of the first speculators, or of the authors of the drawings, as it is to detrude Fulton from his pedestal, to substitute Jonathan Hulls.

Patrick Miller never attempted to apply the engine to vessels. The Reviewers inform us that in a book which he published in 1787, he has said, he had *reason to believe* that the power of the steam-engine might be employed to work the wheels, so as to give them a quicker motion, and to increase that of the ship. He announced, at the same time, his intention to make the experiment, and to communicate the result, *if favourable*, to the public. No such communication is alleged to have been made, and the conclusion is inevitable, that the result was not favourable. With respect to Symington's boat, the assertion that it was seen by Fulton is wholly gratuitous; there is no trace of the fact in the papers of the latter; it is, however, not impossible, and will be readily admitted. Mr. Colden has furnished proof that Fulton communicated the project of a steam-boat to Lord Stanhope, in the year 1793, seven years previous. The experiment of Symington on the Clyde is mentioned in the biography of Fulton, and it is not

* This is not, however, precisely the case. Some of the English writers claim the merit for captain Savery, who, it is said, published the idea in 1698, and even proposed wheels over the sides of the boat. Hulls took out a patent in 1736, for "towing vessels into harbour by means of a boat with paddles, to be worked by steam."

PART I. denied in that work, that the American availed himself of the hints afforded by the abortive or incomplete experiments of his precursors. Their very errors may have suggested to him the means of effecting his object. Scarcely one of the illustrious men who have the credit of noble discoveries, or improvements, in physics or in morals, but enjoyed this negative kind of aid, or the positive advantage of seminal ideas, and partial schemes. Sir Isaac Newton was indebted to the experiments and observations of Kepler, and to the discoveries of Grimaldi; Galileo had seen the telescope of Metius: Watt profited of the labours of Newcomen: Dr. Jenner was not the first who imagined, or suggested, or tried, the prophylactic power of the vaccine. There is a striking analogy, in fact, between the cases of Jenner and Fulton:—the glory of vaccination is not more justly due to the one, than that of steam-boat navigation to the other. The question is not who first proposed to connect steam with navigation; but who first and completely succeeded in so doing, and enabled others to succeed. The world will never consent to exalt the genius and merits of him who merely throws out a loose hint, or stops short at a diagram, or finishes with an abortive experiment, over those of the sanguine and accomplished enterpriser, who seizes derelict, and vivifies still-born ideas; who, uniting in himself the aptitude to invent, the sagacity to distinguish, and the skill to execute, puts the world in lasting possession of that, which others had essayed, with such results only as tended to arrest the efforts of industry, and discredit the powers of art.

When the reviewers were dragging forward Mr. Symington as the rival of Fulton, and alleging that his boat fully answered the expectations which had been formed, it would have been well if they had told us, what those expectations were, and how fulfilled. For want of this information from them, I am obliged to look elsewhere for it. I find an account of Mr. Symington's experiment, in the Journals of the Royal Institution, for 1802; a publication which cannot be suspected of a bias unfavourable to Mr. Symington. It is there stated that he ascertained that his boat would travel at the rate of *two miles and an half* an hour; upon the placid surface of a canal, be it understood, where no current was to be breasted. But I will take the language of the Royal Institution itself, that it may be seen how far those who ranked among the best judges in England were, at that date, from clear ideas of the capacities, or fixed hopes of the permanent success, of steam-navigation.

"Several attempts have been made to apply the force of steam to the purpose of propelling boats *in canals*, and there seems to be no reason to think the undertaking by any means liable to *insuperable difficulties*.

"An engine of the kind proposed by Mr. Symington, has been actually constructed at the expense of the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde navigation, and under the patronage of the governor, Lord Dundas; it was tried in December last, and it drew three vessels from 60 to 70 tons burden at the usual rate of two miles and a half an hour. Mr. Symington is at present employed in attempting still further improvements, and when he has completed his invention, it may, *perhaps*, ultimately become productive of very extensive utility."

Mr. Fulton's first boat went almost from off the stocks at New York, to Albany, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, and performed the voyage with and against the current of the Hudson, at the rate of *five miles an hour*. When her machinery was more perfectly adjusted, she accomplished the same passage at the rate of eight miles an hour. The vessels built on Mr. Fulton's plan, which are now in operation, average ten miles an hour. The difference of speed between Mr. Symington's boat and Mr. Fulton's, alone argues some material difference in the machinery. The account above mentioned, contains a description of Symington's boat. It is hardly necessary to add that it differs totally from that of Mr. Fulton; or to ask—of what use would be Mr. Symington's boat, with a movement of two and a half miles an hour, in the American rivers of the south and west, which are now so successfully navigated by the boats of Fulton, against currents of three and four miles an hour?

If the experiments made in England were so perfect, it is incomprehensible how it happened, that no vessels were constructed, and put in common use, until about five years after Fulton's boats were seen in successful operation on the Hudson. Nor is it more easy to conjecture, why all the British boats now in use, are built according to Mr. Fulton's plan, and not according to that of Hulls, or Miller, or Symington.

It is pleasant to compare the pretensions set up for Great Britain by the Quarterly Review, with the confession of a British engineer, Mr. Dodd, a man of eminence in his profession, and a skilful architect of steam-boats,—that the first of them which succeeded in Great Britain, was built in 1812; and that, although the Americans had given the fullest trial to the

PART I. British invention during five years previous, it was necessary there should be a new one under the eyes of the British nation, *to inspire confidence*, and induce the building of more boats.* On the whole, no evidence is to be found of the practical utility of the British projects; but there exists the most violent presumption to the contrary; and it is impossible, as regards England, to resist the force of the interrogation put by Mr. Colden—"If steam-boats had ever been constructed before the experiment of Fulton, so near perfection as to show that they might be used to their present advantage, can it be believed that they would have been abandoned?"

The unanswerable address of an American to a Briton, on this subject, is—"You conceived the idea of propelling boats by steam, as early as 1698—you afterwards employed yourselves repeatedly in devising methods and making trials to carry that idea into effect—you could never succeed to your 'satisfaction,' that is, to any advantageous extent—you relinquished your impotent endeavours—one of my countrymen appropriated your conception; new modelled your plans; scanned and detected your mistakes; and, as you confess, changed in America the character of your invention from mere experiment to extensive practice and utility:—the steam boat issued from his hands as Minerva did from the head of Jupiter—a mature creation; you were content to receive it, some years afterwards, 'upon the experience of the Americans,' neglecting entirely your own boasted constructions of the same name, the utility of which, if not all sufficient for you, upon your narrow geographical scale, could be nothing for the rest of the world. Far, then, from holding so overweening a language, from taking all the credit, you should rather take some shame, to yourselves, that you were not able to improve your notions to the point of general utility. If, with the advantage of discovery, you accomplished, virtually, nothing, in the lapse of more than a century, what must be the merit of the stranger who, in America, accomplished every thing at the first cast? If you did not adopt this mode of navigation, until five years after its complete triumph in America, and then received it with hesitation and a sort of incredulity, when would it have been turned to any account among you, had he not established it there? How long might not the world have remained without this master-piece?"

* An Historical and Explanatory Dissertation on Steam-Engines and Steam-Packets, by George Dodd, Civil Engineer. London. 1818. See Note T.

If the degree of merit claimed by Fulton could be contested with success any where, it is in America, for Americans, who preceded him and the British mechanicians, in the attempt to propel vessels by steam. Miller made his experiments on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and published his book, in 1787; Symington put his scheme to the test in the same canal in 1801. If Miller, as it is said in Thompson's Annals, communicated his plan to General Washington in 1787, an American had previously imparted a more perfect one to the general. This person, James Rumsey, of Virginia, constructed a boat to be navigated by steam, in the summer of 1785, after having obtained an exclusive right to the use of his invention from two states; in the following year he made an experiment with her in the Potowmac; and by the force of steam alone, propelled her against the current of that river at the rate of four miles an hour. In 1787, he published a pamphlet on the subject, which I have now before me, bearing this title—"A Short Treatise on the Application of Steam, whereby it is clearly shown, from actual Experiments, that Steam may be applied to Propel Boats or Vessels of any burthen against Rapid Currents, with Great Velocity." His main positions in this pamphlet are, to use his own words, "that a boat might be so constructed, as to be propelled through the water, at the rate of ten miles an hour, by the force of steam; and that the machinery employed for that purpose, might be so simple and cheap, as to reduce the price of freight at least one half in common navigation; likewise that it might be forced, by the same machinery, with considerable velocity, against the constant stream of long and rapid rivers." Another passage may be quoted, as not less pointed and remarkable.

"In the course of the autumn and winter of 1784, I made such progress in the improvement of some steam engines which I had long conceived would have become of the greatest consequence in navigation, that I flattered myself this invention, if it answered my expectation (the truth whereof experiments have now established) would render my labours more extensively useful, by being equally applicable to small boats, or vessels of the largest size, to shallow and rapid rivers, *or the deepest and roughest seas.*"

In his communication to General Washington, of March 10th, 1785, he remarks, "I have quite convinced myself that boats of passage may be made to go against the current of the Mississippi or Ohio rivers, or in the gulf stream, from 60 to 100 miles per day."

PART I. In Thompson's Annals it is said that Miller appears to have been exclusively the inventor of the *double boat;* but the first which Rumsey devised in 1784, was of that description.

Another American of the name of Fitch engaged in a course of experiments of the same nature with those of Rumsey, about the same time, and a sharp controversy arose between them with respect to priority.* What can be put beyond question, is, that Fitch laid his plan before Congress in 1785; navigated the river Delaware up and down, in the year 1786, with a steam-boat, which was brought, before it was abandoned in 1791, to the celerity of eight miles an hour; and that he obtained from the legislatures of New Jersey, Delaware, New York, and Pennsylvania, an exclusive privilege for those states, in the years 1786, 7. There is not the least probability that either of these highly ingenious men had even heard of the suggestions of Savery and Hulls; there can be no doubt, indeed, of their total ignorance of whatever had been proposed or attempted in Europe. Their plans and experiments, besides possessing the merit of originality, have the advantage over those of Miller and Symington in all other respects. A scientific comparison does not lie within my province; but I feel myself authorized to assert, that the result would be in favour of the Americans. Their views were more extensive; their experiments bolder; and they accomplished much more, with machinery of such workmanship as could be procured in this country, at a time when it lagged far behind Great Britain in the mechanical arts.

With respect, then, to the point of *invention,* exclusive of that of *establishment* which is conceded to her, America would seem to have stronger claims, in the matter of steam-navigation, than Great Britain. The mere priority of time in the conception, where no communication can be presumed, will be viewed by none as the main consideration or determinate title. Mr. Colden has mentioned in some detail, in the Life of Fulton, the attempts of Fitch and Rumsey, on our rivers, and also the subsequent one of Rumsey on the Thames, in England, whither he repaired, in the expectation of finding greater facilities, and more opulent patronage, for his plans; but those attempts are passed over in silence in the

* Fitch published a pamphlet also, in 1788, which he entitled "The Original Steam-Boat supported, or a Reply to Rumsey." He states therein that he conceived his plan of steam-navigation in 1785; but discovered afterwards, that two Americans, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Andrew Ellicot, both of Pennsylvania, had thought of it as early as 1775, and 1778. See Note T.

British publications to which I have adverted.* The writer of the article Steam-Engine, in Rees' New Cyclopedia, observes, indeed, that steam-boats had been used in America, before the introduction of them by Fulton; and "were begun there by Mr. Symington!" a fact very creditable to Scotland, but altogether new in America, which is without record or tradition of the labours of this missionary. SEC. VIII.

To heighten the contrast between their fairness and the *disingenuity* of Mr. Colden, the Reviewers treat of the torpedos of Fulton, in a strain, which would imply, that his biographer had represented him as the first to propose the explosion of gunpowder under water. It might also be inferred from their language, that he had sought to vindicate the offer of the torpedos to the different governments of Europe. Now, as to the point of discovery, nothing can be more positive and unambiguous, than the renunciation in the biography. "It would," says Mr. Colden, "be doing injustice to the memory of Mr. Fulton, not to notice, that Mr. Fulton did not pretend to have been the first who discovered that gunpowder might be exploded with effect under water; nor did he pretend to have been the first who attempted to apply it in that way as the means of hostility. He knew well what had been done by another ingenious native American, Bushnell, in our revolutionary war." The Reviewers repeat, from this passage, the instance of Bushnell with all formality, and the air of drawing it from their own store of knowledge!

With regard to the conduct of Fulton in proffering his torpedos to various governments, his biographer goes no farther, in substance, than to assert, that Fulton reconciled it to his

* Brissot de Warville had noticed them in his Travels through the United States, in the following manner:

Sept. 1788.

"I went this day to see an experiment near the Delaware, on a boat, the object of which was to ascend rivers against the current. The inventor was Mr. Fitch, who had formed a company to support the expense. The machine which I saw appears well executed and well adapted to the design. The steam-engine gives motion to three large oars of considerable force, which were to give sixty strokes per minute. Since writing this, I have seen Mr. Rumsey in England. He is a man of great ingenuity; and by the explanation which he has given me, it appears that his discovery, though founded on a similar principle with that of Mr. Fitch, is very different from it, and far more simple in its execution. Mr. Rumsey proposed then (Feb. 1789) *to build a vessel which should go to America by the help of the steam-engine, and without sails. It was to make the passage in fifteen days.* I perceive with pain that he has not yet executed his project, which, when executed, will introduce into commerce as great a change as the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope."

PART I. own ideas of propriety, and acted from honest impressions, whether false or correct. The proceeding of Mr. Fulton is certainly supported by European examples without number, and may be considered as natural in every sanguine projector I cannot easily see how an American, pursuing mechanical inventions in Europe, would be, *prima facie*, culpable for offering to France and England indiscriminately, a destructive engine of war. The success of the one or the other power, is to be supposed indifferent to his feelings. I grant that, if the engine could be turned against his own country, he would never be justifiable. The talents and contrivances of English engineers have been lent indiscriminately to aid the hostilities of all the principal nations of Europe; with the sanction of the government, when the interests of England were not likely to be affected. The Count de Bonneval and others of his description were never blamed, in Europe, for the mere fact of devoting their genius and skill to the improvement of the Turkish armies and fortifications. Britain is now enriching herself by supplying both Spain and her colonies with the means of warfare; from her manufactories issued the weapons and ammunition, with which the nations of Africa assailed and slaughtered each other for the purpose of filling her slave ships.

I note these circumstances, to emblazon the modesty of the Reviewers in raising an outcry against the conduct of Fulton, and the character of his expedient of submarine explosion. They are, forsooth, filled with horror at this "succinct mode of murder en masse;" these "infernal machines;" forgetting the machines called Congreve rockets, which,—while the torpedos can be directed only against armaments,—have been principally used by the British against the towns and domestic dwellings of their enemies; sometimes, as in the instance of Stonington, to envelope in flames, houses in which unoffending American women and children were placed for shelter. It may be proposed, as a problem for their consideration, whether the destruction of one of the bomb-vessels employed on that occasion, by a torpedo, would have been more atrocious, than the act of the British general Sheaffe at the town of York in Canada, who left in the fortification from which he was driven by the American army, a secret mine, that exploded a moment too soon, or it would have "blown whole regiments into the air;" and, as the case was, killed many brave soldiers,—among them, the lamented Pike.

"Lord St. Vincent," say the Reviewers, "appears to have set his face against this unworthy mode of warfare, the tor-

pedo; feeling, as we believe every British officer would feel, that setting aside the intent, *such devices were for the weak and not for the strong*. In his own mind, Mr. Pitt did, we dare say, condemn it, as every man of sense and honour would." Now, it is on record, that these two eminent personages, and every British officer, rejoiced in the Congreve rockets; and that a board of British officers of the highest rank reported them, after their trial at Boulogne and Flushing, a most eligible auxiliary to the British arms. To show how innocent and generous a device they are, when compared with that "succinct mode of murder en masse," the torpedo, I will copy some passages of the ample and able account of them which is given in Rees' Cyclopedia, article *Rocket*.

"The Congreve Rocket. These rockets are of various dimensions, and are differently armed, according as they are intended for the field, or for bombardment; carrying in the first instance either shells or canister shot, which may be exploded at any part of their flight, *spreading death and destruction amongst the columns of the enemy;* and in the second, where they are intended for the destruction of buildings, *shipping*, stores, &c. they are armed with a peculiar species of composition which never fails of destroying every combustible material with which it comes in contact."

"The carcass rocket has been used in almost every one of our expeditions. *They did incredible execution at Copenhagen.* At the siege of Flushing, general Monnet, the French commandant, made a formal remonstrance to Lord Chatham respecting the use of them in that bombardment. A small corps of rocketeers, in the memorable battle of Leipsic, *gloriously maintained the honour of the British arms.* All the more minute and important particulars of this weapon, both of construction and composition, are very properly kept a profound secret. The largest rocket that has yet been constructed, has not, we believe, exceeded three hundred weight; but Sir William Congreve seems to have in contemplation others weighing from half a ton to a ton."

"By means of the rocket, the most extensive destruction, *even amounting to annihilation*, may be carried among the ranks of an advancing enemy, and *that with the exposure of scarcely an individual.* For this purpose, the rockets are laid in batteries, &c. They facilitate the capture of a ship by boarding, by being thrown into the ports, &c.; the confusion and destruction which thence inevitably ensue, facilitate, &c. They are peculiarly adapted to add to the dreadful effect of fire ships, which, if they were supplied each with a sufficient

PART I. number of rockets, such an extensive and devastating fire would be spread in every direction, *as to involve every vessel of the enemy in that destructive element.* The *floating rocket carcass*, another of the inventor's applications, may be thrown in great quantities by a fair wind, against any fleet or arsenal, *without the smallest risk*, or without approaching within range of guns, &c."

"Little more need be said in reference to the general importance and *utility* of the rocket system, &c."

The inconsistency of the Reviewers, as Englishmen, is further manifested by the facts, so well attested as to be undeniable, that the British ministry conceived strong alarms at the negociations between Fulton and the French government respecting the adoption of the torpedo; that they made overtures to him, and drew him to England; that they encouraged his experiments with a view to employ his "infernal machines," if found effectual, against the enemies of Great Britain; that they actually made an attempt to destroy the Boulogne flotilla by his means; and that, after appointing a committee to decide upon the expediency of adopting his "devices," they finally rejected them altogether as *impracticable*,—not as cruel, immoral, or dishonourable. From what passed, it is not uncharitable to suspect, that the true key to the rejection, is furnished in the saying of Lord St. Vincent, the authenticity of which the Reviewers do not dispute. "Pitt is the greatest fool that ever existed to encourage a mode of war which they who command the seas do not want." Mr. Pitt, it would seem from the statement of Mr. Colden, remarked, when he first saw a drawing of the torpedo, with a sketch of the mode of applying it, and understood what would be the effects of the explosion—that "if introduced into practice, *it could not fail to annihilate all military marines*,"—an effect which Great Britain could not feel it her interest to promote.

The occasion of the establishment of steam navigation, appeared to the Reviewers, as that of the exploration of our western regions had done, very suitable for the vilification of the American people at large. Accordingly, they proceed in this exalted language—"The vagrant adventurer, Fulton, having failed in selling his infernal machines, sets himself to prove, in a high strain of moral pathos, that 'blowing up ships of war' (so as not to leave a man to relate the dreadful catastrophe) are humane experiments. *We ought not to wonder after this, perhaps, that the character of Mr. Fulton has survived in America as that of an honest, conscientious, and con-*

sistent man, especially as Mr. Cadwallader Colden has supported his claim to it," &c. SEC. VIII.

Having painted the American engineer in the blackest colours, and denied to him all original genius, they have not, with the London Critical Journal, deemed it advisable to represent him as "a native of Paisley, in Scotland,* where he had steam-boats constructed, actually employed both for experiment and use." But the author of the article in Thompson's Annals, being more kindly in his language concerning the merits of Fulton, and therefore not under the same restraint, clinches him and his offspring thus—"The experiments by Mr. Miller on the Forth and Clyde Canal, we have been informed, were either seen by, or communicated to, the late Mr. Fulton, engineer of America, who, it is believed, was *a native*, or at least resided in this part of Scotland, but afterwards went to America, where he had the merit and the honour, of introducing the steam-boat, upon an extensive scale, on the great rivers and lakes of that country; so that we can trace this invention most indisputably to a British origin." We cannot suppose that a "civil engineer," treating of the history of steam-boats, in the month of April, 1819, was ignorant of the existence, or had not opened the volume, of Fulton's biography, where his birth place is so distinctly and authentically stated. The misrepresentation which I have just quoted, is, therefore, unpardonable, and dishonours the valuable Journal in which it is found. There is a littleness, besides, in some of the arts practised by the Reviewers to gratify their spleen in this business of steam-boat navigation, which is truly pitiable. For instance, in the index to the nineteenth volume of the Quarterly Review, at the word 'Colden,' we read, "The Life of Robert Fulton—*its bombastic exordium;*" and at the word 'Fulton'—"his *ingratitude to England,*" &c. making the *index*, in this manner, the vehicle of reproaches of a particular nature, more direct than are hazarded in the body of the volume.

The Reviewers have not been content, in the article under consideration, with mangling the reputation of Fulton and his performances, but have turned aside to assail another American, for whom his country has claimed the merit of an important invention. I allude to Godfrey, who is contemptu-

* They have, however, in their twentieth number made *Rittenhouse* an Englishman. The astronomer was born within seven miles of Philadelphia; and never absent from his native country. His ancestors were of the banks of the Rhine.

PART I. ously mentioned in a note, and then introduced in the text with greater indignity. The note is as follows—"*A man of the name of Logan, we think, as obscure as Godfrey himself, claimed for the latter, the invention of Hadley's Quadrant!—two years after the description of it had, as he says, appeared in the Philosophical Transactions.*" The reference to Godfrey, in the text, is in this strain—"We are almost malicious enough to wish Franklin were alive, to see with what little ceremony his admiring countrymen have dove-tailed him in between two worthies, one of whom (Godfrey) he has himself designated, in his correspondence, as a most dogmatical, overbearing, and disagreeable fellow, who gave himself airs because he had acquired *a smattering* of mathematics."

Before I proceed to comment upon the note, which is too choice a specimen of the temper and knowledge which these Reviewers bring to the discussion of American affairs, to be suffered to remain without elucidation, I will beg leave to quote what Franklin has really said of Godfrey, in order that my reader may compare it at once with their report, and better understand the degree of reliance to be placed on their citations. It is not in his Correspondence, but in his Memoirs, that Franklin speaks of Godfrey, and it is in these words: "Among the first members of our *Junto*, was Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, *great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now called Hadley's Quadrant.* But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, *like most great mathematicians* I have met with he expected universal precision in every thing said, and was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation. I continued to board with Godfrey, who lived in part of my house, with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business, though he worked little, being always absorbed in mathematics." So much for the *smattering* of mathematics. And were the other parts of the pretended designation verified, it would be difficult to perceive, what the habits of the mathematician in society, have to do with the question of the invention of the quadrant.

The "man of the name of Logan, as obscure as Godfrey," can be no other than "the honourable and learned Mr. Logan" of whom Franklin also speaks in his Memoirs, and who, next to William Penn, makes the most considerable figure in the History of Pennsylvania:—whom the proprietary entrusted with the management of all his affairs in the province, and cherished through life as the ablest and most faithful of his

friends;—who made valuable communications to the Royal Society, three of which are to be found in one volume of its Transactions, the 38th;* whose charges as *Chief Justice of Pennsylvania* were reprinted and read with admiration, in London: who corresponded regularly with the most eminent among the scientific worthies of his time; such as Linnæus, Fabricius, Dr. Mead, Dr. Halley, Sir Hans Sloan, Dr. Fothergill, Peter Collinson, William Jones (father of Sir William): and whom all consulted with the deference due to a mind of the first order, in the variety and strength of its powers, and of indefatigable activity in the cultivation and advancement of nearly every branch of knowledge. There is a striking similarity in the talents, studies, and vocation of Dr. Colden and James Logan; and of the latter I think I may say, without exaggeration, that he was excelled in no respect by any one of the Europeans who settled on this continent; and that if he is *obscure*, none was better entitled to the most brilliant illustration. An 'honest chronicler,' Proud, with whose History of Pennsylvania,—the labourers for the American department in the Quarterly Review, ought not to be unacquainted,—has spoken of his "living actions," and made a summary exposition of his character and career, which I will copy for their instruction, vouching myself, from personal inquiry, for the accuracy of all the particulars.

"*James Logan* was descended of a family originally from Scotland, where, in the troubles of that country, occasioned by the affair of Earl *Gowrie*, in the reign of *James* the VI. his grandfather, *Robert Logan*, was deprived of a considerable estate; in consequence of which, his father, *Patrick Logan*, being in reduced circumstances, removed into *Ireland*, and fixed his residence at *Lurgan*, the place of his son *James*' birth. *Patrick Logan* had the benefit of a good education, in the university of Edinburgh; where he commenced master of arts;—but afterwards joined in religious society with the *Quakers*.—This, his son, *James Logan*, being endowed with a good genius, and favoured with a suitable education, made considerable proficiency in divers branches of learning and science; after which he went to *England;* from whence, in the year 1699, and about the 25th of his age, he removed to

* For the years 1733, 1734. One of the papers is entitled "Some experiments concerning the Impregnation of the Seeds of Plants;" another "Some thoughts concerning the Sun and Moon, when near the horizon, appearing larger than when near the zenith." See Note U.

PART I. Pennsylvania, in company with *William Penn*, in his latter voyage to *America;* and in 1701, he was, by commission from the Proprietary, appointed secretary of the province, and clerk of the council for the same."

"He adhered to what was deemed the proprietary interest; and exerted himself with great fidelity to it. He held the several offices of provincial secretary, commissioner of property, chief justice, and for near two years, governed the province, as president of the council."

"Many years before his death, he retired pretty much from the hurry and incumbrance of public affairs, and spent the latter part of his time, principally at *Stanton*, his country seat, near *Germantown*, about five or six miles from *Philadelphia;* where he enjoyed, among his books, that leisure in which men of letters take delight, and corresponded with the literati in different parts of *Europe*. He was well versed in both ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the oriental tongues, a master of the Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages; deeply skilled in the mathematics, and in natural and moral philosophy; as several pieces of his own writing, in Latin, &c. demonstrate; some of which have gone through divers impressions in different parts of *Europe*, and are highly esteemed. Among his productions of this nature, his *Experimenta Meletemata de Plantarum Generatione*, or his *Experiments on the Indian Corn or Maize of America*, with his observations arising therefrom, on the generation of plants, published in Latin, at *Leyden*, in 1739, and afterwards, in 1747, republished in *London*, with an English version on the opposite page, by Dr. *J. Fothergill*, are both curious and ingenious.—Along with this piece was likewise printed, in Latin, at *Leyden*, another treatise, by the same author, entitled, '*Canonum pro inveniendis refractionum, tum simplicium tum in lentibus duplicium focis, demonstrationes geometricæ.*'—"*Autore Jacobo Logan, Judice supremo et Præside provincie Pensilvaniensis, in America.*" And in his old age, he translated *Cicero's* excellent treatise, *De senectute*, which, with his explanatory notes, was printed in *Philadelphia*, with a preface or encomium, by *Benjamin Franklin*, afterwards Dr. *Franklin*, of that city, in 1774. He was one of the people called *Quakers*, and died on the 31st of October, 1751, aged about 77 years;—leaving as a monument of his public spirit and benevolence to the people of Pennsylvania, a library, which he had been 50 years in collecting; (since called the *Loganian Library*) intending it for the common use and benefit of all lovers of learning. It was said to contain the best

editions of the best books, in various languages, arts and sciences, and to be the largest, and by far the most valuable, collection of the kind, at that time, in this part of the world." SEC. VIII.

The reputation which James Logan deservedly enjoyed for a profound acquaintance with the mathematics, led Godfrey to seek his notice and aid, and to consult him on his projects in mechanical philosophy. That of the improvement of Davis' Quadrant struck Logan as of the greatest ingenuity and importance; and as Godfrey was then unknown beyond his native province, he undertook to be the herald and voucher of his invention with the philosophers of London. In the month of *May*, 1732, he addressed a letter on the subject, to Dr. Edmund Halley; in which he described fully the construction and uses of Godfrey's instrument. The following passages of this letter explain his views of the case, and the motives and objects of his interposition.

"I shall presume from thy favour shown to me in England, in 1724, to communicate an invention that, whether it answer the end or not, will be allowed, I believe, to deserve thy regard. I have it thus."

"A young man born in this country, Thomas Godfrey by name, by trade a glazier, who had no other education than to learn to read and write, with a little common arithmetic, having in his apprenticeship with a very poor man of that trade, accidentally met with a mathematical book, took such a fancy to the study, that, by the natural strength of his genius, without any instructor, he soon made himself master of that, and of every other of the kind he could borrow or procure in English; and finding there was more to be had in Latin books, under all imaginable discouragements, applied himself to the study of that language, till he could pretty well understand an author on these subjects; after which, the first time I ever saw or heard of him, to my knowledge, he came to borrow Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* of me. Inquiring of him hereupon, who he was, I was indeed astonished at his request; but after a little discourse, he soon became welcome to that or any other book I had. This young man *about* 18 *months since*, told me he had for some time been thinking of an instrument for taking the distances of the stars by reflecting speculums, which he believed might be of service at sea; and not long after he showed me a common sea quadrant, to which he had fitted two pieces of looking-glass in such a manner as brought two stars at almost any distance to coincide. (Then follows a description of the instrument.)

"But I am now sensible I have trespassed in being so par-

PART I. ticular when writing to Dr. Halley; for I well know that to a gentlemen noted for his excellent talent of reading, apprehending, and greatly improving, less would have been sufficient; but as this possibly may be communicated by thee, I shall crave leave farther to add, that the use of the instrument is very easy," &c.

" If the method of discovering the longitude by the moon is to meet with a reward, and this instrument, which, for all that I have ever read or heard of, is an invention altogether new, be made use of, in that case I would recommend the inventor to thy justice and notice. He now gets his own and family's bread (for he is married) by the labour of his own hands only, by that mean trade. *He had begun to make tables of the moon, on the very same principles with thine, till I lately put a copy of those that have lain so many years printed, but not published, with W. Innys, into his hands, and then highly approving them, he desisted.*"

In the same year, 1732, Godfrey prepared himself, an account of his invention, addressed to the Royal Society; but it was not then transmitted, from the expectation which he entertained of the effect of the letter to Halley. No notice, however, was taken of it by Halley, and after an interval of a year and a half, Logan resolved to have the matter submitted immediately to the Royal Society. For this purpose he transmitted a copy of the letter, together with the paper of Godfrey, to Mr. Peter Collinson, an eminent botanist and member of the society, engaging him to lay them before that body. The result is detailed in the following authentic letter* to Logan, from his respectable friend, Captain Wright, who took charge of his communications to Collinson.

London, Feb. 4th, 1734.

Mr. James Logan.

Sir—Your favour of December 4th I have received, and immediately carried that inclosed to Mr. Collinson (Jan. 26) who with pleasure received that, as he had done the former; and after reading it, with an agreeable smile, he said, " I make no doubt of removing the uneasiness our good friend is under, which is all caused by some of *Dr. Halley's cunning.*" He very much referred to the management of Mr. Jones's interest, as well as using his own, to have your letters communi-

* Taken from the original, in the possession of Dr. George Logan, the grandson of James Logan, and who forms one pretty notable exception, at least, to the rule of the Quarterly Review—that " there is no such person known in America as a respectable country gentleman."

cated to the Royal Society in the most proper and likely manner to have effect.

I soon found means to take a glass with Mr. Jones,* who gave me his company a whole afternoon; *when he often hinted at Dr. Halley's ungenerous treatment of you, but said that was not the only time, for the doctor had been guilty of such things to others.* He very strongly believes Mr. Hadley was the inventor of his own instrument, and gives these reasons to support it: That as he had dwelt so long on improving and bringing to perfection the reflecting telescope, he could not miss of knowing how to bring two objects to coincide by speculums; *and he as firmly believes Thomas Godfrey was the inventor of his instrument by the strength of his genius* as Hadley was of his by *his help from the reflecting telescope*, and says each one ought to have the merit of his own instrument. He then asked me the use of the bow I brought him last year, and in what respect it exceeded Davis's quadrant? I told him as far as I could, but that for my own part I had never used it. He was pleased with the invention, and said it deserved notice, if it answered what was proposed, and desired I would get one made; for it would signify nothing to mention it to the society, without a model; and that, being produced, would be a strong voucher for Thomas Godfrey, to show that he had a capacity and a genius tending that way; and it would be a very good introduction for the reading of your letter to Dr. Halley. I got one made in two days, and carried it to Mr. Collinson (30th Jan.) who sent it to Sir Hans Sloan's; where it underwent an examination by four or five members, one of which was Mr. Hadley, who, with the others, highly approved of it. The next day it was produced to the Royal Society, where Mr. Norris and myself were introduced by Mr. Collinson; and upon reading the description of the bow, I had the pleasure of hearing your first letter to Dr. Halley read, which was all that was then read; and when done, Mr. Machen addressed the president (or the gentleman who supplied his place; for Sir H. Sloan was not there, being absent upon account of his brother-in-law's death), *and said he had the vouchers ready on the table for any one's perusal, who might doubt of the truth of that letter*, or the instrument being genuine, and no ways taken from Mr. Hadley's, but found out about the same time that his was, or rather prior to it, if the vouchers were true; and if they are not, then, said he, " we

* Father of the celebrated Sir William Jones, and an eminent mathematician.

PART I. must believe that all the people of Pennsylvania are combined to impose on the society—which no reasonable man can do." *He said some shrewd things of Dr. Halley*, and concluded with saying that the inventor claimed the justice of having that description registered, which he thought no one could deny him; and should that instrument be the park for the longitude, the inventors of the rest must dispute their priority before the learned in law. *No person said any thing against it*, so that it will be registered. Mr. Williams has been under some pain for these two transactions, as miscarried in Jones's hands, but hope he has cleared it up to your satisfaction. If not, I am certain of doing it on my arrival.

My hearty desires for yours and your good family's health, to whom my best respects. I am, dear sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

EDWARD WRIGHT.

In the month of June, 1734, Mr. Logan addressed to the Royal Society, "A further Account of Thomas Godfrey's Improvement of Davis's Quadrant transferred to the Mariner's Bow," which, under this title, was inserted implicitly in the volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society for the same year.* I proceed to extract some parts of Logan's paper, which develop further the history of the case.

"Being informed that this improvement, proposed by Godfrey, of this place, for observing the sun's altitude at sea, with more ease and expedition than is practicable by the common instrument in use for that purpose, was last winter laid before the Royal Society, in his own description of it, and that some gentlemen wished to see the benefit intended by it more fully and clearly explained, I, who have here the opportunity of knowing the author's thoughts on such subjects, being persuaded in my judgment, that, if the instrument, as he proposes it, be brought into practice, it will in many cases, be of great service to navigation, have, therefore, thought it proper to draw up a more full account of it than the author himself has given," &c.

"Some masters of vessels, who sail from hence to the West Indies, have got some of them made, as well as they can be done here, and have found so great advantage in the facility and the ready use of them in those southerly latitudes, that they reject all others. It is now four years since Thomas Godfrey hit on this improvement: for his account of it, laid

* Month of December. Article 3d.

before the society last winter, in which he mentioned two years, was wrote in 1732, and in the same year, 1730, after he was satisfied in this of a real improvement in the quadrant, he applied himself to think of the other, viz. the reflecting instrument by speculums, for a help in the case of longitude, though it is also useful in taking altitudes; and one of these, as has been abundantly proved by the maker, and those who had it with them, was taken to sea, and there used in observing the latitude, the winter of that year, and brought back to Philadelphia before the end of February, 1731, and was in my keeping some months immediately after." SEC. VIII.

"It was indeed unhappy, that, having it in my power, seeing he had no acquaintance nor knowledge of persons in England, that I transmitted not an account of it sooner. But I had other affairs, of more importance to me; and it was owing to an accident which gave me some uneasiness, viz. his attempting to publish some account of it in print here, that I transmitted it at last, in May, 1732, to Dr. Halley, to whom I made no doubt but the invention would appear entirely new; and I must own I could not but wonder that our good will at least was never acknowledged. This, on my part, was all the merit I had to claim, nor did I then, or now, assume any other in either of these instruments. I only wish that the ingenious inventor himself might, by some means, be taken notice of, in a manner that might be of real advantage to him."

In his letter to the Royal Society, Godfrey expresses himself in the simple and natural manner which bespeaks entire sincerity. He begins thus—"Gentlemen: As none are better able than the Royal Society to prove and judge whether such inventions as are proposed for the advancing useful knowledge will answer the pretensions of the inventors or not; and as I have been made acquainted, though at so great a distance, of the candour of your learned Society in giving encouragement to such as merit approbation, I have, therefore, presumed to lay before the Society, the following, craving pardon for my boldness." He then states that finding with what difficulty a tolerable observation of the sun was taken by Davis's quadrant; he, therefore, applied his thoughts for upwards of two years, to find a certain instrument. After describing his improvement and the extent of its utility, he concludes with the following phrase—"I hope Dr. Halley has received a more full account of this from J. Logan, Esq.; therefore I shall add no more than that I am, &c."

Neither Logan nor Godfrey knew at the date of these communications, that Mr. John Hadley, the vice-president of the

PART I. Royal Society, had presented a paper to that body, dated May 13th, 1731,* containing a full description and rationale of a reflecting quadrant of the same character, which he claimed as his invention, and that his paper was inserted in the volume of the Philosophical Transactions. for that year. This communication of Hadley is the foundation of his title to the invention. There is no *direct* proof, which I can discover, of his having seen or heard of Godfrey's instrument; but the quotations which I have made establish the following facts—that Godfrey, without the advantage of a hint, or of aid, from any quarter, completed it in the year 1730; that it was taken to sea soon after, and there used, in the course of the winter of that year, in observing the latitude, and brought back before the end of February, 1731: that there was, therefore, a possibility of its being made known to Hadley, within good time for the preparation of his paper of the month of May.

The tradition in Philadelphia is, that it was carried to Jamaica by a captain of Godfrey's acquaintance, and shown there to a captain of a ship just departing for England, who gave information of it to Hadley, as a person distinguished for his skill and ingenuity in the construction and improvement of optical instruments. Be this as it may, the merit of priority, such as it is, lies manifestly with Godfrey; his invention was as complete, and passed quickly into use among the American masters of vessels. Mr. Logan could have no imaginable motive except benevolence and the promotion of science, for producing and urging the claims of Godfrey; he expressly disavows any pretension to a share in the invention; his eminent capacity to judge of its character, precludes all idea of his having been deceived, as the elevation of his nature and station does that of his having stooped to practise a deception. It will be seen, by an extract which I am about to make from one of his letters, of a later date, to the mathematician Wm. Jones, that he retained his persuasion of Godfrey's title, and was not without suspicion of foul play.

"I have very little to say on the subject of instruments, but as in thy teaching, I formerly observed thy methods greatly excelled in neatness, so one instrument may for speed and certainty very much exceed another; and Thomas Godfrey's inventions were, I think, truly valuable, that by the reflecting speculums appears extremely so. I have here seen two of them as made by Hadley's direction, who enjoys both the re-

* The volume of the Transactions in which it is contained, was not, in fact, published, until after the date of Logan's Letters.

putation and profit of them, *and I cannot but admire at it.* Thomas Godfrey has indeed a fine genius for the mathematics, and it would, for the sake of his birth place, which is the same as that of my own children, be a great pleasure to me to see him rewarded."

The quotation which I have made from Franklin, shows that *he* ascribed the quadrant called Hadley's, to Godfrey; and as he at one time lived under the same roof with the mathematician, and constantly took an interest in his affairs, his testimony is of no little moment. We have a decided opinion to the same effect, from another of his cotemporaries, Dr. John Ewing, a former provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and one of the most acute and learned mathematicians whom this country has produced.* Dr. Rittenhouse, when requested to pronounce in the matter, stated in writing, that he knew Mr. Godfrey and his quadrant, and had no doubt both Godfrey and Hadley were original inventors; that both instruments depended upon the same principles," &c. A weight of authority is thus found in favour of Godfrey's merit, sufficient to satisfy us on this side of the Atlantic. If we claim no more for him than the having accomplished simultaneously the same as is ascribed to Hadley, we shall have reason to be proud of his name; and, in comparing the circumstances of his education and situation with those of the vice-president of the Royal Society, be entitled to attribute to him a superior, nay almost unrivalled natural genius. It is related that when Newton's Principia Mathematica made their appearance, "the best mathematicians were obliged to study them with care, and those of a lower rank durst not venture upon them, till encouraged by the testimonies of the learned." The American glazier, without encouragement from any quarter, wholly self-taught in the mathematics and in the Latin, ventured upon, and mastered this great work at an early age; and finally, with the embarrassments of an humble trade, and extreme poverty, produced the most useful of

* See a paper of Dr. Ewing in the 1st vol. of the Transactions of A. P. S.; describing an improvement of his own in the construction of Godfrey's quadrant. He calls it the most useful of all astronomical instruments, the world ever knew. There is, also, inserted in the American periodical work, the Port Folio, for Dec. 1817, a letter of Dr. Ewing, in which he says, "Logan gives a full description of the reflecting instrument Mr. Godfrey constructed, which appears to be the very instrument now in common use; some very trifling differences in the construction only excepted; which might have been made by Mr. Hadley, and which are hardly worth the mentioning in the invention of such an excellent and uncommon instrument."

PART I. astronomical instruments. He may have been, in the courtly language of the Quarterly Review, "a dogmatical, overbearing and disagreeable fellow;" but he must still attract the highest admiration for the strength of his intellectual powers, and the resolution and perseverance of his spirit. Let his countrymen, universally, attach his name to the quadrant, and in the course of a few ages, the race between the names of Hadley and Godfrey will end in the same manner as the rivalry of the British and American nations in numbers, power, and consideration.

There is not the least colour, even for the supposition, that the American mathematician drew the notion of his improvement upon Davis's quadrant, from an external source; every circumstance imposes the belief that it was entirely the product of his own genius and combinations. This is not the case, however, with respect to Hadley, though we should dismiss from the question, the possibility of his being indebted to Godfrey's labours. I do not know but that the Quarterly Reviewers may consider the authority which I am about to cite —Dr. Hutton, F. R. S. of London and Edinburgh, and Emeritus Professor of mathematics in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich—quite as *obscure* as Logan and Godfrey. Nevertheless, I will venture to appeal to his Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary, in which, at the article Quadrant, I find the following statement.

"Hadley's Quadrant. So called from its inventor John Hadley, Esq. is now universally used, as the best of any, for nautical and other observations. It seems the first idea of this excellent instrument was suggested by Dr. Hooke; for Dr. Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society, p. 246, mentions the invention of a new instrument for taking angles by reflection, by which means the eye at once sees the two objects both as touching the same point, though distant almost to a semi-circle; which is of great use for making exact observations at sea. This instrument is described and illustrated by a figure in Hooke's posthumous works, p. 503. But as it admitted of only one reflection, it would not answer the purpose. *The matter, however, was at last effected by Sir Isaac Newton, who communicated to Dr. Halley a paper of his own writing*, containing the description of an instrument with two reflections, which soon after the doctor's death was found among his papers by Mr. Jones, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society, and it was published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1742. How it *happened that Dr. Halley never mentioned this in his life time, is difficult to account for; more especially as Mr. Hadley had described*

in the Transactions for 1731, *his instrument which is constructed on the same principles.** Mr. Hadley, who was well acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, might have heard him say, that Dr. Hooke's proposal could be effected by means of a double reflection; and perhaps in consequence of this hint, he might apply himself, without any previous knowledge of what Newton had actually done, to the construction of his instrument. Mr. Godfrey, too, of Pennsylvania, had recourse to a similar expedient; for which reason some gentlemen of that colony have ascribed the invention of this excellent instrument to him. *The truth may probably be, that each of these gentlemen discovered the method independent of one another.*"

The opinion thus liberally and decorously expressed by Dr. Hutton, was, without doubt, that of the Royal Society in 1733, when the whole matter was brought under their consideration. Otherwise, they never would have consented to admit into the volume of their Transactions, the paper of Logan, after they had published that of Hadley. The Quarterly Review has attributed to Logan—how accurately let the reader now decide—the avowal that two years had elapsed since the appearance of Hadley's paper, when he preferred the claim of Godfrey. But, admitting the interval to be so great, if we admit also, the facts, of which there can be no doubt,—that Godfrey's instrument was completed in 1730, and that Logan, when he communicated the invention to Dr. Halley, in 1732, believed, as he asserts, that it would appear entirely new to Halley—the delay in the communication of it, which Logan at the same time satisfactorily explains, can furnish no argument nor presumption against the validity of Godfrey's claim. The dispute between Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, concerning the invention of the method of fluxions,

* If we consider the character which Halley bore, according to the statement of captain Wright; his silence with respect to Newton's paper; and the suppression of Logan's letter—the conviction forces itself upon the mind that he had resolved to secure the credit of the invention to Hadley. By the History of the Royal Society, we find that on the 1st of September, 1732, after the receipt of Logan's letter, Halley volunteered to attend, on the part of the Society, a trial at sea, of Hadley's quadrant, and reported in its favour, without giving the least intimation of his knowledge of the conception or completion of the instrument in any other quarter. The paper of Newton is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 465. p. 155, with the description—"A true copy of a paper, in the hand writing of Sir Isaac Newton, found among the papers of the late Dr. Halley, containing a description of an instrument for observing the moon's distance from the fixed stars at sea."

PART I. presents a case, similar to the present, in several respects Newton published his method only in 1704, after Leibnitz had given his Differential Calculus to the world. The former traced his invention to the years 1665, 1666; and the Royal Society decided in his favour upon this ground. The scientific world at large has acquiesced in the opinion, that the credit of origination is due to both these illustrious philosophers, and such, in all likelihood, will be its conclusion in regard to Godfrey and Hadley.

3. We might have expected from the Quarterly Review about the same degree of scrupulosity in eulogizing England and its condition, as in defaming the United States. But it was natural to look for more consistency in the one case than we have found in the other. Here we shall be disappointed to an extent which is truly marvellous, and which destroys all confidence in any of the generalities so profusely sown in the pages of that journal. I must be permitted to bring together some of the many passages establishing the instructive fact.

"Since man has ceased to exist in the patriarchal state, he has no where, nor at any period, existed in so favourable a condition, as in England at the present time." "England is of all parts of the world, the most prosperous and the most happy, blest above all countries, either of the ancient or the modern world." (No. 31, 1817.)

"England is basking in the broad sunshine of peace and prosperity. England wants *nothing* but thankfulness; nothing but a due sense of the mercies which are heaped upon her with an unsparing hand." (No. 37, 1818.)

"England, in the full glory of arts and arms, in the plenitude of her strength and exuberance of her wealth, in her free government and pure faith, *just laws and uncorrupted manners*, public prosperity and *private happiness;* England, in each and all of these respects, presents an object not to be paralleled in past ages or in other countries,—an object which fills with astonishment the understanding mind, and which the philosopher and the Christian may contemplate not only with complacency, but with exultation, with the deepest gratitude to the Giver of all good, and the most animating hopes for the further prospects and progress of mankind." (April, 1816.)

"The great mass of our population is in a state which renders them the easy dupes of every mischievous demagogue." "The English are an uneducated people." (No. 31, 1816.) "The abuse of the press is the curse of English liberty." (Ibid.)

"The London theatres are disgraced by open and scandalous immoralities." (Ibid.)

"The next generation may see grass growing in the now populous city of Nottingham, from the outrages of the Luddites." (Ibid.)

"Those who suffered, for the agricultural riots, under the sentence of the law, were men of substance."

"The men who grow corn are never the men who set fire to it. A large proportion of the misled multitude, who have been burning barns and corn-stacks, would have been aiding the civil power to repress these frantic outrages, if they had had their own little property to defend. Let us not deceive ourselves! Governments are safe in proportion as the great body of the people are contented, and men cannot be contented, when they work with *the prospect of want and pauperism before their eyes, as what must be their destiny at last.*" (April, 1816.)

"In the road which the English labourer *must travel*, the poor-house is the last stage on the way to the grave. Hence it arises, as a natural result, that looking to the parish as his ultimate resource, and as that to which he must come at last, he cares not how soon he applies to it. There is neither hope nor pride to withhold him: why should he deny himself any indulgence in youth, or why make any efforts to put off for a little while that which is inevitable at the end? That the labouring poor feel thus, and reason thus, and act in consequence, is beyond all doubt." (No. 29.)

"There can be no doubt, that Christian slaves are subject to much harsh treatment, and especially in Algiers: *but no Englishman has been made a slave:* and before we go out of the way to seek for objects of misery abroad, it would be wise and humane to relieve those which we have at home. One would think that the general distress in the agricultural and manufacturing classes; the state of the poor—the prisons—the hospitals and mad houses; would supply us with abundant objects to relieve the plethora of philanthropy with which we seem to be bursting." (Ibid.)

"If adversity be favourable to the development of our virtues, (and indeed many of our noblest qualities would never be developed under any other discipline), there is a degree of misery which is fatal to them, and which hardens the heart as much as manual labour indurates the skin, and destroys all finer sense of touch. (Ibid.)

"Mournful as this is, it is far more mournful to contemplate the effects of extreme poverty in the midst of a civilized and flourishing society. The wretched native of Terra del Fuego, or of the northern extremity of America, sees nothing around him which aggravates his own wretchedness by comparison; the chief fares no better than the rest of the horde, and the slave no worse than his master; the privations which they endure are common to all; they know of no state happier than their own, and submit to their miserable circumstances as to a law of nature. But in a country like ours, there exists a contrast which continually forces itself upon the eye and upon the reflective faculty. There was a Methodist dabbler in art who, in the days of our childhood, used to edify the public with allegorical prints from the great manufactory of Carrington Bowles; one of these curious compositions represented a human figure, of which the right side was dressed in the full fashion of the day, while the left was undressed to the very bones, and displayed a skeleton. The contrast in this worse than Mezentian imagination is not more frightful, than that between health and squalid pauperism, who are every day jostling each other in the street." (Ibid.)

"It is but too true we fear, that, within the last thirty years, a considerable degradation of moral character, has been observable among the lower ranks of society; we wish we could say that it mounted no higher. The ostentatious display of charitable donations, posted in

PART I. front of the public newspapers, would seem to have subdued that pride and independence of feeling, which would once have shrunk from being held up as the objects of such charity."

"The labouring people of Scotland live chiefly on potatoes and oatmeal.—In the northern counties of England, these furnish the principal part of every meal, and it is well known that nine-tenths of the population of Ireland subsist almost entirely upon them." (No. 24.)

"The article of fish is a luxury in all the great cities and towns of the empire; is confined to the upper ranks of society." (Ibid.)

"The prices of provisions in London are shamefully kept up by monopolies, arising out of overgrown capitals." (Ibid.)

"The sudden stoppage of any particular branch of manufacture usually sends multitudes to the poor-house." (Ibid.)

"In some parts of England, the paupers average nearly one-fourth of the population." (Ibid.)

"The recent parliamentary enquiry has shown that there are from 120 to 130,000 children in the metropolis without the means of education, 4,000 of whom are let out by their parents to beggars, or employed in pilfering. *A like proportion would be found in all our large cities, and throughout the manufacturing districts a far greater.*" (No. 29.)

"When we have stated upon the authority of Parliament that there are above 130,000 children in London, who are at this time without the means of education, and that there are from three to four thousand who are let out to beggars and trained up in dishonesty,—even this represents *only a part of the evil*; if the children are without education the parents are without religion; in the metropolis of this enlightened nation, the church to which they should belong has provided for them no places of worship; and '*two-thirds* of the lower order of people in London,' Sir Thomas Bernard says, '*live as utterly ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and are as errant and unconverted pagans, as if they had existed in the wildest part of Africa.*' The case is the same in Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Sheffield, and *in all our large towns; the greatest part of our manufacturing populace, of the miners and colliers, are in the same condition*, and if they are not universally so, it is more owing to the zeal of the methodists than to any other cause." (Ibid.)

Most of the paragraphs just quoted refer to the year 1816: and lest it should be supposed that the representation of this journal concerning the state of English affairs at home, might be, at a later period, altogether of an opposite complexion, I will make some further quotations from the number for September, 1818, and take them from the article immediately preceding the one in which it is said that "England wants absolutely *nothing* but thankfulness."

"Children are daily to be seen in hundreds and thousands about the streets of London, brought up in misery and mendicity, first, to every kind of suffering, afterwards to every kind of guilt, the boys to theft, the girls to prostitution, and this not from accidental causes, but from an obvious defect in our institutions! *Throughout all our great cities, throughout all our manufacturing counties, the case is the same as in the capital.* And this public and notorious evil, this intolerable reproach, has been going on year after year, increasing as our prosperity has increased, but in an accelerated ratio. If this were regarded by itself alone, distinct from all other evils and causes of evil, it might well excite shame for the past, astonishment for the present, and apprehension for the future; but if it be regarded in connection with the increase of

pauperism, the condition of the manufacturing populace, and the indefatigable zeal with which the most pernicious principles of every kind are openly disseminated, in contempt and defiance of the law and of all things sacred, the whole would seem to form a fund of vice, misery, and wickedness, by which not only our wealth, power, and prosperity, but all that constitutes the pride, all that constitutes the happiness of the British nation is in danger of being absorbed and lost." SEC. VIII.

"The sternest republican that ever Scotland produced was so struck by this reflection, that he did not hesitate to wish *for the re-establishment of domestic slavery*, as a remedy for the squalid wretchedness and audacious guilt with which his country was at that time overrun."

"So little provision has been made for religious and moral education in our institutions, and so generally is it neglected by individuals as well as by the state, that the youth in humble life, who has been properly instructed in his duty towards God and man, may be regarded as unusually fortunate. The populace in England are more ignorant of their religious duties than they are in any other Christian country."

"They who reflect upon the course of society in this country cannot, indeed, but perceive that the opportunities and temptations to evil have greatly increased, while the old restraints, of every kind, have as generally fallen into disuse. The stocks are now as commonly in a state of decay as the market-cross; and while the population has doubled upon the church establishment, *the number of ale-houses has increased tenfold in proportion to the population.*"

"What then are the causes of pauperism? misfortune in one instance, misconduct in fifty; want of frugality, want of forethought, want of prudence, want of principle;—*want of hope also should be added.*"

"To work a reformation in the metropolis, indeed, is a task that might dismay Hercules himself; a huge Augean stable, which the whole Thames hath not water enough to cleanse! Yet the greater the evil, the more urgent is the necessity and duty of setting about the great business of removing it as far as we may. The points to be considered are, in what manner we may hope to effect the greatest alleviation of human misery, to mitigate the sufferings of the poor, to amend their morals, and *to redress their wrongs.* Let no man think the expression is overcharged. If any human creatures, born in the midst of a highly civilized country, are yet, by the circumstances of their birth and breeding, placed in a worse condition both as physical and moral beings, than they would have been had they been born among the savages of America or Australia; the society in which they live has not done its duty towards them: they are aggrieved by the established system of things, being made amenable to its laws, and having received none of its benefits; till this be rectified, the scheme of polity is incomplete, and while it exists to any extent, *as it notoriously does exist at this time, in this country*, the foundation of social order is insecure."

"It is said among the precious fragments of king Edward, that when prayers had been, with good consideration set forth, the people must continually be allured to hear them; instead of this, a great proportion are actually excluded, *for all the churches in the metropolis, with all the private chapels and conventicles of every description added to them, are not sufficient to accommodate a fourth part of the inhabitants*, upon the present system of conducting public worship."

"Forty or fifty years ago, murder was so rarely committed in this country that any person who has amused himself with looking over the magazines or registers of those times, might call to mind every case that occurred during ten or twenty years, more easily than he could recollect those of the last twelve months; for scarcely a weekly newspaper comes from the press without its tale of blood. And as the cri-

PART I. sis becomes more frequent, it has been marked, if that be possible, with more ferociousness, as if there were not only an increase of criminals, but as if guilt itself was assuming a more malignant and devilish type."

"Looking, however, to those causes which are within reach of discipline and law, certain it is that the increase of crimes is attributable in no slight degree to the abominable state of our prisons, which, for the most part, have hitherto been nurseries of licentiousness, and schools of guilt, rather than places of correction, so that the young offender comes out of confinement in every respect worse than he went in."

9. The two presiding reviews of Great Britain having put the American people under the ban, those of the second rank naturally followed so grateful an example. I do not know whether I ought to apply this description to the "British Review, or London Critical Journal," a quarterly publication, which, in general, is marked by nearly an equal degree of learning and ability with its predecessors. It maintains the same principles, religious and political, as the Quarterly, and has, of course, entered the lists against the American republic. The number for May, 1819, contains a copious article headed "Actual Condition of the United States," and pretended to be drawn from some of the late works on this country. I have only to cull some passages from the article, to show what a rich source of correct information and benevolent temper has been opened to the British Public, in the London Critical Journal.

"The government of Washington, identifying extent of territory with actual power and future greatness, continues to add lands to the immense provinces which it already possesses; it eagerly embraces every opportunity, arising from the weakness or misfortunes of its neighbours, to provide fields for remote generations, who, it flatters itself, will one day outstrip all other nations in warlike exploits and commercial wealth, under the auspicious stars of the Union. The present rulers of America appear to think that they shall favour most successfully the rising fortunes of their country by procuring soil whereon American heroes and lawgivers may spring up in their order to fulfil their high destinies."

"In the United States, a debt contracted in one state cannot be sued for in the next; and a man who has committed murder in Virginia cannot be apprehended if he make his way into the neighbouring lands of Kentucky."*

* "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

"A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on the

" The states of America can never have a native literature any more than they can have a native character. Even their wildernesses and deserts, their mountains, lakes, and forests, will produce nothing romantic or pastoral; no ' native wood-note wild' will ever be heard from their prairies or savannahs; for these remote regions are only relinquished by pagan savages to receive into their deep recesses hordes of discontented democrats, mad, unnatural enthusiasts, and needy or desperate adventurers." SEC. VIII.

" The steam-boat was hatched in Great Britain, and only acquired some *small* additional strength of pinion upon its migration across the Atlantic."

" We are informed that experiments of sailing ships by means of steam were publicly exhibited on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1787; and were either actually witnessed by Mr. Fulton, or communicated to that engineer, who was then *a resident in that part of Scotland, of which he was understood to be a native.* In answer to some enquiries which *we* have made *personally* on this subject; we were told that Fulton was *a native of Paisley*, in the neighbourhood of which place, he had steam-boats constructed, actually employed both for experiment and use, and that he afterwards carried the invention to America," &c.

" In the southern parts of the Union, the rites of our holy faith are almost never practised."

" When the American captains could not fight to advantage, during the last war, *they ran away, and in some instances most shamefully. Their Frolic* for instance, after vainly endeavouring to escape by flight, surrendered to the Orpheus and Shelburne without firing a single shot."*

" The Americans may become a powerful people, but they

demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."—Constitution of the United States, Article IV. Sect. 2.

* On the 28th of October, 1812, the United States sloop of war, Wasp, commanded by captain Jacob Jones, took, in forty-three minutes after the first fire, the British sloop of war, Frolic, superior in force by exactly four twelve-pounders. The gallantry displayed by the American ship in the action, could not be exceeded, and she was much crippled in her rigging and braces. Two hours after possession was taken of the British vessel, His Majesty's ship Poictiers, of *seventy-four guns,* fell in with and captured them both. The disabled state of the Wasp, and the disparity of force, would have rendered any attempt at resistance on the part of the Americans, as ridiculous as the charge brought against them by the British Review. Let the reader now judge of the candour or the accuracy of this high-toned journal, when it talks of " their Frolic," and of the Orpheus and Shelburne, &c.

PART I. want the elements of greatness; they may overrun a portion of the world, but they will never civilize those whom they conquer; they may become the Goths of the Western Continent, but they can never become the Greeks. The mass of the North Americans are too proud to learn, and too ignorant to teach, and having established by *act* of Congress that they are already the most enlightened people of the world, they bid fair to retain their *barbarism* from mere regard to consistency," &c.

The barkings of the innumerable minor Reviews and Magazines are incessant, and may be compared to those of the prairie dog, of which we read in the accounts of the Missouri region. They deserve as little to be heeded. I will, however, advert to one of them—the British Critic—co-ordinate with the Monthly Review, and long in the enjoyment of great consideration with the ministerial and high-church party. It has recently had a paroxysm of exprobration, on the occasion of reviewing Mr. Bristed's "Resources of America." This gentleman, a Briton by birth, educated at home, it has, like the London Critical Journal, mistaken, or affected to mistake, for an American, and in reviling the diction of his book, has held him forth as a sample of American writers. If an author so affectionately and reverentially disposed towards England, fared so ill, for allowing some virtue and prosperity to the United States, these unlucky States had nothing less to expect than a merciless visitation. I would not undertake to repeat any part of the pasquinades of the critique, were it not that they form a proper sequel to those of the Quarterly Review, and complete the idea to be entertained of the strain in which we are celebrated in the British journals generally. The following extracts will suffice.

"The Americans debated in Congress, during three successive days, whether they were not the greatest, the wisest, bravest, most ingenious, and most learned of mankind."

"The North American republicans are the most vain, egotistical, insolent, rodomontade sort of people that are anywhere to be found. *They give themselves airs.*"

"The Americans have no history; nothing on which to exercise genius and kindle imagination."

"One third of the people have no church at all. Three and an half millions enjoy no means of religious instruction. The religious principle is gaining ground in the *northern parts of the Union:* it is *becoming* fashionable among the better orders of society to go to church."

"The greater number of states declare it to be unconstitu-

tional to refer to the providence of God in any of their public acts." SEC. VIII.

"The Americans make it a point of conscience *never* to pay a *single* stiver to a British creditor."

"America is like a dissipated boy, combining the feebleness of early youth, with the libertinism of manhood; the calculating selfishness of declining years, with the decrepitude and disease of old age."

"America is *easy to conquer*, but difficult to keep," &c. &c.

Ribaldry of this description, which, by its absurdness, softens the indignation it is fitted to excite, can require no annotation. But I think it well to examine at once the topic of the first paragraph, quoted from the British critic, —one which has now the additional disrelish of triteness, in any English publication; so often has it exercised the wit, or provoked the spleen, of parliamentary orators, and periodical censors. We have seen that the Edinburgh Review talks of "the *ludicrous* proposition of the American Congress to declare *herself* the most enlightened nation on the globe." The Quarterly Review also, in the critique of Inchiquin's letters, descants scoffingly on this supposed proposition, and avers that it was withdrawn "*only through fear of giving umbrage to the French Convention.*" Mr. Alexander Baring refers to it, in his pamphlet on the Orders in Council, saying, that "the Americans gravely debated once in Congress, whether they should style themselves the most enlightened people in the world;" but he tempers the pungency of the allusion, by relating how a distinguished member of the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce, seriously declared in his place, and was no doubt as seriously believed, "that Great Britain was too honest to have any political connexions with the continent of Europe." By a natural progression, or diversity of reading, the story now goes, as the British critic has it—"that the Americans debated during three successive days, whether they were not *the greatest*, *wisest*, *bravest*, *most ingenious*, *and most learned of mankind!*" This is the shape in which it will, doubtless, be embalmed by the British historians.

Let us attend now to the facts of the case, as they are apparent upon the face of the printed debate, and remain notorious to all who followed the course of our public affairs at the time.

The French revolution had divided the American people into two great parties; the one disposed for an intimate alliance with France; the other averse from any connexion with the new republic, and more amicably affected to Great Britain.

PART I. General Washington, by adopting and maintaining the policy of neutrality between the belligerent powers of Europe, and by giving his countenance and official sanction to Jay's treaty, so called, of 1795, with Great Britain, had rendered himself obnoxious to the leaders of that division of our politicians who favoured her enemy, and would have renounced her trade. Their antagonists in Congress were fortified in their dislike and dread of the French republic, and their predilection for the most friendly political intercourse and free commercial relations, with Great Britain, by the ill-judged machinations and intemperate language of the French representatives in this country, and the open support which the French government lent to the most insulting trespasses upon our national sovereignty.

General Washington having announced his resolution to retire into private life, an election for a successor to the chief magistracy took place in 1796, and gave new animation to the feelings and plans just mentioned. At the close of the year, while this election was *raging*, if I may be allowed the term, Washington delivered his farewell address to the federal legislature, and in the house of representatives a committee composed of five members, three of whom were friends of his administration, was appointed to prepare an answer to his speech. The draught of an answer which this committee reported, contained the following paragraph. "The spectacle of a whole nation, *the freest and most enlightened in the world*, offering, by its representatives, the tribute of unfeigned approbation to its first citizen, however novel and interesting it may be, derives its lustre from the transcendant merit of which," &c. The phrase which I have put in italics found its way into the draught, from the desire of the committee to place Washington at the highest elevation possible, in opposition to the designs of some zealots of party in Congress, who aimed at diminishing the lustre of his personal reputation, and the credit of his system of politics. Moreover, France had not long before asserted for herself the pre-eminence over all nations in freedom and political intelligence; and the authors of the draught, with those of the same side in Congress, were eager to countervail this, as well as every other overweening pretension, which might enhance her influence in the United States.

Mr. Sitgreaves, one of the most distinguished members of the anti-gallican party, explained to the house that "the light spoken of was political light, and had no reference to arts, science, or literature; that it was intended to make the compliment stronger to General Washington, and was to be re-

garded as a matter entirely domestic, and not as a public act for foreign nations." SEC. VIII.

The answer at large brought into view the main political questions which agitated the country, and expressed an unqualified approval of Washington's official career. A debate arose upon the general strain of it, which lasted two days. It turned chiefly upon the point of "the wisdom and firmness" of his administration, in reference to England and France, and embraced the investigation of all our relations with the latter power. Objection had been immediately made to the phrase which has furnished so much sport to the British wits, not only by the opposition, but by several of the most decided federal members. One of these, Mr. Thatcher, finding that it interfered with the principal purpose of obtaining an appearance of unanimity in the homage to Washington and his course of policy, moved, at length, after it had been discussed with some copiousness, though incidentally, that the words "spectacle of a whole nation the freest and most enlightened," should be amended so as to read "the spectacle of a free and enlightened nation,"—*which was carried without a division.* In the course of the debate, a suggestion was, indeed, made, in the way of exception, that the use of the superlative would give umbrage to France; but this consideration must have proved the reverse of dissuasive for the majority, in the state of their feelings towards that power, with whom they so soon afterwards came to open war. They concurred in the amendment with such readiness, from the two-fold motive of facilitating the adoption of the material parts of the answer, and avoiding what might have the air of national arrogance.

Thus we see that the famed "*proposition* of congress to *declare* America the freest and most enlightened nation on the globe,"—the "*act* of congress by which the Americans established that they are the most enlightened people of the world,"—was no more than an occasional phrase, hazarded by a committee in the draught of a domestic paper, for purposes distinct from that of glorifying the nation; which phrase, though equally suited to favourite aims of the majority of congress, was disavowed and rejected by that majority, chiefly because it savoured of presumption, and seemed to infringe upon strict national decorum. The transaction argues, on the whole, in the congress, sentiments opposite to those which it has furnished the English writers occasion to impute; and, when we advert to the nature of the dispositions towards England, which were mingled with its origin, we must find their representations still more ungracious and illiberal. An instance

PART I. of the same scrupulousness is certainly not to be found in the annals of the British parliament. I refer to the answers of that body to the speeches from the throne, and to the votes of thanks as presented by the speaker,—particularly the last, Mr. Abbot,—to the public servants whom it has distinguished, for self-applause and claims of national superiority, beyond which, no intoxication of pride, or reason of state can ever, in the civilized world, carry national pretensions. This reference from an American will, perhaps, be thought a very deficient measure of recrimination; but it is to be borne in mind, that, however transcendant may be the British nation, in all respects, in the comparison with her "kinsmen of the west," her pre-eminence, in valour and science at least, over the other nations of Europe, is not so far incontrovertible and notorious, as that, while constantly asserting it herself, she can, without inconsistency or assurance, make a standing jest of the single example of exaltedness which she charges upon the American congress.

The obnoxious phrase in the draught of the American committee was, in fact, warrantable in itself, and might have been adopted, as it was meant, with perfect propriety. The committee had in view civil and religious freedom combined, and the diffusiveness of political light, and elementary knowledge —points in which I think it hardly possible to contest the supremacy of the United States. For proclaiming this supremacy, there were strong motives derived from the peculiar situation of the country in regard to France, at the juncture. The confidence of a part of the American people in their own institutions and political wisdom, seemed to be shaken in some degree by the pretensions of French democracy, and to stand in need of such confirmation as the body of their representatives could furnish, for their protection against the most mischievous delusions.

Although I may appear to have allotted already too much space to this topic, I must claim permission to introduce the observations which were made by Fisher Ames, in congress, on the occasion. They belong, in strictness, to its history.

Mr. Ames said—"If a man were to call himself more free and enlightened than his fellows, it would be considered as arrogant self-praise. His very declaration would prove that he wanted sense as well as modesty; but a nation might be called so by a citizen of that nation, without impropriety, because in doing so, he bestows no praise of superiority on himself; he may be in fact, sensible that he is less enlightened than the wise of other nations. This sort of national eulogium

may, no doubt, be fostered by vanity and grounded in mistake: it is sometimes just; it is certainly common, and not always either ridiculous or offensive. It did not say that either France or England had not been remarkable for enlightened men; their literati are more numerous and distinguished than our own.

"The general character with respect to this country, was strictly true. Our countrymen, almost universally, possess some property and some portion of learning,—two distinctions so remarkably in their favour as to vindicate the expression objected to. But go through France, Germany, and most countries of Europe, and it would be found that out of fifty millions of people, not more than two or three had any pretensions to knowledge, the rest being, comparatively with Americans, ignorant. In France, which contains twenty-five millions of people, only one was calculated to be in any respect enlightened, and perhaps under the old system there was not a greater proportion possessed of property; whilst in America, out of four millions of people, scarcely any part of them could be placed upon the same ground with the rabble of Europe.

"That class called vulgar, canaille, rabble, so numerous there, does not exist here as a class, though our towns have individuals of it. Look at the Lazzaroni of Naples: there are 20,000 or more houseless people, wretched and in want! He asked whether where men wanted every thing, and were in the proportion of twenty-nine to one, it was possible that they could be trusted with power? Wanting wisdom and morals, how could they use it? It was therefore that the iron hand of despotism was called in by the few who had any thing, to preserve any kind of controul over the many. This evil, as it truly was, rendered real liberty hopeless.

"In America, out of four millions of people, the proportion of those who cannot read and write, and who, having nothing, are interested in plunder and confusion, and disposed for both, is exceedingly small. In the southern states he knew there were people well informed; he disclaimed all design of invidious comparison; the members from the south would be more capable of doing justice to their constituents; but, in the eastern states, he was more particularly conversant, and knew the people in them could universally read and write, and were well informed as to public affairs. In such a country, liberty is likely to be permanent. It is possible to plant it in such a soil, and reasonable to hope, that it will take root and flourish

PART I. long, as we see it does. But can liberty such as we understand and enjoy, exist in societies where the *few* only have property, and the many are both ignorant and licentious?

"Was there any impropriety, then, in saying what was a fact? As it regards government, the declaration is useful. It is respectful to the people to speak of them with the justice due to them, as eminently formed for liberty and worthy of it. If they are free and enlightened, let us say so. Congress ought not only to say this because it was true, but because their saying so would have the effect to produce that self-respect which was the best guard of liberty; and most conducive to the happiness of society. It was useful to show where our hopes and the true safety of our freedom are reposed. It procured in return from the citizens a just confidence; it cherished a spirit of patriotism unmixed with foreign alloy, and the courage to defend a constitution which a people really enlightened knows to be worthy of its efforts."

The American Congress has had its full share of maternal abuse. It has been visited with the wrath and the pleasantry of the British writers, on other grounds than the one of which I have just treated. With the Fullers and the Lord Cochranes before their eyes, with the Wilkes and the Gordons fresh in their recollection, they have yet been bold enough to single, for the purpose of general detraction, out of our legislative annals, instances of disorderly deportment in individuals. That of Mathew Lyon and Roger Griswold, the only flagrant case, is vamped up in all the reviews and books of travels, as if personal violence were a new species of irregularity in the history of legislative assemblies; and as if the British particularly furnished no case of the kind for admonishment. But we have only to open the parliamentary annals, to find precedents of an early date, which might have sufficed for all purposes. Take, for example, the rencontre narrated in the following extract from the history of the House of Commons of the year 1678, in the reign of Charles II.

"Debate on Sir J. Trelawney's calling Mr. Ash a rascal. Sir J. Trelawney said—"I rise up the earlier to speak, because I wish this had been in another place: but perhaps *in a more sacred place than this*,* if any man should call me rascal,

* The Quarterly Review is (maugre the example of Sir J. Trelawney) greatly scandalized at the story related by Birbeck, of a citizen of the state of Indiana having declared before a spiritual tribunal, that he should not wish to live longer than he had the right to knock down the man who told him he lied.

I should call him rebel, and give him a box on the ear. The cause of the quarrel that happened was this. Colonel Birch was saying—lose this question, and he would vote for a general toleration. No, said I, I never was for that. And Ash said—I am not for popery:—said I—nor I for presbytery. I came to Ash and told him he must explain his words. Said Ash, I am no more a presbyterian than you are a papist. Upon which I said, Ash was a rascal, and I struck him, and I should have done it any where." SEC. VIII.

Sir Wm. Harbord said—" Sir John Trelawney has behaved himself *like a man of honour.*" Sir John was only slightly reprimanded by the speaker.

The nature of this proceeding and the general spirit which gave rise to it, and made the punishment so light, is as little creditable, as the affair of Mathew Lyon, who was, be it remembered, spurned by the whole American Congress. And it is quite as fair in me to go back to the case of Trelawney, as it is in an English writer to recur to that of Lyon. Our party-heats at the period when this happened, were also extreme, although not indeed fed by religious bigotry.

If, however, a recent case is wanted, it can be furnished without difficulty. It is from the applauded Travels of Simon, in England, of 1809, that I extract the following history:

" The House of Commons has exhibited lately a very curious tragi-comic scene. An honourable member, a country gentleman, and, I believe, a county member, took offence at some slight he had experienced during the late examination in Parliament; and having made some intemperate remarks, supported by oaths, there was a motion, that the words of the honourable member should be taken down. This produced another explosion from the honourable member, who was ordered by the Speaker to leave the house, which he obeyed with some difficulty. The House then decided that he should be put into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. This resolution was no sooner announced to him, than he burst in again, furiously calling to the Speaker that he had no right to send him into confinement; and that *the little fellow in the great wig was the servant, and not the master of the House of Commons.* The Speaker, in consequence of the vote of imprisonment, was obliged to order the sergeant-at-arms to do his duty; and the latter, with the assistance of some other officers, succeeded in carrying off his prisoner *after an obstinate combat*,—the honourable member being an Hercules! What would the Parisians say to an affair like this in their

PART I. *Senat Conservatif*, and one of the members in grand costume, *giving battle to the door keeper on the senatorial floor?*"*

Lyon, the aggressor in the affair of the American House of Representatives, was not an American, and it is probable that those who sent him to the American legislature were chiefly foreigners. The right of suffrage in the United States is subject to few restrictions; it is acquired, after a few years' residence, without much difficulty, by Europeans of every order. It would not, therefore, be matter of surprise, if men of vulgar manners and unruly spirit—strangers, with the slough of their native grossness and virulence, were occasionally found in our Congress. Besides, the American representatives belong to professions, and circles of society, in which the more elaborate and delicate courtesies cannot be supposed to be practised, nor self-controul to be acquired in the same extent as in what is called the fashionable and polished company of the British islands, where the legislators are boastfully said, to be trained to habitual politeness, under a discipline suited to their hereditary gentility and affluence. Yet, it has so happened, that instances of members such as I have described above, are rare in the annals of Congress; and that as much decorum has prevailed in that body at all times, as in any similar institute of modern days. Since the era of our federal assemblies, the British parliament has exhibited more scenes of turbulence and indecency; a strain of personal reflection has been immemorially indulged in it, which would not be borne in the former. Mr. Canning complains, in one of his late speeches, of "the *practice* in the House of Commons, of calumniating public men on either side of the house, by imputing to them motives of action, the insinuation of which would not be tolerated in the intercourse of private life." This gentleman allowed himself, on the floor, to stigmatize Mr. Lambton, one of the most distinguished orators of the opposition, as "a dolt and an ideot." In Feb. 1817, Mr. Bennet exclaimed, in his place, against "such ministers as the noble lord, Castlereagh, who had already imbrued their hands in the blood of their country, and been guilty of the most criminal cruelties." Lord Castlereagh replied by giving the lie direct to his accuser. Upon another occasion in the same year, when vilified by Mr. Brougham, the noble lord described the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman as "a strain of black, malignant, and libellous insinuation." In reading the invectives of Mr. Tierney, and the bitter taunts of Mr. Canning, we feel a two-

* Vol. I. p. 63.

fold wonder—at the licentiousness of the parliamentary tongue, and at the impunity with which such cruel insults are offered on so conspicuous a theatre.* SEC. VIII.

The general style of altercation in both houses of Parliament during the American war, and at some periods of the administration of the younger Pitt, has never, I am sure, been equalled in the American congress at any stage of our party irritations. If I open the volumes of parliamentary debates, I fall at once upon such specimens of senatorial temperance as the following:

"Lord Mansfield rose in great passion,—he charged the last noble lord, (Earl of Shelburne,) with uttering gross falsehoods."—*Almond's Parliamentary Debates, Feb. 7th*, 1775.

"The Earl of Shelburne returned the charge of falsehood to Lord Mansfield in direct terms."—*Ibid.*

"The Duke of Richmond animadverted in very severe terms, on an expression which fell in the heat of debate from a noble lord (Lord Lyttleton). He said no man could impute littleness, lowness, or cunning to any member of that assembly (alluding to what his lordship had pointed at Lord Camden) for delivering his sentiments freely, unless he drew the picture from something he felt within himself, as by illiberally charging others with low and sinister designs, the charge could only properly be applied to the person from whom it originated." —*Ibid.*

* The following, of so late a date as June 7th, 1819, is a fair specimen.

"Mr. Canning said: *The shuffling, cowardly, and evasive course* recommended by the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Tierney, showed what was his real object, &c.

"Mr. Calcraft here rose to order. He could not listen in silence to the *foul, offensive,* and *almost* unparliamentary aspersions which the right honourable gentleman had passed on his right honourable friend, on himself, and on all his friends around him, &c.

"Mr. Canning here interrupted the honourable gentleman. He thought that in debate there was tolerably fair room *to give and to take;* and whenever the terms 'indecent' and 'atrocious,' which had been applied to the proposal of ministers were retracted, then, and not till then, should he retract the epithets which he had applied to the conduct of the gentleman opposite.

"Mr. Calcraft rejoined. Cowardly, evasive, and shuffling! from a man too, who when he looked on one side on the honourable friends whom he had *betrayed,* and at the other side on the honourable friends whom he had *lampooned,* but with both of whom he was now united in place, might reflect, perhaps, on a more exact illustration of such qualities. (Hear, hear, hear.)"

PART I.

Mr. Edmund Burke said:—

"Sir, the noble lord who spoke last (Lord North) after extending his right leg a full yard before his left, rolling his flaming eyes, and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his mouth. I was all attention. After these portents I expected something still more awful and tremendous: I expected that the Tower would have been threatened in articulated thunder; but I have heard only a feeble remonstrance against violence and passion: when I expected the powers of destruction to cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war, an overblown bladder has burst, and nobody has been hurt by the crack."—*Cobbett's Debates*, 1770.

In one particular form of indecorum, I might almost call it enormity, the British parliament has gone far beyond what is known to our experience in America. I refer to the jocularity indulged on occasions the most pathetic in the facts, or the most solemn in the consequences for the interests and honour of the nation.

During the debates on the slave trade in the years 1791 and 1792, when disclosures were made of crimes committed by British captains in that trade, so dreadfully atrocious, that even now they wring the heart, and overpower the imagination of a cursory reader, laughter resounded from time to time in the House of Commons; and that body listened complacently to a speech, from Lord Carhampton, to which nothing can be compared, considering the occasion and subject, except, perhaps, the show of dancing-dogs under the guillotine at Paris, so eloquently stigmatized by Burke. I will take, from the debate of 1791, a more particular example of this almost incredible levity which has distinguished the British parliament.

"Mr. William Smith related the following anecdote upon the authority of eye witnesses. 'A child of about ten months old took sick on board of a British slave-ship, and would not eat. The captain took up the child, and flogged him with a cat; 'D—n you,' said he, 'I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you.' From this, and other ill treatment, the child's legs swelled, and the captain ordered some water to be made hot for abating the swelling. But even his tender mercies were cruel; for the cook putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. 'D—n him,' said the captain, 'put his feet in.' The child was put into the water, and the nails and skin came all off his feet. Oiled cloths were then put round them. The child was then tied to a heavy log, and two or three days afterwards the captain caught it up again and said, 'I will make you eat, or I will be the death of you.' He immediately flogged the child again; and, in a quarter of an hour, it died.' One would imagine, that the most savage cruelty would here have been satiated; but, extraordinary as it might appear, of this detestable transaction, the most detestable part yet remained. After the infant was dead, he would not

suffer any of the people on deck to throw the body over, but called the wretched mother, to perform this last sad office to her murdered child. Unwilling as it might naturally be supposed she was to comply, he beat her till he made her take up the child and carry it to the side of the vessel, and then she dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way, that she might not see it!" Mr. Smith asked the committee of the House if ever they had heard of such a deed, *on which some of the inconsiderate laughed,* and on hearing it, he declared with great indignation, that he should not have thought it possible for any one man in that committee to have betrayed such a total want of feeling, and *that he was almost ashamed of being a member of the assembly, in which so disgraceful a circumstance had happened.*"

We were told by Sir S. Romilly (March 11th, 1818) that, "in the violence of party, cruelties which could not be heard without shuddering, had been treated in a British House of Commons with such levity, that it had been facetiously said, that the outcry which had been raised, was only *for a Catholic's having got a sore back.*"

When the question of abolishing the use of climbing boys in the sweeping of chimneys (*the white negro slaves of England,* as they are called by the Quarterly Review) was brought before the House of Lords in the present year, (1819,) accompanied with harrowing details of cruelty and suffering, Lord Lauderdale, who opposed the bill for their relief, got into a facetious mood, and put his brother peers in the same, by the following, among other appropriate and refined anecdotes: "In some parts of Ireland," the noble lord said, "it had been the practice, instead of employing climbing-boys, to tie a rope round the neck of a goose, and thus drag the bird up a chimney, which was cleaned by the fluttering of its wings. This practice so much interested the feelings of many persons, that, for the sake of protecting the goose, they were ready to give up all humanity towards other animals. A man in a country village having one day, according to the old custom, availed himself of the aid of a goose, was accused by his neighbours of inhumanity. In answer to the remonstrance of his accuser, he observed that he must have his chimney swept. Yes, replied the humane friend of the goose, to be sure you must sweep your chimney, but you cruel *baist* you, why dont you take two ducks, they will do the job as well." [*Laughing*].

Whoever was present in the gallery of the House of Commons, during the examination of Mrs. Clarke, in the affair of the Duke of York, can well remember the *sportfulness* of the House, exercised in loose allusions, and pushed, from time to time, to clamorous merriment. We have witnessed no such edifying spectacle, whether as to the cause or the effect, in the American congress. Before I finish with this

PART I. topic, I will offer one case more of parliamentary insensibility, which, together with what I have already produced, may soften the horror of the Quarterly Review at the occurrence of "one member's striking at another" in the American congress. I quote from the proceedings of the House of Commons for April 7th, 1819:—

Mr. Bennet said—

"That from the year 1781 to the year 1818, two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven women convicts, being in the proportion of one-seventh of the men transported during the same period, had been sent out of the country. Of two hundred and twenty women sent from the year 1816 to 1818, one hundred and twenty-one were sentenced to the limited term of seven years transportation. Few of these women ever returned. Their only means of returning was prostitution. Many of the convicts had received judgment for capital offences, and many for minor ones. Now the act of the 9th of the King, chap. 74, had been drawn up on the principle, that persons convicted of minor offences ought to be confined to penitentiaries, and not sent at a great expense to a distant settlement. A learned and distinguished judge had told him, that on the last circuit he was about to sentence a woman to be transported, when his resolution was changed by the clerk of the peace informing him that it was nearly impossible for women to return. No classification existed on board, but petty offenders were compelled to herd and associate with capital convicts and hardened delinquents. This appeared to him in the light of a gratuitous infliction of pain, which was unworthy of, and discreditable to, a great country. He must complain also of the manner in which women were brought from country gaols to one spot, for the purpose of being put on board the vessels destined for New South Wales. One unfortunate girl had been brought from Cambridge, so bound in chains that it was necessary to saw them asunder; and another girl from Carlisle, sent up in the same way, on the top of a coach, had had her child torn form her breast! When she was brought to Newgate, she was in the utmost state of torture. When once on board, no distinction was observed between the small and the great offender; the girl whose passion for finery had prompted her to commit a petty theft, was placed in the same bed with the shameless prostitute who robbed on system. He held in his hand a letter written by Mr. Marsden, Chaplain-general in New South Wales, and stating that promiscuous intercourse between the seamen and female convicts had prevailed on board a ship which had carried out a great number of women previously trained under the care of Mrs. Fry and others, to habits of morality and decorum.

"Whether the new system of this year, with respect to the regulations on board female convict ships, would be better than that of last year, he should not inquire; but he objected to a system under which, when the women arrived at New South Wales, they had no place where they could lay their heads."

Mr. Wilberforce said—"that in the present state of the colony, every fresh addition to the number transported, while there was no increase of accommodation, must add to the misery and vice of those who were at present there, besides plunging the new comers into the same wretched state."

"Mr. F. Buxton conceived that the case of the unfortunate female convicts deserved particular consideration. It already appeared that out of one hundred and sixty women employed in one manufactory, there were one hundred and twenty turned out every night, and obliged

to depend, not to say for comforts, but for necessaries, upon the casual wages of prostitution" SEC. VIII.

Mr. Bathurst (one of the ministry) said—"that before he examined the speech of the honourable mover, he should allude to the argument of his honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce), who had argued that no female convicts should be sent off until the report of the committee was made, and he supposed, till some regulation was founded upon it. Now, if this argument were followed out consistently, it would go much beyond the present motion, as it would apply not to one vessel, but to all convicts, male or female. But then it was argued by the honourable mover, that it was difficult to keep men, but that females might be *kept* with great convenience, &c." (*A laugh*).

SECTION IX.

OF THE EXISTENCE OF NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND OF THE BRITISH ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

PART I.

1. I HAVE reserved for the concluding section of this first part of my Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain, the topic of our negro slavery, the side on which we appear most vulnerable, and against which the reviewers have directed their fiercest attacks. With respect to their reproaches on all other grounds, enough, I think, has been adduced to show how strangely they have overlooked the lesson of the gospel —he that is without sin let him first cast the stone. They have aggravated the offence of malevolence by extreme folly, in selecting heads of accusation which may be retorted with complete success. This is as much the case in relation to the existence of domestic slavery among us, as in any other instance; and I shall not hesitate to avail myself on this occasion, as heretofore, of an error in reasoning, which springs as well from a corruption of political morals, as from an eclipse of the understanding. Of all Europeans, an Englishman is the one, who should have most cautiously abstained from venting reproaches, that brought Africa and the slave trade into view: If there is any nation upon which prudence and shame enjoined silence in regard to the negro bondage of these States, England is that nation; but it happens precisely as in all the other questions open to the most direct recrimination, that it is from her the loudest outcries and the sharpest upbraidings have come.

We experienced this particular injustice, even during our colonial dependence, while she was actively supplying us with slaves, and endeavouring by the most jealous precautions, to secure this favourite branch of her monopoly. Her writers drew invidious comparisons between the situation and prospects of the mother country and those of the continental colonies, founded upon the presence in the latter, of the multitude of blacks whose number and miseries she

was daily and forcibly augmenting. When her merchants and travellers returned from this reprobate land, they instituted similar contrasts; stigmatized the colonial slave-holders; and could not pardon the atrocity of retaining in bondage even the *white convicts* whom she had thrust into their hands. They spread, concerning the habitual state of the latter, as well as of the slaves, tales of horror, of the nature of which we may form some idea from the following passage, dated 1720, of the preface to Beverley's History of Virginia. "It hath been so represented to the common people of England as to make them believe, that the servants in Virginia are made to draw in cart and plow as the oxen do in England, and that the country turns all people black who go to live there; with other such prodigious phantasms." The worthy and intelligent historian, whose life had been spent in that colony, under circumstances the most favourable to extensive and accurate observation, bore a very different testimony, which may serve equally well for the present day—"I can assure with great truth that generally the slaves in Virginia, are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a day, as the husbandmen and day labourers in England; that no people more abhor the thoughts of cruel usage to servants than the Virginians."*

Since our independence, slave holding has seemed to be fairly let loose to the Briton for the purposes of self-congratulation, and of the execration of American existence; as if, indeed, England retained no longer a connexion with the West Indies; frequented no more the coast of Africa; and had actually "in the midst of her rottenness, torn off the manacles of slaves all over the world." The negro has invariably figured in the reports of the writers of that nation who have condescended to visit this country, as a "goblin damn'd;" he is the chief bugbear which Lord Sheffield set up, in 1784, to deter Irishmen from exchanging the blessings of their domestic condition, for the miseries of the American; which Fearon was instructed to put forward to correct that "most mischievous evil" the emigration of English artisans; and which Birbeck has employed to draw into his own neighbourhood in the Illinois, such of his countrymen as persist in seeking these shores, in spite of Lord Castlereagh, and of the effigies of that evil "which counterbalances all the excisemen, licensers, and tax-gatherers of England."

The Edinburgh Review having, in the 60th number, in the article on Birbeck's Travels, presented views tending to en-

* Book IV. c. x.

PART I. courage this disposition to emigrate, would seem to have discovered that it had gone too far, and suddenly resolved to counteract the effects of its first representations. This is the natural explanation of the patriotic mood in which we find it in the 61st number, where every thing in Britain is represented as inspiring confidence, and inviting contentment; while all in America is made to wear a sinister and repulsive aspect. The zeal of a proselyte is proverbially ardent. Having in a rapid evolution, set itself against emigration, this journal could, of course, "keep no measures" with negro-slavery in America. Here was the yawning gulph of crime and perdition, at which an Englishman should pause, as he was blindly rushing onward from the tax-gatherer, and the "menacing hydra (pauperism) that stalked over his native land." Better remain where he was, safe from the *demoralizing effects* of commanding slaves, and with the consolation at home, that he had "an inestimable parliament;" that "the next twenty years might bring a great deal of internal improvement;" that "the apprentice laws had been swept away," and "the strong fortress of bigotry rudely assailed." Care was taken at the same time not to inform him how large a portion of our vast country, is wholly without the institution of slavery; how small a part of our white population is indebted to the labour of slaves;—that considerably more than a moiety of our whole population, inhabiting distinct portions of territory, is altogether free from the reproach and the detriment of commanding slaves, while a great probability obtains that within "the next twenty years," no inconsiderable part of the remainder will enjoy the same exemption.

Nor were these considerations, or the facts which I propose presently to adduce, allowed to interfere with the design of a sweeping ban against the American people, which should put every Englishman in a better humour with the "rottenness" of England, by exhibiting her in contradistinction, as the tutelary genius of freedom, and the country after which he hankered, as marked with fouler stains, and doubly gangrened to the very core. I have already quoted literally the passage of the Review, which composes the grand arraignment, and will now repeat the several weighty allegations into which it is resolvable. They are as follows:—The institution of slavery is the foulest blot in the national character of America; its existence in her bosom is an atrocious crime—the consummation of wickedness, and admits of no sort of apology from her situation;—the American, generally, is a scourger and *murderer* of slaves, and therefore below the least and lowest of

the European nations in the scale of wisdom and virtue; and, above all, he sinks, on this account, immeasurably in the comparison with England, who, become the agent of universal emancipation, may challenge the world to decide which of the two people is the most liable to censure, upon a general consideration of their demerits. These propositions imply, and may be converted into, others of this purport—that America is chiefly to blame for the establishment and continuance of her negro slavery; that she could have suppressed it either before or since her independence, even with safety and ease; that it is a system of flagellation and murder, with which she is universally chargeable; that her congress has remained indifferent to its enormities; that on her own part it is incompatible with soundness of heart or understanding, and with the love or the possession of political freedom; that no nation of Europe, not the lowest and least, presents a similar or equally revolting spectacle of servitude; that England exhibits, within the pale of her power, a clear and glorious sunshine of personal liberty and security; that she is in no wise implicated in the guilt of the American; that her dispositions have always been benign, and her hands pure, in relation to the unhappy race, whom we conspire to oppress and exterminate; or at least, that if she has not always been busy in "tearing off their manacles," and assuaging their sorrows, if she has ever been taxable with a part of their wrongs, and stained with a *few drops* of their blood, she has, by her subsequent temper and conduct, purged away the taint, and made ample amends to them, and to the cause of justice and freedom.

America and Britain are here put at direct issue, on points which vitally affect national character; the American is cited, officiously and triumphantly, before the world, by a British literary tribunal on the Areopagus of Edinburgh, to measure himself upon them with the Briton. For the sake of historical truth, as well as for our own honour, and the repulse of arrogant and invasive pretensions, we are bound to appear, and answer in the best way we can, towards our own vindication, and the confusion of the aggressor. There is no keenness or latitude of retaliation which will appear excessive after such provocation; and indulgence will be readily granted, for the same reason, should details of fact be reproduced, either familiar to most readers, or harrowing for the feelings of humanity.

2. I am not sorry to have an opportunity, at length, of pleading the apology of the early American colonists, on a

PART I. score left untouched in the pages which I have devoted to them in particular. What then is the first general fact which offers itself in the question? It is this—that England, who had been actively, eagerly, engaged in the slave trade since the year 1562, herself supplied her North American colonists, from the outset, with negroes whom she sought, and seized, and manacled, on the coast of Africa, and dragged and sold into this continent. The *institution* of negro slavery, "the great curse of America," lies, indisputably, at her door. What was her motive? The alleviation of the lot of her sons whom she had driven into the distant wilderness? No British writer has counted so far upon the simplicity of mankind as to hazard this explanation. The motive was sheer love of gain; omniverous avarice; looking not merely to the immediate profit upon the cargo of human flesh, but to the greater, and permanent productiveness of the settlements whose staples were to be monopolized by the mother country.

Let it be conceded, that the colonists received the auxiliaries thus brought to their hands, and whom they durst not reject, without repugnance, perhaps with avidity. But, considering the nature of their respective motives and situation, does the guilt of the receiver in this case bear any proportion to that of the trader? Can the seduced be brought down, by any principle of reasoning, to the level of the seducer? If the colonists, the southern particularly, in a new climate noxious to the white labourer, but favourable to the African constitution; exposed to much physical suffering from other causes, and to so many additional influences depressing for the mind; liable to be called off from the culture of the soil by the irruptions of the savage native;—yielded to the temptation so immediate, of being relieved from the wasting labours of the field, and enabled to provide more effectually for their defence against the Indian;—if we suppose them even to have gone in quest of the negro slave, in a few instances, after the mother country had set them the example, and given them a taste of the relief which he could afford,—are they not to be considered quite as excusable as we can conceive men to be by any possibility, in any instance of the adoption of domestic servitude, or, indeed, of the commission of any wrong?

It is a contested point whether the constitution even of the *native* white is equal to the task of cultivating the earth successfully in our southern states, in the actual condition of its surface; but in the first century of settlement, when the forest was still to be felled, and the climate, more noxious in itself,

exercised a more fatal influence, the service of the negro was more important, and would naturally be thought indispensable by the colonists. SECT. IX.

This plea, too, may be urged for them, that, in common with the wisest men of the age, numbers believed slavery to be strictly lawful in itself, both according to natural and revealed religion. The same plea has, indeed, been advanced in favour of the slave-dealing nation; but, though we can suppose the conscience of the colonist, with the bible in his hands, to have remained at rest upon the mere purchase, and appropriation of the negro, at his door, with the mode of whose acquisition in Africa he was unacquainted, it is impossible to imagine so entire a perversion and torpor of human reason and feeling, as is implied by the supposition that the former, while exciting intestine wars in Africa, trepanning the unwary, tearing the native from the centre of the dearest ties, exercising, in short, the most nefarious arts, and fell cruelties, to secure the African victim, could remain insensible to the criminality of the pursuit. Another bondage, the guilt of which none have had the hardihood to palm upon the colonists, I mean that of men of their own colour and nation, objects, for the most part, of the injustice and vengeance of faction and bigotry in the mother country, tended to reconcile them the more to the subjection of the negro whom she taught them, at the same time, to regard as of an inferior species. In every way did she familiarize and train them to that institution which she now charges upon their descendants as "the consummation of wickedness."

3. It has been shown, in my second section, that the colonists became dissatisfied, at an early period, with the introduction of the British convicts among them, and endeavoured, though ineffectually, both by remonstrance and edicts, to arrest the practice. They conceived, also, before the expiration of the seventeenth century, both disgust and apprehension at the importation of the negro slaves, and took, with no better success, similar measures for its repression. Some few of the merchants of the northern colonies had embarked in the trade, and a comparatively small number of the victims was held in servitude there; but only a very short time elapsed, before scruples arose among the conscientious puritans and quakers, and the whole system fell into disrepute and reprobation. Clarkson has not been able to show for Great Britain, its chief patron and agent, so early and pointed an expression of just views and feelings on the subject, from any quarter, as is

PART I. found in the following facts, which I adduce upon the authority of public records, and in the language of Dr. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire:

"In 1645, the General Court of Massachusetts, which then exercised jurisdiction over the settlements at Pascataqua, 'thought proper to write to Mr. Williams, residing there, understanding that the *negroes* which a Captain Smyth had brought, were fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea, by Captain Smyth's confession, and the rest of the company—that he forthwith send the negro, which he had of Captain Smyth, hither; that he may be sent home; which the Court do resolve to send back without delay. And if you have any thing to allege, why you should not return him, to be disposed of by the Court, it will be expected you should forthwith make it appear, either by yourself or your agent.'"

About the same time, viz. 1645, a law was made, "prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes, by a judicial sentence; and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the law of Moses."

"Among the laws for punishing capital crimes, enacted in 1649, is the following—'10. If any man stealeth a man or mankind, he shall be surely put to death. Exodus, xxi. 16.'"*

In 1703, the legislature of Massachusetts imposed a heavy duty on every negro imported, for the payment of which both the vessel and master were answerable. In 1767, they made a more direct attempt to effect the object of that impost. A bill was brought into the House of Representatives "to prevent *the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind*, and the importation of slaves into the province." In its progress it was changed, in consequence of the utter improbability of the success of one of that scope, with the royal governor, into "an act for laying an impost on negroes imported." Even this was so metamorphosed and mutilated by the council, that the house refused to proceed in the business. It must have failed with the governor, had it passed both assemblies, and in whatever shape, as all the royal governors had it in express command from the British cabinet to reject all laws of that description. The original instructions, afterwards published, of the date of June 30th, 1761, to Benning J. Wentworth, Esquire, governor of New Hampshire, contained this clause—

* See the 4th vol. Massachusetts' Histor. Coll. for Dr. Belknap's account of Slavery in that province.

"You are not to give your assent to, or pass any law, imposing duties on negroes imported into New Hampshire."* SECT. IX.

The legislature of Massachusetts persisted, in defiance of the known policy of the British rulers; and in January, 1774, framed a bill, entitled "An act to prevent the importation of negroes, and others, as slaves into this province." It passed through all the forms in both houses, and was laid before governor Hutchinson, for his sanction. On the next day, the assembly received a harsh answer, and notice of prorogation. The negroes of the province had deputed a committee respectfully to solicit the governor's consent; he told them that *his instructions* forbade it. His successor, General Gage, when solicited in the same way, gave the same answer.

The courts of justice in Massachusetts went farther than the legislature. Several blacks sued their masters for their freedom, and for wages for past service, upon the grounds, that the royal charter expressly declared all persons born or residing in the province to be as free as the king's subjects residing in Great Britain; that by the laws of England no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers; that the laws of the province relating to an existing evil, and attempting to mitigate or regulate it, did not authorize it; that though the slavery of the parents should be admitted to be legal, yet no disability of the kind could descend to children. The first trial took place in 1770, and terminated in favour of the negroes. Other suits were instituted between that period and the revolution, and the juries invariably gave their verdict for the plaintiffs. The case of the negro Somerset has been the subject of unceasing boast and compliment for England. Yet, if we consider the circumstances on both sides, it must appear less creditable than the judgment of the Massachusetts court in 1770. The latter preceded the British decision by two years; it was given upon equally broad principles, in the midst of a long established practice of negro slavery; and in defiance of the system of the British colonial administration. We are told by Clarkson that, in 1768, an African slave prosecuted, in England, a person of the name of Newton, for kidnapping his wife, and sending her to the West Indies; and obtained no more, upon the conviction of the defendant, than *one shilling damages*, and an order for the restitution of the woman within six months; that, with respect to the doctrine of the immediate disenthralment of the African slave on his arrival in England,

* See Gordon, Hist. of Am. Rev. vol. v. letter 2.

PART I. Judge Blackstone discountenanced it when his opinion was sought by Granville Sharp; that no satisfactory answer could be obtained from the lawyers to whom this philanthropist applied; that Lord Mansfield wavered, or rather inclined to the adverse sentiment; and that, until the trial of the Somerset case, the great question had been studiously avoided.

Legislative proceedings in relation to the exclusion of slaves, similar to those of Massachusetts, are recorded in the annals of the other New England provinces. Pennsylvania and New Jersey trod in their footsteps, and early displayed a strong desire, arising from the same considerations, to plant an effectual barrier against the evil of continued importation; but their enactments were regularly overruled in England.*

The condition of the slaves, in all the provinces north of the Susquehannah, was more exempt from hardship and abjection than negro slavery had ever been known to be elsewhere, in modern times. In New England particularly, their lot was far from being severe. They were often bought by conscientious persons, for the purpose of being well instructed in the Christian religion. They had, universally, the enjoyment of the Sabbath as a day of rest or of devotion. No greater toil was exacted from them than from the white labourers, who worked in common with them. In the maritime towns, they served either in families, as domestics, or at mechanical employments; and in neither case did they fare worse than their white comrades. In the country, where they were much less numerous, altogether, and in no instance exceeded three or four in the hands of one proprietor, they lived as well as their masters, and not unfrequently sat down to the same table, as their emancipated brethren do at this day, in the interior of Pennsylvania, and the eastern states. For serious offences they were committed to the common houses of correction, to which disorderly persons of all colours were sent. To be sold to the West Indies, was the most formidable punishment, with which they could be threatened or visited.

Popular opinion early and spontaneously proscribed the slave trade; disgrace attached to the character of those who were engaged in it principally or ministerially; cases of seamen perishing by the homicidal climate of Guinea, or in contests with the natives; and of death-bed repentance at home, rendering audible and unequivocal the voice of conscience,

* The law of Pennsylvania, of 1728, imposing a duty upon the importation of negroes, allows a drawback on re-exportation.

confirmed the public antipathy. Had there been a general readiness to engage in the traffic, the opportunity could not have been found. The British merchants, and the Royal African Company in particular, which I shall mention further by and by, were too eager for the exclusive enjoyment, to allow the provincials to share in it in a material degree. The American vessels which appeared on the African coast, were regarded as interlopers, infringing a precious monopoly. The Reports of the "Proceedings in the House of Commons on the state of the African Company and of the Trade to Africa," inform us that "proofs were given by the Company of some ships trading directly from Virginia, and other parts of America, and disposing of their cargoes of tobacco and other commodities, the produce of that country, on the coast, and in return purchasing slaves and returning whence they came, under the suffrance or rather open toleration of the governors and other subordinate persons in command." This fact of the toleration of Americans was brought forward "to prove the injury the forts and governors were to the trade to Africa;" it being also in evidence that "the governors were all traders on their own account, or factors for principals in England, and endeavoured to forestall the market." In stating the value of the British exports to America, Lord Sheffield remarks, in his Observations, that there was to be added "between two and three hundred thousand pounds sterling, sent to Africa annually for the purchase of slaves which were chiefly imported by British merchants into the American provinces." But it is superfluous to adduce testimony of this kind, since no historical fact is more notorious, than that by far the greater portion of the negroes introduced into North America, was brought by British vessels, on account of British merchants, and under the special sanction of the British parliament.

4. If the government of the mother country, to favour the British trade with Africa, laboured to prevent the exclusion of negro slaves even from New Hampshire, its policy on this head would naturally be of a most determined and jealous character in reference to the southern provinces. The history of Virginia furnishes illustrations as creditable to her, as disgraceful to the British councils; and, though that history in general may never have been examined by the writers of the Edinburgh Review, they cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the following passage of Brougham's Colonial Policy.—"Every measure proposed by the Colonial Legislatures, that did not meet the entire concurrence of the British Cabinet,

PART I. was sure to be rejected, in the last instance, by the crown. In the colonies, the direct power of the crown, backed by all the resources of the mother country, prevents any measure obnoxious to the crown from being carried into effect, even by the unanimous efforts of the colonial legislature. If examples were required, we might refer to the history of the abolition of the slave trade in Virginia. A duty on the importation of negroes had been imposed, amounting to a prohibition. One assembly, induced by a temporary peculiarity of circumstances, repealed this law by a bill which received the immediate sanction of the crown. But never afterwards could the royal assent be obtained to a renewal of the duty, although as we are told by Mr. Jefferson, all manner of expedients were tried for this purpose, by almost every subsequent assembly that met under the colonial government. The very first assembly that met under the new constitution, finally prohibited the traffic."*

I have suggested the circumstances which would greatly extenuate any degree of eagerness, on the part of the first inhabitants of the southern provinces, in receiving the British slave ships. Whatever this may have been in Virginia, the opposite disposition certainly manifested itself in her legislature, before the expiration of the seventeenth century. The learned Judge Tucker, of that state, whose notes on the Commentaries of Blackstone are so highly and justly valued among us, furnishes a list of no less than twenty-three acts, imposing duties on slaves imported, which occur in the various compilations of Virginia laws. The first bears date in the year 1699; and the real design of all of them was, not revenue, but the repression of the importation. In general, the buyer was charged with the duty, in order to secure a better reception for the acts in England, and particularly to render them less obnoxious to the African Company. The royal assent was first obtained, not without great difficulty, to a duty of five per cent. in this shape. Requisitions for aids from the crown, on particular occasions, furnished pretexts for increasing the duty from five to ten, and finally to twenty per cent. In 1772, most of the duties previously imposed were re-enacted, and the assembly transmitted, at the same time, a petition to the throne, which speaks almost all that could be desired for the confusion of our slanderers. Judge Tucker has made the following extract from it, in his Appendix to the 1st vol. pt. 2. of Blackstone:—

* Book II. Sect. i.

"We are encouraged to look up to the throne, and implore your majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature."

"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, *hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement*, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions."

"We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects of Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies, with more *useful inhabitants*, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope, that the *interest of a few* will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects."

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to *remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of this colony*, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

The petition proved unavailing. In the first clause of the independent constitution of Virginia, "the inhuman use of the royal negative" in this matter, is enumerated among the reasons of the separation from the mother country. Mr. Burke, as we have seen in one of the quotations which I have made from his speech on the Conciliation with America, recognized her "refusal to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of the negro slaves, as one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain." I must claim permission to connect here with the petition, a statement subjoined to it by Judge Tucker, which shows that it did not cost the British government a moment's deliberation to sacrifice "the security and happiness of such numbers of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects" to "the interest of the few" in England. "I have lately been favoured with the perusal of a manuscript copy of a letter from Granville Sharp, Esq. of London, to a friend of the prime minister, dated March 25th, 1794, in which he speaks of the petition thus: "I myself was desired, by a letter from America, to inquire for an answer to this *extraordinary* Virginia petition. I waited on the Secretary of State, and was informed by himself that the petition *was received*, but that (he apprehended) *no answer would be given*."

That the *inclination* to impose the yoke of perpetual bondage on any part of their fellow creatures, if it ever existed

PART I. among the majority of the Virginia planters, soon subsided, is manifest from an act which is traced to 1662, declaring that "no *Englishman*, trader, or other, who should bring in any Indians as servants, and assign them over to any other, should sell them for *slaves*, nor for any other time than English of like age could serve by act of assembly." Thus early was the state of slavery prohibited, where it was not exacted by the higher authority: and the first opportunity was taken, after the declaration of independence, to extinguish the detestable commerce so long forced upon the province. In October, 1778, during the tumult and anxiety of revolution, the general assembly passed a law, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the further importation of slaves, and declaring that every slave imported thereafter, should be immediately free. The example of Virginia was followed at different times before the date of the federal constitution, by most of the other states.

While the mother country withheld from the provinces the power of arresting importation, and incessantly added to the number of the blacks, the abolition of slavery itself was wholly out of the question. It was rendered impossible for the southern colonists, consistently with their own preservation; and had it seemed practicable, and been attempted by any of the colonial legislatures, the royal negative would have been still more readily and vigorously exercised than in the case of importation. Even the West India Islands endeavoured, from time to time, to limit the importation of slaves into their ports; and were counteracted by the *African interest*, as it was called, in England. In 1744, the legislature of Jamaica laid duties amounting nearly to prohibition; in 1774, they made a similar experiment, alleging as their motive, the apprehension excited in the island by the numbers of the negroes imported; the merchants of England engaged in the trade, took the alarm on their side, petitioned against the duties, and obtained a royal order to the governor of Jamaica to discontinue the levy.

In the history of the relations of Great Britain with the American colonies in general, there is no circumstance more abundantly evidenced, than her steady determination to maintain her slave trade in the greatest activity and extent, whatever might be their feelings of disgust or apprehension; and however gloomy the aspect which the continuation of it gave to their destinies. Their permanent welfare, their immediate comfort, weighed as nothing in the balance with the prosperity of the Royal African Company, and the plenty of American products.

SECT. IX.

All that the English writers now pour forth about the intrinsic horrors and miseries of negro slavery; its obvious and certain destructiveness to the morals of the masters; and its equally manifest and inevitable tendency to quench the spirit of liberty, and banish social order and domestic peace; all, if we admit it to be true, recoils upon Great Britain, who, having these things before her eyes, yet, from the thirst of gain,—in order that her commerce and revenue should receive every possible increase—opened this even worse than Pandora's box, upon the race of her offspring in this hemisphere, and remorselessly continued to replenish it, in spite of their remonstrances and terrors, as long as they remained subject to her controul.

The act *which dissolved the indentures of servants enlisting in his majesty's service in America*, is the only one in the records of the British parliament, that looked to the "tearing off manacles" here. Not a single step was ever taken by the British government, towards the suppression or mitigation, of any form of bondage in the North American provinces.

5. From the facts which I have adduced, we may confidently infer, that the North American provinces would, but for the oppressive and avaricious opposition of the mother country, have put a stop to the importation of negroes at a much earlier period than the era of their independence. We may even believe, that, with their general dispositions and views, they would have gone further; since the multiplication of the slaves presented, next to the will of the British government, the most serious obstacle to abolition. We have scarcely room to doubt of the course which New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in particular, would have pursued, in their more favourable domestic situation, and under the influence of their more rigorous principles, had they been free to act as these must have prompted. As little doubt can be entertained, that, if their colonial connexion with Great Britain had continued, they would have been compelled to submit to the continuance of the evils in question.

The voice of religion and humanity crying out against the traffic in human flesh, was heard at an earlier period, and more distinctly, from the bosom of these colonies, than from any other part of the British dominions. Clarkson has narrated at large, in his History of the Abolition, the systematic efforts towards that end, of benevolent individuals on this side of the Atlantic. He was unacquainted with the pamphlet of George Keith, written before the end of the seventeenth century; but

PART I. he has celebrated the labours of Lay, Sandiford, Woolman, Benezet, and Rush. The Scottish critics might have learned from him, that the writings which gave the first impulse, and exerted the widest influence, in the cause which they have united with him in exalting to the skies, issued from this quarter;* that a numerous society devoted to that cause, and composed of men of all religious denominations, was organized here twelve years before any association for the same purpose had existed in England. There, a multitude of writers and speakers have contended for the *justice*, *humanity*, and *evangelical character* of the slave trade: here, we have had no instance of a formal vindication of it, in any shape. I have never heard of an American speech or pamphlet on the subject, that did not acknowledge its atrocity.

England renounced the slave trade on the 25th of March, 1807, by a law which enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the *1st of March*, 1808. She has claimed the merit of having set the example of this renunciation to the world. Lord Castlereagh boasted, in the House of Commons, on the 9th of February, 1818, that, on the subject of making the slave traffic punishable as a crime, Great Britain had led the way. Virginia was, however, a sovereign and independent state, when she abolished the traffic in 1778. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, had the same character, when they prohibited it to their citizens, in whatever degree or form, and under the severest penalties, in the years 1780, 1787, 1788. On *the 16th of March*, 1792, Denmark promulged a law on the subject of the slave trade, which provided for its total cessation on the part or in behalf of Danish subjects, at the beginning of the year 1803; and which prescribed that all importations of slaves into the Danish dominions should cease at the same period. This law was carried into complete execution, according to the letter, and has been faithfully observed. It established, besides, some very salutary regulations for the improvement of the mind, morals, and general condition of the blacks in the Danish Islands.

The American continental Congress, so called, passed a resolution against the purchase of slaves imported from Africa; and published an exhortation to the colonies to abandon the

* Scarcely any suggestion on the subject, of real importance, has been made in England, which is not to be found in Anthony Benezet's work, entitled "Some Historical Account of Guinea."

trade altogether. The third Congress of the United States, under the present federal constitution, prohibited the carrying on of the slave trade from our ports. But in order to show more fully, the grounds upon which the American government may contest the merit both of priority and zeal with the British, I will transcribe from the general index to the laws of the former, the abstract of what it had done in this respect, before the date of the British prohibition.

1. No citizens or others to build or fit out vessels, &c. to carry on the slave trade to or between foreign countries, &c.—Vessels fitted out, &c. to carry on the slave trade, to be forfeited, &c. (22d March, 1794.)
2. Two thousand dollars forfeit for persons fitting out vessels, or aiding, &c.
3. Owners, &c. of foreign vessels, suspected of intention to trade in slaves, &c. to give bond, &c.
4. Forfeit of two hundred dollars by citizens, for every person received on board for the purpose of being sold as a slave, &c. A moiety to the person suing, &c.
5. The importation of slaves into the Mississippi territory from foreign parts prohibited, under penalty of three hundred dollars for each one; and slaves imported entitled to freedom. (7th April, 1798.)
6. Citizens or residents prohibited from holding any right or property in vessels employed in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another, on pain of forfeiting their right of property, and also double the value of that right in money, and likewise double the value of the interest in the slaves.
7. Citizens or residents not to serve on board vessels of the United States employed in the transportation of slaves from one foreign country to another, &c. on pain of fine and *imprisonment*, &c. (10th May, 1800.)
8. Citizens voluntarily serving on board foreign ships employed in the slave trade, liable to disabilities, penalties, &c.
9. Commissioned vessels of the United States may seize vessels employed contrary to this act, &c.
10. Vessels seized for trading in slaves, contrary to this act, together with tackle, guns, goods on board, &c. except slaves, forfeited, &c.
11. Commanders of commissioned vessels to take officers and crews of vessels employed contrary to this act, &c. into custody, &c.
12. District and circuit courts to have cognizance of offences against the prohibitions of this act.
13. Nothing in this act to authorize the bringing into any state prohibited persons.
14. A moiety of forfeitures to informers, except where the prosecution is first instituted on behalf of the United States.
15. After the 1st of April, 1803, masters of vessels not to bring into any port, where the laws of a state prohibit the importation, any negro, mulatto, &c. not a native, a citizen, registered seaman, &c. under the penalty of one thousand dollars. (28th Feb. 1803.)
16. The persons sued under this act, may be held to special bail.
17. Nothing in this act to prohibit the admission of Indians.
18. Vessels arriving with negroes, mulattoes, or other prohibited persons on board, not to be admitted to entry, &c.
19. If any negro, &c. be landed in any prohibited port or place, &c. the vessel, &c, to be forfeited: A moiety of the forfeiture to the informer.
20. The officers of the customs to notice and be governed by, the laws of states prohibiting the admission of negroes, &c. and vigilantly to carry them into effect, &c.

PART I.

21. The importation of slaves prohibited after the 1st of January, 1808. (2d March, 1807.)
22. Vessels fitted out or sailing, after the 1st of January, 1808, for the purpose of transporting slaves to any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, may be seized, condemned, &c. in any of the circuit or district courts, for the districts where the vessels may be found or seized.
23. Persons fitting out vessels, &c. to be employed in the slave trade, after the 1st of January, 1808, or aiding or abetting, &c. to forfeit severally, twenty thousand dollars.—A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting.
24. Five thousand dollars forfeit for taking on board from any of the coasts or kingdoms of Africa, after the 1st of January, 1808, any negro, mulatto, &c. for the purpose of selling them as slaves within the jurisdiction of the United States, &c.—A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting, &c.
25. Vessels in which negroes, &c. have been transported, their tackle, apparel, &c. to be forfeited, &c.
26. Neither the importer, nor persons claiming under him, to hold any right to any negro, &c. brought within the United States, &c. in violation of this law, but such negro, &c. to remain subject to the regulations of the legislatures of the several states, &c.
27. Citizens or residents taking on board, after the 1st of January, 1808, from the coasts or kingdoms of Africa, &c. any negro, mulatto, &c. and transporting and selling them within the jurisdiction of the United States, as slaves, &c. *to suffer imprisonment from five to ten years*, and pay a fine, from one to ten thousand dollars.
28. Forfeit of eight hundred dollars for selling any negro, &c. imported from any foreign kingdom, &c. after the 31st of December, 1807, &c A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting, &c.—The forfeiture not to extend to the seller or purchaser of any negro, &c. disposed of by virtue of any regulations of the legislatures of the several states, in pursuance of this act and the constitution of the United States.
29. Vessels found, after the 1st of January, 1808, in any river, port, bay, &c. within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, &c. having on board any negro, &c. for the purpose of selling them as slaves, &c. to be forfeited, together with their tackle, goods on board, &c.
30. The president may employ armed vessels to cruize on any part of the coast where he may judge attempts will be made to violate this act, and instruct commanders of armed vessels to seize and bring in vessels found on the high seas contravening the provisions of this law, &c.—Masters of vessels seized, &c. liable to prosecution, and to a fine, not exceeding ten thousand dollars, and *to imprisonment from two to four years.*—The proceeds of vessels, &c. seized, prosecuted, and condemned, to be divided equally between the United States and the officers and men, &c. whether of the navy or revenue cutters, and distributed as in the case of prizes, &c. The officers and men thus entitled are to safe keep every negro, mulatto, &c, and deliver them to persons appointed to receive them, &c.
31. Masters of vessels of less than forty tons burden, not to take on board, after the 1st of January, 1808, nor transport, any negro, &c. to any port or place whatever, for the purpose of disposing of him as a slave, on penalty of forfeiting eight hundred dollars.—A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting, &c.—But nothing in this section to prohibit the transporting, on any river or inland bay of the sea, within the jurisdiction of the United States, any negro, &c. not imported contrary to the provisions of this act, in any vessel or species of craft whatever.

32. Masters of vessels, of the burden of forty tons or more, after the 1st of January, 1808, sailing coastwise, &c. and having on board any negro, &c. to be transported and sold as slaves, &c. to make out and subscribe duplicate manifests of every negro, &c. and deliver the manifests to the collector or surveyor, &c. The master, owner, &c. to swear that the persons were not imported after the 1st of January, 1808, &c. —The collector or surveyor to certify, &c. grant a permit to proceed, &c.

33. Vessels departing without the master's having made out and subscribed duplicate manifests of every negro, &c. on board, &c. or taking on board any other negro, &c. than those specified in the manifests, to be forfeited, together with tackle, apparel, &c.

34. The master, &c. to forfeit one thousand dollars for every negro, &c. transported, &c. contrary to this act.—A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting, &c.

35. The master, &c. of every vessel of forty tons or more, sailing coastwise after the 1st of January, 1808, and having on board any negro, &c. to sell, &c. arriving in one port of the United States from another, to deliver the certified manifest, &c. and swear to the truth of it, &c. —If the collector, &c. is satisfied, &c. he is to grant a permit for the landing of the negro, &c.

36. Masters, &c. neglecting or refusing to deliver the manifests, or landing any negro, &c. before delivering manifests, &c. to forfeit ten thousand dollars.—A moiety of the forfeiture to the person prosecuting, &c.

It is seen by the foregoing abstract, that federal America interdicted the trade from her ports, thirteen years before Great Britain; that she made "it punishable as a crime," seven years before; that she fixed, four years sooner, the period for non-importation—which period was earlier than that determined upon by Great Britain for her colonies. We ought not to overlook the circumstance, that these measures were taken, by a legislature composed in considerable part, of the representatives of slave-holding states; slave-holders themselves, in whom, of course, according to the doctrine of the Edinburgh Review, conscience had "suspended its functions," and "justice, gentleness, and pity" were extinguished. What are we to think of the British parliament, which suffered itself to be outstripped thus by such men? and when would it have abolished the trade, had it contained an equal proportion of slave-holders from the West Indies?*

In truth, the representatives from our southern states have been foremost in testifying their abhorrence of the traffic; an abhorrence springing from a deep sense not merely of its iniquity, but of the magnitude of the evil which it has entailed upon their country. It was only at the last session of the

* Mr. Pitt said (1792) that the "Parliament being now fully convinced of the cruelty and injustice of the slave trade, it was their duty to put an end to it. Were the West India planters to be consulted they might think differently," &c. (Parliamentary History.)

PART I. American Congress (March 1st, 1819) that a member from Virginia proposed the following regulation, to which the House of Representatives agreed without a division.—"Every person who shall import into the United States, or knowingly aid or abet the importation into the United States, of any African negro, or other person, with intent to sell or use such negro or other person, as a slave, or shall purchase any such slave, knowing him or her to be thus imported, shall, on conviction thereof, in any circuit court of the United States, *be punished with death.*" The rarity of capital punishment in the penal code of the United States, and the extreme aversion from a recourse to it, universally prevailing, make this instance a potent proof, of the sincerity of the dispositions, which we profess respecting the slave trade. Additional evidence not less striking, is afforded by the act which passed and became a law at the same time, and of which the printed abstract is as follows:

"1. An act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade. (3d March, 1819.)

"The president may employ the armed vessels of the United States to cruise on the American coast, or coast of Africa, to enforce the acts of congress prohibiting the slave trade. Vessels employed, contrary to law, in the traffic of slaves, may be seized by the armed vessels, and brought into port. The proceeds to be equally divided between the United States and the captors, whether by an armed vessel or revenue cutter. The captors to safe keep and deliver the negroes, &c. to the marshal, &c. transmitting a descriptive list to the president; and the commanders are to apprehend every person found on board the offending vessels, being officers and crew, and deliver them over to the civil authority. The president to make regulations for the safe keeping, support, and removal out of the United States, of the negroes, &c. delivered and brought within their jurisdiction, and may appoint agents on the coast of Africa, to receive negroes, &c. A bounty of twenty-five dollars to the officers and crews of commissioned vessels and revenue cutters, for every negro, &c. delivered to the marshal, &c. Prosecution, by information, against persons holding negroes, &c. unlawfully introduced. Fifty dollars to informant for each negro, &c. thus delivered to the marshal from the unlawful holder, by judgment of the court, besides the usual penalties."

6. If there be any two pieces of history which Great Britain should wish to see extinguished, in particular, they are the accounts of the African slave trade itself, and of her abo-

lition of that trade. Clarkson's relation of the Abolition is a memorial which, though it has left nothing that is any way creditable in the progress of the affair, unemblazoned, and magnifies inordinately the lustre and utility of the result, still presents a balance of infamy, which, in my opinion, renders it desirable that the whole were expunged, for the honour of human nature. The enormity of the system of crime and cruelty which he lays open; the hardened depravity of the sea-ports which he visited; the pusillanimity and prevarication of witnesses; the effrontery and security of culprits; the mean and wicked arts practised by the highest and the lowest of the kingdom, to defeat his purpose; the long resistance of parliament, after the fullest proof of the facts; the tenor of the speeches delivered there by some of the members in opposition; and many other similar traits salient in his book, are far from being redeemed by the act of abolition, especially when attention is given to some of the grounds upon which it was obtained, and to the sequel, which I propose to notice in due time. We Americans would trust it to the bitterest enemy of these States, to deduce a narrative of their abolition of the traffic; challenge him to lay on what colours he pleased; and, provided he would take the facts as his ground work, remain assured that while the world possessed Clarkson's work, we could but rise in its estimation.

As a general proposition, it is undeniable, that the nation which wrested the African from his home, and sold him into perpetual bondage, is as criminal at least, as those by whom he was purchased, and who may have retained him in that state: It is no less evident, that after having thrown millions of negroes into one quarter of the world, and reaped the profits of the horrible traffic, it is not for her to upbraid the purchasers for using their bargain, and to summon them, in the name of justice, humanity, and natural rights, to relinquish at once their hold, at whatever loss and risk to themselves. Yet this is what is done towards the Americans, by the writers of the Edinburgh Review, in their character of Britons, and upon the foundation of the British abolition of the slave trade. It is therefore fair to pass in review the facts which go to show, that they have no such privilege, but are obnoxious to the maxims which I have just stated.

The English embarked in the slave trade in the year 1562. In that year they carried slaves to Hispaniola; and the first cargo was obtained with circumstances of abominable fraud.*

* See the History of Hawkins's Voyage in Hackluyt's Collection, or in the 4th Book, c. ii. of Edwards's History of the West Indies. Haw-

PART I. It proved lucrative, and immediately, associations were formed in England, among the most opulent and distinguished men of the country, to follow up the adventure. Soon, the object began to be considered as of national importance, and so early as the 16th of James I. a royal charter was granted to a number of eminent citizens of London, as a joint stock company, to carry on a trade to Africa, with an exclusive privilege. The private merchants, envious of the harvest which seemed to await the company, interloped upon the African coast, and so embarrassed the trade that the charter was abandoned. Another company was created by Charles I.; but it shared the same fate, from the same cause,—the cupidity and misconduct of the unlicensed adventurers. "On the accession of Charles II." says Davenant,* "a representation being soon made to him, that the British plantations in America were, by degrees, advancing to such a condition as necessarily required a greater yearly supply of servants and labourers than could well be spared from England, without the danger of depopulating his majesty's native dominions, his majesty did (*upon account of supplying these plantations with negroes*) publicly invite all his subjects to the subscription of a new joint stock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to Africa."

His majesty's subjects obeyed the call with alacrity; and some of the most imposing names of the kingdom appear at the head of the ample subscription list. But poachers swarmed again, and pleaded *their natural right*, and parliament found it expedient, in 1697, to lay open the trade for a term of years. The recrimination between the privileged and the interloping traders, unfolds abuses and enormities committed before the commencement of the 18th century, similar to those which were proved to parliament, when the question of abolition was agitated. It would be needless for me to detail the progress of the African trade to the highest consideration and favour with the government; the contest maintained with the commercial nations of the continent for the monopoly of that

kins was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Treasurer of the Navy. "The success which attended the first expedition to Guinea," says Edwards, "appears to have attracted the notice and excited the avarice of the British government. We find Hawkins in the following year, appointed to the command of one of the queen's ships, the *Jesus*, of 700 tons, and with the *Solomon*, the *Tiger*, and the Swallow, sent a second time on the same trading expedition. In regard to Hawkins, he was, I admit, a Murderer and a Robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guinea was to seize by stratagem, or force, and carry away the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves, &c."

* Reflections on the African Trade, vol. v. of his Works.

trade, and the successful advances made to this "consummation of wickedness." Factories were formed on the African coast; forts built; grants of money obtained from parliament;* and in the year 1792, twenty-six acts of that body, encouraging and sanctioning the trade, could be enumerated by its friends.

In the year 1689, England made a regular convention with Spain, for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negro slaves from the island of Jamaica. The twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht (1713) "grants to her Britannic majesty and to the company of her subjects appointed for that purpose (the South Sea Company)—as well the subjects of Spain as all others being excluded—the contract for introducing negroes into several parts of the dominions of his Catholic majesty in America (commonly called *El pacto de el assiento de negros*) at the rate of 4,800 negroes yearly, for the space of thirty years successively."

To this compact there have been two pointed references of late in the British parliament, which I will repeat here in further explanation of its character. "By the treaty of Utrecht," said Mr. Brougham (16th June, 1812) "which the execrations of ages have left inadequately censured, Great Britain was content to obtain, as the whole price of Ramillies and Blenheim, an additional share of the accursed slave trade."

Mr. C. Grant, jun. said (Feb. 9th, 1818) "that in the beginning of the last century, we deemed it a great advantage to obtain by the Assiento contract, the right of supplying with slaves the possessions of that very power which we were now paying for abolishing the trade. During the negociations which preceded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, we higgled for four years longer of this exclusive trade; and in the treaty of Madrid, we clung to the last remains of the Assiento contract."

By degrees the English merchants engrossed permanently two-thirds of the whole African exportation, and became the carriers for the European world. They either supplied the French Islands directly, or served as the factors of the French trader on the coast of Africa. They occasionally freighted their ships to France, to be manned and equipped in the French ports. They stocked Trinidad, and the province of Caraccas, by contract with the Spanish government; and, in the years 1786 and 1788, the Havannah. The Philippine

* From 1739 to 1744, it annually voted to the African company 10,000*l.* sterling, to pay their debts; in 1744, the grant was doubled by reason of the war with France and Spain.

PART I. Company of Spain, when invested with the privilege of importing slaves into South America, employed, by contract, British vessels, manned by British seamen. The re-exportation from the British West Indies, for double profit, was so far encouraged, that by the West India free port act of 1766, foreign vessels were allowed to carry from the free ports, negroes imported in British ships. England established a higher reputation than any other power for skill in the management of the trade, and in the choice and preparation of the articles of barter. Among her chief exports to Africa were British spirits, rum and brandy, guns, cutlasses, and ammunition. Of three millions of pounds of gunpowder, which she exported in one year, one half was sent to the West Coast alone; and, as I have already had occasion to remark, several thousand persons were exclusively employed in Birmingham, in manufacturing guns for that market. In a Report of the Board of Trade dated 1775, stress is laid upon the necessity of encouraging the trade of fire-arms to Africa.

England employed from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ships in the slave trade, and carried off, on the average, forty thousand negroes annually; at times one half more, in the year. In 1768, the number which she took from the coast between Cape Blanco and the Rio Congo, reached 59,400, more than double the share that fell to all the other traders. Mr. Pitt said, in 1792, that Jamaica had imported one hundred and fifty thousand negroes in the course of twenty years, and that this was admitted to be only one-tenth of the traffic. Mr. Dundas said, on the same occasion, that, "in 1791, the whole British importation consisted of 74,000, not less than 34,000 of which were exported for the service of foreign nations."

The Parliamentary Report of 1789, on the slave trade, states, that the whole number of negroes brought to Jamaica from the year 1655 to 1787, amounted to 676,276, of whom 31,181 died in the harbour, *from the noxious quality of the drugs employed in making them up for sale.* The Edinburgh Review made the following statements in the years 1805 and 1806.

"Before the American war, the Dutch used to carry, in their own bottoms, from Africa to Guiana, ten thousand negroes annually; and it is proved, by papers laid before parliament, but which, we believe, have not yet been printed, that this importation was greatly increased during the last war, when those possessions were in the hands of Great Britain. It is certainly not over-rating its present amount, to

estimate the yearly supply of negroes carried to our conquered colonies at fifteen thousand,—about one half the supply of our own islands, which is the subject of the abolition question."*

"The 38,000 slaves exported annually from Africa in British vessels, are only in a small proportion destined for the use of the colonies; above 22,000 are stated by the friends of the trade to be intended for the foreign settlements. To this must be added a large number of slaves carried by British vessels under cover of a neutral flag. From certain documents which we have had an opportunity of consulting, we cannot estimate these at less than 8000; and the supply of the conquered colonies considerably exceeds 10,000 annually."†

Authority is to be found for much higher estimates than these. I take the following from Anthony Benezet's Historical Account of the Slave Trade.

"In a book printed in Liverpool, called, The Liverpool Memorandum, which contains, amongst other things, an account of the trade of that port, there is an exact list of the vessels employed in the Guinea trade, and of the number of slaves imported in each vessel; by which it appears, that in the year 1753, the number imported to America by one hundred and one vessels belonging to that port, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand, and from the number of vessels employed by the African company, in London and Bristol, we may, with some degree of certainty, conclude, there are one hundred thousand negroes purchased and brought on board our ships yearly from the coast of Africa. This is confirmed in Anderson's History of Trade and Commerce, lately printed; where it is said, "that England supplies her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to above one hundred thousand every year." When the vessels are full freighted with slaves, they sail for our plantations in America, and may be two or three months in the voyage, during which time, from the filth and stench that is among them, distempers frequently break out, which carry off commonly a fifth, a fourth, yea sometimes a third or more of them: so that taking all the slaves together, that are brought on board our ships yearly, one may reasonably suppose that at least ten thousand of them die on the voyage. And in a printed account of the state of the negroes, in our plantations, it is supposed that a fourth part more or less die at the different islands, in what is

* No. 13 † No. 16.

PART I. called the seasoning. Hence it may be presumed, that at a moderate computation of slaves who are purchased by our African merchants in a year, near thirty thousand die upon the voyage and in the seasoning. Add to this, the prodigious number who are killed in the incursions and intestine wars by which negroes procure the number of slaves wanted to load the vessels."

The Edinburgh Review has declared that England is the nation which "had most extensively pursued and most solemnly authorized the slave trade;" that she had been "principally instrumental in barring out from benighted Africa the blessings of christianity and the comforts of civilization;" that it is she who had "checked or rather blasted in its bud the improvement of the African continent." The same strain is familiar in the speeches of Fox and Wilberforce. The latter reminded his countrymen, in 1814, in parliament, that they had enjoyed the largest share of the guilty profits of the slave trade. Mr. Pitt declared in 1792, that parliament ought to consider themselves as the authors of it. His more emphatical language of the year preceding is recorded by Clarkson—"The truth is, there is no nation in Europe which has plunged so deeply into this guilt as Britain. *We* stopped the natural progress of civilization in Africa. *We* cut her off from the opportunity of improvement. *We* kept her down in a state of darkness, bondage, ignorance, and bloodshed. We have there subverted the whole order of nature; we have aggravated every natural barbarity, and furnished to every man motives for committing under the name of trade, acts of perpetual hostility and perfidy against his neighbour. Thus had the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe. False to the very principles of trade, unmindful of our duty, what almost irreparable mischief had we done to that continent! We had obtained as yet only so much knowledge of its productions as to show, that there was a capacity for trade, which we checked." That capacity was, indeed, checked, not incidentally alone, but directly; for, in order to obviate all obstruction to the slave trade, pains were taken to prevent the Africans from cultivating with success, the staples of their soil,—cotton, tobacco, sugar, and indigo. In this point, the English were, as in all others, pre-eminently culpable, since the number of forts which they possessed along the coast, with districts round each of them, afforded them better means, than any other European nation possessed, of giving the natives a taste for agriculture and the true objects of commerce.

7. The general character of the British slave trade has been so pourtrayed by the highest and ablest men of the British nation, that in describing it, I am supplied, in their language, with the strongest which I could wish to employ. The sufficiency of the following testimony will hardly be questioned. In the Debate on the Abolition in the year 1792, Mr. Wilberforce said, "that of all the trades that disgraced human beings, this was the very worst. In others, however infamous, there were traits of something like humanity, but in this there was a total absence of them. It was a scene of uniform, unadulterated, unsophisticated wickedness; never was there a system so big with wickedness and cruelty." In the same debate, Mr. Beaufoy said—

"Who does not recollect, that, by the evidence which the slave merchants themselves have given at your bar, it appears, that such, on board an African vessel, is the rate of mortality, that if the march of death were the same in the world at large, the whole human race would be extinguished in fourteen years, and the earth itself be converted into one vast charnel house. Show me a crime of any sort, and in the slave trade I will show you that crime in a state of tenfold aggravation. Give me an instance of guilt atrocious and abhorred, and the slave trade will exhibit instances of that guilt, more inveterate, more strongly rooted in all, diffusing a more malignant poison, and spreading a deeper horror. All other injustice, all other modes of desolating nature, of blasting the happiness of man, and defeating the purposes of God, lose, in comparison with this, their very name and character of evil. Their taint is too mild to disgust, their deformity is too slight to offend. The shrieks of solitary murder; what are they, when compared with the sounds of horror that daily and nightly ascend from the hatchway of the slave ship! I have heard of the cruelties of the Inquisitions of Portugal and Spain; but what is their scanty account of blood, when compared with that sweep of death, that boundless desolation which accompanies the negro traffic! Superstition has been called man's chief destroyer; but superstition herself is less obdurate, less persevering, less stedfast in her cruelty, than this cool, reflecting, deliberate, remorseless commerce."

In the debate of 1807, Sir Samuel Romilly said, "The cruelty and injustice of the slave trade had been established beyond a doubt. It had been shown to be carried on by rapine and robbery and murder; by fomenting and encouraging wars; by false accusations and imaginary crimes. The unhappy victims were torn away not only in the time of war,

PART I. but of profound peace. They were then carried across the Atlantic in a manner too horrible to describe, and afterwards subjected to perpetual slavery."

Lord Henry Petty said, "The slave trade produced in Africa, fraud and violence, robbery, and murder. It gave birth to false accusations and a mockery of justice. It was the parent of every crime that could at once degrade and afflict the human race. After spreading vice and misery all over a continent, it doomed its unhappy victims to hardships and cruelties which were worse than death. Cruelty begat cruelty: the system, wicked in its beginning, was equally so in its progress," &c.

The tone of the Edinburgh Reviewers has been in unison with that of the eloquent members of parliament. They have described the trade as "one long continuous crime involving every possible definition of evil; combining the wildest physical suffering with the most atrocious moral depravity;" as one "which condemned a whole quarter of the world to unceasing and ferocious warfare; which annually exterminated more than fell during the bloodiest campaigns of European hostility; which regularly transported every six months, in circumstances of unparalleled affliction, more innocent persons than suffer in a century from the oppression of all the tyrannies in the world." In the 24th number of the Review, a picture was presented so hideous and so faithful, that the recollection of it would seem sufficient to have stayed any hand from hazarding, in the same frame, a comparison between the humanity of England and that of any other nation, in reference to the sons of Africa.

"The history of the slave trade is the history of a war of more than two centuries, waged by men against human nature; a war too, carried on, not by ignorance and barbarism against knowledge and civilization; not by half famished multitudes against a race blessed with all the arts of life, and softened and effeminated by luxury; but, as some strange nondescript in iniquity, waged by unprovoked strength against uninjuring helplessness, and with all the powers which long periods of security and equal law had enabled the assailants to develop,—in order to make barbarism more barbarous, and to add to the want of political freedom the most dreadful and debasing personal suffering. Thus all the effects and influences of freedom were employed to enslave; the gifts of knowledge to prevent the possibility of illumination; and powers, which could not have existed but in consequence of morality and religion, to perpetuate the sensual vices, and to

ward off the emancipating blow of Christianity; and, as if this were not enough, positive laws were added by the *best* and freest nation of christendom, and powers entrusted to the basest part of its population, for purposes which would almost necessarily make the best men become the worst." SECT. IX.

8. However strong these general representations, they are more than confirmed, by the details of which the world had the fullest proof. It was remarked with great truth by Mr. William Smith in the debate of 1792, in the House of Commons, that numberless facts had been related by eye witnesses, to Parliament, so dreadfully atrocious, that the very magnitude of the crimes rendered them incredible to others. I will select some of the particular features in the character of the trade, and a few of the single incidents, as they were related in Parliament, upon such evidence as no longer to admit of contradiction. Mr. Wilberforce said, " it was well known that it was customary to set fire to whole villages in Africa, for the purpose of throwing the inhabitants into confusion, and taking them as they fled from the flames. Every possible fraud was put in practice to deceive the ignorance of the natives, by false weights and measures, adulterated commodities, and other impositions of the sort."

" On the windward coast an agent was sent to establish a settlement in the interior country, and to send down to the ships such slaves as he might be able to obtain; the orders he received from his captain were a very model of conciseness and perspicuity; ' he was to encourage the chieftains, by brandy and gunpowder, to go to war, and make slaves.' He punctually performed his part, the chieftains were not backward on theirs; the neighbouring villages were ransacked, being surrounded and set on fire in the night; their inhabitants were seized when making their escape, and being brought to the agent, were by him forwarded, men, women, and children, to his principal on the coast. Mr. How, a botanist, who, in the service of government, visited that country with captain Thomson, gave in evidence, that being at one of the subordinate settlements on the Gold Coast, on the arrival of an order for slaves from Cape Coast Castle, the native chief immediately sent forth his armed parties, who, in the night, brought in a supply of all descriptions, and the necessary assortment was next day sent off, according to the order. The wide extent of the African coast furnished but one uniform detail of similar instances of barbarity."

" The exciting of wars," added the same speaker, " between neighbouring states, is almost the slightest of the evils

PART I. Africa is doomed to suffer from this trade. Still more intolerable are those acts of outrage which we are continually stimulating the kings to commit on their own subjects. A chieftain, to procure the articles for the gratification of appetites which we have diligently and too successfully taught them to indulge, being too weak or too timid to attack his neighbours, sends a party of soldiers by night to one of his own defenceless villages; they set fire to it, and hurry the inhabitants to the ships of the traders, who, hovering like vultures over these scenes of carnage, are ever ready for their prey. We are perpetually told of villages half consumed, and bearing every mark of recent destruction. Whithersoever a man goes, be it to the watering place or to the field, he is not safe. He can never quit his house without fear of being carried off by fraud or by force. When the chieftains are going up the country to make war in order to procure slaves, they are supplied with muskets and cutlasses by the traders."

Mr. Pitt said on the same occasion—"Can we hesitate in deciding whether the wars in Africa are their wars or ours. It was our arms in the river Cameroon put into the hands of the negro trader, that furnished him with the means of pushing his trade, and I have no more doubt they are British arms put into the hands of Africans, which promote universal war and desolation, than I can doubt of their having done so, in that individual instance."

Mr. Wilberforce related that in the year 1789, in the neighbourhood of the river Cameroon, the master of a Liverpool ship of the name of Bibby, fraudulently carried off thirty-two relations of one of the chiefs of the country, who had been put on board as pledges for goods: and to illustrate the familiarity of the practice, he quoted the following anecdote. "When General Rooke commanded in his majesty's settlement at Goree, some of the subjects of a neighbouring king, with whom he was on terms of amity, came to pay him a friendly visit; there were from 100 to 150 of them, men, women, and children; all was gaiety and merriment, it was a scene to gladden the saddest, and to soften the hardest heart: but a slave captain, ever faithful to the interest of his employers, is not so soon thrown off his guard; with what astonishment would the House hear, that in the midst of this festivity, it was proposed to general Rooke to seize the whole of this unsuspecting multitude, hurry them on board the ships, and carry them off to the West Indies. It was not merely one man, but three, who were bold enough to venture on such a

proposal. Three English slave captains preferred it as their joint request, *alleging the precedent of a former governor, who in a similar case, had consented!*" &c.

One more of the numberless authenticated occurrences of this nature, will suffice. "Mr. Wilberforce said that these enormities were increasing; for, no longer ago than last August, (1791) when that House was debating on the subject of this very trade, six British vessels had anchored off the town of Calabar, in Africa, a town which seemed devoted to misfortune. It appeared, from the report, that the natives had raised the price of slaves. The captains consulting together, agreed to fire on the town, to compel them to lower the price of their countrymen. To heighten, if possible, the shame of this proceeding, they were prevented for some time, from effecting their purpose, by the presence of a French captain, who refused to join in their measures, and purchased at the high price which had been put upon the slaves."

"However, in the morning they commenced a fire which lasted for three hours. During the consternation, the wretched inhabitants were seen making their escape in every direction. In the evening, the attack was renewed, which continued until they agreed to sell their slaves at the price stipulated by the captains. In this attack upwards of twenty persons were destroyed."

The situation of the slaves on board ship, or what is commonly called *the middle passage*, even surpassed in horror the depravity and cruelty exhibited in the original acquisition. Lord Grenville declared in 1806, in the House of Lords, "that in the transportation of the negroes, there was a greater portion of misery condensed within a smaller space, than had ever existed in the known world. This he had said on a former occasion, and would repeat." Mr. Fox observed, in the House of Commons, that "the acts of barbarity, proved upon the slave captains in the course of the voyages, were so extravagant that they had been attributed to insanity." The single instance of the British ship Zong, in 1781, from which the captain threw into the sea one hundred and thirty-two slaves, alive, in order to defraud the underwriters in England, gives a truly demoniac character to the temper and conduct of the commanders of the slave ships. The assertion of Lord Grenville, just quoted, would seem to be warranted by the facts which were in undeniable evidence before the committees of Parliament. With respect to the middle passage—apart from the administration of the ship's officers, still more barbarous, than the situation was deplorable,—the principal features of

PART I. it are these, according to the testimony of witnesses produced on the side of the trade.

Every slave, whatever his size might be, had only five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, to lie in. The floor was covered with bodies stowed or packed according to this allowance. But between the floor and the deck or ceiling were platforms, or broad shelves, in the midway, which were covered with bodies also. The height from the floor to the ceiling, within which space the bodies on the floor and those on the platforms lay, seldom exceeded five feet two inches, and in some cases it did not exceed four feet.

The men were chained, two and two together, by their hands and feet, and were chained also by means of ring-bolts which were fastened to the deck. They were confined in this manner at least all the time they remained upon the coast, which was from six weeks to six months, as it might happen Their allowance consisted of one pint of water a day to each person, and they were fed twice a day with yams and horse-beans. Instruments were kept on board to force them to eat, when sulky.

After meals, they jumped up in their irons for exercise. This was so necessary for their health that they were whipped if they refused to do it, and often danced thus under the lash. They were usually fifteen or sixteen hours below deck out of twenty-four. In rainy weather they could not be brought up for two or three days together. If the ship was full, their situation was then inexpressibly distressing. They drew their breath with anxious and laborious efforts. Thus crammed together, some died of suffocation, and the filth and noisomeness occasioned putrid and fatal disorders; so that the officers who inspected them in a morning, had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcases from the bodies of their fellow-sufferers, to whom they were fastened.

The scenes and practices in the next stage of the sacrifice, —the sale in the West India port,—rivalled those of the transportation. The slaves who survived the passage, frequently arrived in a sickly and disordered state, and then they were *made up* for the market, by the means of astringents, washes, mercurial ointments, and repelling drugs, so that their wounds and diseases might be hid. Many people in the islands, in Jamaica particularly, were accustomed to speculate in the purchase of those who were left after the first day's sale. They then carried them out into the country, and retailed them there. A most respectable witness declared that

he had seen these landed in a very wretched state, sometimes in the agonies of death, and sold as low as a dollar, and that he had known several to expire in the piazzas of the vendue-master. SECT. IX.

9. In the list of the evils and atrocities accompanying this trade, one of the most certain and shocking, was the extensive mortality, independent of that inseparable from the wars and devastations in Africa, to which it gave rise. We read in Macpherson's Annals, that the whole number of negroes delivered, fell short of the number shipped, twenty or thirty per cent; that in Jamaica, if fifteen out of twenty new negroes bought, were alive at the end of three years, the purchaser was thought very lucky. We are told by the Edinburgh Review (No. 8) that upon an average no less than seventeen in an hundred died before they were landed, and that there was a further loss of thirty-three in the seasoning, arising chiefly from diseases contracted during the voyage. "Of the Africans," says Dr. Dickson, in his Mitigation of Slavery, "above one-fourth perished on the voyage to the West Indies; and 4½ per cent. more, being nearly the annual mortality of London, died on an average, in the fortnight intervening between the day of entry and sale. To close this awful triumph of the king of terrors, between one-third and one-half, or about two in five were lost in "the seasoning," within the three first years." The representations of Mr. Wilberforce on this head were never invalidated, and are as follows. "It would be found," he said, "upon an average of all the ships, upon which evidence had been given, that, exclusively of such as perished before they sailed from Africa, not less than twelve and a half per cent. died on their passage; besides these, the Jamaica report stated, that four and a half per cent. died while in the harbours, or on shore, before the day of sale, which was only about the space of twelve or fourteen days after their arrival there, and one-third more died in the seasoning, and this in a climate exactly similar to their own, in which they were acknowledged to be healthy. Thus out of every lot of one hundred shipped from Africa, *seventeen died in about nine weeks, and not more than fifty lived to become effective labourers in our islands.*"

Mr. Wilberforce adduced, on another occasion, upon the authority of indisputable evidence, some cases of particular mortality, of which I will transcribe his relation, because it brings into view additional attributes of the trade.

"It was no longer ago than in the year 1788, that Mr.

PART I. Isaac Wilson, whose intelligent and candid manner of giving his evidence, could not but impress the committee with a high opinion of him, was doomed to witness scenes as deeply distressing as almost ever occurred in the annals of the slave trade."

"His ship was a vessel of three hundred and seventy tons, and she had on board six hundred and two slaves, a number greater than we at present allow, but rather less, I think, than what was asserted by the slave merchants to be necessary, in order to carry on their trade to any tolerable profit. Out of these six hundred and two she lost one hundred and fifty-five. I will mention the mortality also of three or four more vessels, which were in company with her, and belonged to the same owner. One of them brought four hundred and fifty, and buried two hundred; another brought four hundred and sixty-six, and buried seventy-three; another brought five hundred and forty-six, and buried one hundred and eighty-eight: besides one hundred and fifty-five from his own ship, his number being six hundred and two; and from the whole four, after the landing of their cargoes, there died two hundred and twenty. He fell in with another vessel, which lost three hundred and sixty-two: the number she had brought was not specified. To these actual deaths, during and immediately after the voyage, and the subsequent loss in what is called the seasoning, I consider that this loss would be greater than ordinary in cargoes landed in so sickly a state. Why, sir, were such a mortality general, it would, in a few months, depopulate the earth. We asked the surgeon the causes of these excessive losses, particularly on board his own ship, where he had it in his power to ascertain them. The substance of his reply was, that most of the slaves appeared to labour under a fixed dejection and melancholy, interrupted now and then by lamentations and plaintive songs, expressive of their concern for the loss of their relations and friends and native country. So powerfully did this operate, that many attempted various ways of destroying themselves; some endeavoured to drown themselves, and three actually effected it; others obstinately refused to take sustenance, and when the whip and other violent means were used to compel them to eat, they looked up in the face of the officer, who unwillingly executed this painful task, and said, in their own language, 'Presently we shall be no more.' Their state of mind produced a general state of languor and debility, which were increased, in many instances, by an unconquerable abstinence from food, arising partly from sickness, partly, to use the language of

slave captains, from 'sulkiness.' These causes naturally produced the dysentery; the contagion spread, numbers were daily carried off, and the disorder, aided by so many powerful auxiliaries, resisted all the force of medicine.

"The ship in which Mr. Claxton, the surgeon, sailed, since the regulating act, afforded a repetition of all the same horrid circumstances I have before alluded to. Suicide, various ways, was attempted and effected, and the same barbarous expedients were resorted to, in order to compel them to continue an existence too painful to be endured: the mortality also was as great."

10. Bryan Edwards, in his History of the West Indies,* computes the total import of negroes, in British vessels, into all the British colonies of America and the West Indies, from 1680 to 1786, at 2,130,000, being on an average of the whole, 20,095 annually. He acknowledges that this estimate "is much less than is commonly supposed," and that he had not "sufficient materials to enable him to furnish an accurate statement." There can be no doubt that he is far short of the real number. It is calculated, as we have seen, by Anderson, that the annual British export from Africa was one hundred thousand, and the annual mortality twenty thousand. Mr. Long confesses, in his History of Jamaica, that twenty-seven thousand were imported into that island in two years and an half; and Mr. Edwards puts down the Jamaica importation at one-third of the whole. The Dutch colonies of Demerara, Guiana, and Berbice fell into the hands of Great Britain in 1797; and immediately called for a great number of negroes, having been prevented from supplying themselves during the war. It is averred in the Edinburgh Review (No. 24) that the British slave trade then rose to fifty-seven thousand, and continued at that standard for eight years; that is, until 1805, when the importation into the Dutch colonies was terminated by an order in council, to appease the jealousies and clamours in the old islands.

Taking the data which the statements quoted in the preceding pages afford, I should not certainly transcend the mark, if I added ten thousand to the average of Edwards. If we state it, in round numbers, at thirty thousand, we shall have, for the one hundred and six years, three millions one hundred and eighteen thousand negroes imported into the British possessions alone. But to have the whole number which Great Britain obtained

* B. IV. c. 2.

PART I. from Africa, we must bring into the account those whom she procured antecedent to the year 1680, and after the year 1786; those whom she imported directly into the foreign possessions, under her contracts, and otherwise; and also, those who perished on her hands on the coast of Africa, and in the transportation. The aggregate of her immediate prey must have exceeded six millions, and we may rate the direct mortality for which she is answerable, at two millions, for the century of the trade preceding the abolition.* If we call to mind, besides, the general physical suffering undergone by the survivors, before they reached their ultimate, most calamitous lot; the mental agony implied in their divulsion from their native soil and the bonds of kindred and friendship; we must stand aghast at the account of crime which remained open against the British nation at the time of the abolition. In addition to the items mentioned, those are of no small moment which are suggested in Mr. Pitt's apostrophe to the House of Commons. "Do you think nothing of the ruin and the miseries in which so many other individuals, still remaining in Africa, are involved, in consequence of carrying off so many myriads of people? Do you think nothing of their families which are left behind; of the connexions which are broken; of the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder? Do you think nothing of the miseries, in consequence, that are felt from generation to generation, of the privation of that happiness which might be communicated to them by the introduction of civilization, and of mental and moral improvement?"

From the foregoing exposition, it may be asserted, with confidence, that the British slave trade caused immediately, during the two centuries of its legal prosecution, the destruction of more negroes than have existed, altogether, in North America, since the first settlement. The leaders of the abolition, the Pitts, the Foxes, the Horsleys, did not hesitate to bestow upon that destruction the most fearful of epithets. "What is it," exclaimed Lord Grenville, "but *murder* to

* This is much below the calculations of her own writers. "The number," says one of these, "of slaves which the ships profess to take is not an exact criterion of the number actually taken. The public number does not include the quota, allowed to the respective officers of the ship; nor do the owners confine themselves to any exact number, if, on the arrival of the ship in Africa, the commodity is cheaper than they expected." For obvious reasons, the mortality of the negroes in the transportation would not be disclosed in all its extent. The number smuggled by the British into the Spanish possessions, while they enjoyed the assiento, was not inconsiderable.

pursue a practice which produced annually untimely death to thousands of innocent and helpless beings!" Now, I would ask, which it is, the Briton or the American, that can, with most propriety, be stigmatized, nationally, as "a murderer of slaves?" SECT. IX.

If we admitted as true all that the British writers have related of the condition and treatment of the slaves in this country, we could yet defy them to make out an amount of injustice, and suffering, and cruelty, in any way equal to that which they have charged and proved upon their African trade. In portentous individual instances of inhuman conduct, whether as to enormity or multitude, that trade far outstrips the North American negro slavery; the history of which presents, indeed, no authenticated case of barbarity which does not appear almost venial, in the comparison with the monstrous proceedings consigned in the parliamentary minutes of evidence.

11. The thirst of gain and the ambition of commercial supremacy, which engaged and animated the British people and government in this detestable traffic, inspired them with the aim of monopolizing every market for human flesh. The cargo of negroes was carried with equal readiness to Caraccas or to Jamaica, to Pennsylvania or to Guiana. No discrimination was made as to the character of the masters to whose absolute will they were to be consigned, or to the nature of the climate or the toil, which they were to undergo. The French and the Spaniards had, like ourselves, their full share of obloquy from the English traveller, on account of the severity of their rule over the very slaves whom the English trader had sold to them; and the French and Spanish character stood degraded, on the same account, in elaborate contrasts with the British, when the French and Spanish ports were crowded with British slave ships, and the British ministers struggling for the prolongation of the Assiento-contract.

Doubtless, Great Britain was answerable for the fate of the whole number of beings whom she delivered over to perpetual bondage in this hemisphere; knowing the temper and habits of the Spanish and French planters, she partook in the guilt of their excesses of cruelty towards the slaves whom they had received from her ships. In the case of the slavery in her own islands she was more than an accessary; and it could not be surpassed in hardship and inhumanity. That in the Spanish and French, or even the Dutch possessions, was not worse; and in the American provinces universally acknowledged to be much more mild. While every where in

PART I. the latter, there was an excess of births over deaths among the negroes, and in some, a rapidity of increase; in the British West Indies, the whole stock required renewal in less than fifteen years.*

I had intended to copy from the parliamentary statements some of the facts illustrative of this additional waste of the human species, and of the condition and treatment of the negroes, under British dominion; but I have already dealt in details of this nature, as much as is compatible with my limits, and the tenderness due to the feelings of my readers. It is enough to refer to the debates in the British parliament on the abolition, and on the slave registry bills. The tone of the British writers has often been such on these subjects, as if they considered the conscience of England clear with respect to the slave trade and to slavery, because these were unknown in her own immediate territory. This miserable casuistry was noticed in Parliament in the year 1792, in the following pointed and just remarks.

" Mr. Robert Thornton said,—the people of England were called a humane set of people. Liberty was the boast of our island; and it was said, that no African was landed on our soil, who did not instantly become free. They were guilty, however, of a contradiction, as long as they sent those miserable wretches elsewhere into slavery; they were governed by a selfish principle; they could send these wretches out of their sight to be vilified, and disgraced, and scourged, but they did not themselves, like to witness their cries, their tears, and all their degradation. He recollected an old motto, 'Qui facit per alium, facit per se.'"

Neither the Parliament nor nation could, at any time, plead ignorance of the character of the trade, and of West India slavery. The collections of early voyages; the reports of tra-

* "According to Sir Isaac Newton," says Dr. Dickson, "mankind die off, and are renewed every thirty-three or thirty-four years. But the slaves collectively, *bought and bred*, die off, and are renewed, in about fifteen years; and therefore more than twice as fast as the rest of the species; and the *bought* alone more than *four or five times* as fast." When the whole number of slaves in the British West India Islands was computed at 265.666, the *annual consumption* of them was estimated at 23,743. Mr. Malthus remarks in the Appendix to his Essay on Population, that if the slaves in the West Indies had been only in a tolerable condition; if their civil condition and moral habits had been made only to approach to those which prevail among the mass of the human race in the worst governed countries in the world, it is contrary to the general laws of nature to suppose, that they would not have been able by procreation fully to supply the effective demand for labour.

vellers; the mutual, printed accusations of the Royal African Company, and the private adventurers; the inevitable notoriety of facts where considerable cities were almost entirely devoted to the traffic; the constant intercourse with the West Indies, through all ranks of life; the solemn admonitions of the writers whom Clarkson has cited; the insurance cases which were brought into the courts of justice;—preclude the charitable supposition that mercy, and justice, and honour were unconsciously trampled upon in the race of commercial competition. Mr. Wilberforce, after displaying, in his speech of 1792, the enormities of which I have mentioned a small part, added, "nor do we learn these transactions only from our own witnesses; they are proved by the testimony of slave-factors themselves, whose works were written and published long before the present enquiry." SECT. IX.

I have observed that, until the year 1786, no society was formed among any description of persons in England, which had for its object the abolition of the trade. The callousness of the government too is almost inconceivable. Clarkson relates that Granville Sharp communicated all the facts of the hideous case of captain Zong, with a copy of the trial to the Lords of the Admiralty, as the guardians of justice upon the seas, and to the duke of Portland, as principal minister of state; but that no notice was taken by any of them, of the information thus imparted. When the Quakers presented, in 1783, their petition to Parliament against the slave trade,—the first of that purport ever presented,—Lord North admitted, in the House of Commons, the grievousness of the evil, and only "regretted that the trade against which the petition was so justly directed, was, in a commercial view become *necessary* to almost every nation in Europe." In 1776, the estimable David Hartley, after exposing to the House of Commons, the abominations of the slave trade, and laying on the table of the House some of the fetters and other instruments of torture employed on board of the slave ships, made a motion "that the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." This motion was seconded by the patriot and philanthropist, Sir George Saville, who lives so brilliantly in the splendid eulogy of Burke; *and yet it failed utterly.* The proceedings of the Commons the year following (1777) on the state of the African Company, are remarkable on account of the tone which prevailed in the discussion. It was such, as if the trade were not only unimpeached, but unimpeachable. Nothing betrayed the business to be considered in any other light than as an ordinary one, except,

PART I. perhaps, the following remarks of Mr. Temple Luttrell, who had the charge of unfolding the case of the Company and the interests of the trade. "Some gentlemen may, indeed, object to the slave trade as inhuman and impious, but, hard as the case of a negro slave may appear to a free born Briton at first view, I conceive him to be far less an object of commiseration, (his native state and local birthright being taken into the comparison,) than a poor impressed sailor within this island," &c. Another extract from the speech of Mr. Luttrell, which passed without animadversion, will show the prevailing temper and policy on the subject;—how coolly and nicely the comparative value of human flesh was calculated in an assembly of "free born Britons."

"In the slave trade also, there might be prodigious improvements; but the attention of the Board of Trade and plantations in this matter has been too much limited: the negroes from the gold coast suit our West India islands remarkably well; they are laborious, bold, hardy, and live upon little besides salt fish and *roots*, which they meet with in Jamaica. The negroes from Congo, Angola, and the lower Guinea, are of a more soft, voluptuous, and effeminate nature, and their women chiefly till the ground; so that upon being transplanted to the hardships of our sugar colonies, they commit suicide rather than endure them: hence it is that one Gold Coast negro is worth, for sugar plantations, two of the others; but *in North America, where they meet with food and entertainment, and usage better adapted to their habits, they do perfectly well.*"

12. At length, in 1787, through the indefatigable exertions of a few humane individuals in the middle ranks of life, the enormities of the slave system, in all its stages, were forced upon the attention of the government and nation. A member of parliament of great personal consideration, took up the subject of abolition with the zeal of an apostle, and the resolution of a martyr. He announced his intention to summon the government to the performance of its duty; and at once a din of protestation and fierce defiance arose from every quarter. The slave trade, says Clarkson, appeared, like the fabulous hydra, to have a hundred heads; the merchant, the planter, the mortgagee, the manufacturer, the politician, the legislator, the cabinet minister, lifted up their voices against its annihilation." The humanity and patriotism of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and of some other distinguished orators of parliament, were, however, enlisted with Wilberforce; and no inconsiderable number of auxiliaries had been gained throughout the

country, by the diffusion of the tracts of Benezet, Sharp, and Clarkson; of pathetic songs, and moving pictures, and whatever could vivify public feeling and excite national shame. Among the higher classes, little real progress would seem to have been made; since, according to Clarkson, most of the persons of rank and fortune in the west end of the metropolis, were converts to a pamphlet from the pen of a Liverpool champion, entitled, "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade," in which the holiness of the trade was stoutly maintained. SECT. IX.

In 1788, when a sufficiently marked excitement had been produced in the country, and the imposing shape of evidence before the privy council given to facts, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for the mere regulation of the trade, so as to diminish the miseries of the middle passage. At this day, it is scarcely credible what resistance was made, both in doors and out, to this bill, which common humanity seemed to exact; what dilution it underwent in its progress; and how narrowly it escaped extinction, notwithstanding the earnest support of the minister, and a phalanx of the ablest rhetoricians who have ever existed. It was bandied several times in new forms, between the two houses, and at length passed the Lords, through an ordeal, says Clarkson, as it were of fire. He adds, that it was "the first bill which ever put fetters upon the destructive monster—the slave trade;" but the fact soon transpired, that it missed its aim, and was interpreted by the slave merchants into an additional charter, or recognition of their pursuit as a lawful branch of commerce.

In 1789, Mr. Wilberforce ventured to lay upon the table of the House of Commons, as subjects for future discussion, twelve historical propositions founded upon the evidence in the case of the slave trade, reported by the privy council. Matters were not ripe for the proposal of abolition to parliament, until 1791, when Mr. Wilberforce made his first grand motion to that effect. After a vehement and protracted debate, in which the leaders of the cause exerted their utmost ability, it was lost by a considerable majority. For the opinion to be entertained of this result, I need only refer to the language of Mr. Fox and the Edinburgh Review. Mr. Fox said, in the debate, that "the trade was defensible upon no other ground than that of a highwayman; and that if the house, knowing as they did by the evidence, what it was, did not by their vote mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice so savage, so enormous, so repugnant to all laws human and divine, they would consign their character to eternal infamy." The Edinburgh

PART I. Review has told us, that "the question of the slave trade was always one in which interest, or an apprehension of interest, stood more daringly and nakedly opposed to humanity and justice, than any other on record." Certainly, never was a question of such awful import, so treated as this was, by the numerous advocates of the slave trade in Parliament. On the occasion just mentioned, Mr. Grosvenor said, "that gentlemen had exhibited a great deal of eloquence in exhibiting in horrid colours, the traffic in slaves. He acknowledged it was not an *amiable trade;* but neither was the trade of a butcher an amiable trade; *and yet a mutton chop was, nevertheless, a good thing.*"*

Another and equally strenuous effort was made, the ensuing year, in the House of Commons, by the abolitionists. The house rejected the proposition of Mr. Wilberforce, but manifested a disposition to vote a gradual abolition. So much after the admissions extorted by the testimony, from the leaders of the majority, and with the prospect of an effervescence of public sentiment from the cogent arguments and eloquent pictures of the speakers in the affirmative, could not, in decency or policy, be refused. Mr. Pitt, who, on this occasion, put forth all the energies and beauties of his unrivalled oratory, afterwards expressed himself in his place, in these terms: "I feel the infamy of the trade so heavily, and see the impolicy of it so clearly, that I am ashamed I have not been able to convince the house to abandon it altogether at an instant—to pronounce with one voice the immediate and total abolition. There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it."

Mr. Dundas, one of the antagonists of immediate abolition, in a short time, brought in a bill for a gradual one, with some singular additions. He proposed that, for the future, none but young persons should be allowed to be taken from Africa, and that a bounty should be given upon the importation of young negresses into the West Indies. On this latter point, Mr. Fox, in his overwhelming answer to Mr. Dundas, bore with particular severity. "A right honourable gentleman proposes a bounty on the importation of females, or, in other

* In the final debate in the House of Lords, in 1807, Earl St. Vincent said, "He was surprised at the proposition of abolition before the house, and considering the high character and intelligence of the noble proposer, Lord Grenville, he declared he could account in no other way for his having brought it forward, but by supposing that some Obiman had cast his spell upon him!" (*A laugh.*)

words, he proposes to make up the deficiency in the proportion of sexes, by offering a premium to any crew of unprincipled and savage ruffians, who will attack and carry off any of the females of Africa! *a bounty from the parliament of Great Britain*, that shall make the fortune of any man, or set of men, who shall kidnap or steal any unfortunate females from that continent! who shall bring them over as slaves, in order that they may be used for breeding slaves!" In the course of the debate, Mr. Dundas declared that these United States would, if Great Britain abandoned the slave trade, purvey for the West Indies; and he added—"Is it to be imagined that the Americans are so favourably disposed towards this country, as to resist the temptation of forming so valuable a connexion with our colonies? A connexion once begun by supplying them with negroes would not end there; *and we might lose the West Indies without accomplishing our object.*"

Mr. Fox replied, that *he was not so much alarmed by the possibility of the British Islands getting into habits of intimacy with foreigners.* Though the apprehension of Mr. Dundas concerning our assumption of the British slave trade has, no doubt, vanished from the minds of his successors in office, we may suspect, that the alarm at the possible consequences of an intimacy between these States and the West Indies, is one of the motives of the present rigorous system of commercial exclusion.

The Commons voted a gradual abolition, and the Lords refused to concur. The next year, 1793, the former refused to renew their vote, and rejected a motion of Mr. Wilberforce, to abolish that part of the British trade, by which the British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves. This motion, however, being revived in 1794, was finally carried in a very thin house; but lost with the Peers by a majority of forty-five to four. I need not recite the annual and fruitless attempts of the abolitionists between this period and the year 1807, when they finally succeeded. The degree of merit for the interval, to which the Parliament and nation are entitled, may be collected from the following passage of the Edinburgh Review.*

"The vast and general sensation produced by the first development of the horrible traffic in human flesh, speedily gave place to a much more sober and partial sentiment of reprobation; no small difficulty was experienced in attracting the attention of the public to the discussion for many years; *it was pretty uniformly debated among empty benches, in those august assemblies, whose walls can scarce contain their crowds,*

* No. 47.

PART I. *when a person of honour is to be attacked, or a female of easy virtue is to give evidence.*"

The degree of success obtained at any time with the public, and the final triumph of the question, were owing in no small measure to considerations of expediency. It was found important to give quite as extensive a circulation to Clarkson's Essay on the *Impolicy* of the Slave Trade, as to the pamphlets on its criminality, and the abstracts of the evidence respecting its unparalleled barbarities. In Parliament, the abolitionists laboured mainly to prove, that instead of being advantageous to Great Britain, it was most destructive to her interests; was the ruin of her seamen; prevented the extension of her manufactures; was no longer necessary for the maintenance of the due number of labourers in the West Indies; that a much more lucrative intercourse with Africa might be substituted for it; that the other powers of the world would either relinquish it, or be unable to carry it on, *so that all would remain upon a footing*, &c. Mr. Wilberforce, in his first speech, admitting, for argument's sake, that "the rivals of Britain, the French" might take it up, asked "Would they not then be obliged to come to us, in consequence of the cheapness of our manufactures, for what they wanted for the African market?" We find the Edinburgh Reviewers rebuking the great abolitionist, in their 47th number, for talking, in his printed letter to M. Talleyrand, of the great sacrifice which England had made in the abolition, after he and all his coadjutors had uniformly, and so efficaciously, pleaded the mischievousness of the traffic to her, whether as a nursery for seamen, or a channel for the employment of capital.

In the final debate of 1807, on the abolition, Mr. Whitbread, one of its most zealous advocates, said "It was complained that too much feeling and too much passion had been carried into this discussion. He complained on the contrary, that it had been made too little a question of feeling, and that it had been made *almost entirely* a matter of cold calculations of profit and loss between English money and African blood." Lord Castlereagh, indeed, did, in his first interview with the emperor of Russia, on the subject of general abolition, expatiate upon what the British parliament had done in *spite of the suggestions of national interest*;* but, in the general conferences on the same subject, at Vienna, "Lord Castlereagh," says the protocol of the sitting of 20th January, 1815, "communi-

* See Letter of Lord Castlereagh to Earl Bathurst, dated Vienna, January 2d, 1815, among the papers laid before Parliament, April, 1815.

cated authentic documents to prove that in the affair in question, the interest of the powers of Europe went hand in hand with their duty; that the abolition was particularly for the real advantage, and even indispensable for the security, of the colonial countries," &c.*

On all hands, there must be an immediate concurrence in the general allegation of the Edinburgh Review, that " for the long space of twenty years, Mr. Pitt could persuade about three-fourths of the members of Parliament to adopt any scheme of finance, or of external policy which he chose to countenance, but did never once prevail against the slave traders and consignees of sugar in Bristol and Liverpool."† The Reviewers have made this failure, considered in connexion with the prompt success of the Fox administration, the ground of a most atrocious charge against the memory of Mr. Pitt—that he was not sincere in the cause of abolition, as a minister, although he might have been as a man. The distinction would not save him, if this were true, from being regarded as the vilest of hypocrites, nor the genius of the British government from appearing as the most entirely artificial and selfish ever known. The strain of Mr. Pitt's speeches absolves him, however; and Clarkson has borne the strongest testimony to his good faith. His colleagues in the ministry, particularly the lord chancellor, Thurlow, exerted themselves indefatigably, in opposition to the measure, and weakened the impression of his station. The stigma does not attach to him, but to the Parliament, if he could *make* a majority in such a case; if he could bring them to act properly on a question the most important for humanity, and the reputation of the British name, only by using his influence as minister; that is, as the head of a party, and the dispenser of place and patronage. There is another question which neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox could have carried through both houses of Parliament, even as ministers—that of catholic emancipation; and the reader will remark that it is alone on two points of this description, in which the freedom of millions was involved, ministerial influence has been found ineffectual in the British legislature.

In the course of the present parliamentary session, (1819,) Mr. William Smith of Norwich—to whom the cause of abolition is as much indebted as to any other parliamentary advocate, except Mr. Wilberforce—stated to the House of Commons, that even at last in 1807, after the twenty years discus-

* Pièces Officielles de Schoell. vol. vii. † No. 24.

PART I. sion, it required all the efforts of almost every member of that house, who had any title to the character of an orator or a statesman, to carry the act through the Parliament. In fact, in the final debates, the justice and humanity of the trade were maintained as boldly as they ever had been; arguments of counsel were heard at the bar, and petitions received, against the abolition; Lord Castlereagh, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Eldon, Lord Westmoreland, Mr. Rose, Mr. Bathurst, spoke in opposition. These were the men who, immediately after the abolition became a law, took the place of its patrons in the government. Clarkson remarks, that though the bill had now passed both houses, "there was an awful fear lest it should not receive the royal assent, before the Grenville ministry was dissolved." This awful fear was founded upon the conviction that, with a ministry adverse to the measure, no parliament could be found to adopt it at the instigation of a member out of office. There is nothing, therefore, forced, or illiberal, in the conclusion, that it was a general party movement; an act of subserviency in the old routine to the will of an administration firmly united and inextricably entangled in the object; that, had that ministry been dissolved before the royal assent was given, the slave traffic would be at this day a lawful branch of British commerce.* As the case was, seventeen years had elapsed since superabundant, irrefragable evidence of the history and character of the traffic was officially before Parliament: within that interval it had been allowed to flourish on an enlarged scale. Sir Samuel Romilly told the House of Commons, in 1806, that "since the year 1796, no less than three hundred and sixty thousand Africans had been torn away, under the continued sanction of Parliament, from their native land." This estimate is certainly too low, for the annual exportation of the British, according to the Edinburgh Review, rose to 57,000, after the acquisition of the Dutch colonies in 1797. The Report of the African Institution for the present year

* The following extract from the debate of the House of Commons of June 27th, 1814, will shew that I am not alone in this conjecture.

"Mr. Philips said—

"I cannot forget that the public voice had been raised even more loudly against the slave trade before the administration of Mr. Fox, than during its brief existence; and to such a degree do I think the gratitude of the friends of justice and humanity due to that short-lived, and much misrepresented administration, *that I do in my conscience believe, but for them, the British slave trade would at this moment have been continued to the disgrace of the country, to the outrage of public feeling, and in violation of every principle of policy, justice, and humanity.*"

(1819) states the average at 55,000, and admits that the number taken from Africa in 1806 and 1807, *in the prospect of the approaching abolition of the trade, was very considerable.* From the period when Mr. Pitt declared to Parliament that they had examined sufficiently into the nature of the trade to enable them to decide, and must be now convinced of its cruelty and injustice, until the date of the cessation of importation into the British colonies, the number of negroes carried into slavery by the British merchants with the authority of the nation, could not have been less than one-third of the whole number now existing in the United States. SECT. IX.

13. My readers may already understand, that the British abolition is not quite so abundantly creditable, as to render it an adequate foundation for invidious reflections on the United States. But I will suppose that the motives were altogether pure and magnanimous; that it was the immediate fruit of Christian conviction;—a national act of contrition and atonement. The questions then arise,—was it in itself a sufficient reparation for the wrongs done to Africa? and if not, has Great Britain performed her utmost to make full amends? The advocates of the abolition admitted universally, what all must perceive, that by it she had merely stopped the increase of her vast debt to that continent and to humanity; that she was bound to go further; to rectify the condition of the negroes within her dominions, and, if possible, to withdraw all the other nations from the slave trade. Every one saw that unless her example were imitated by the slave-dealing powers of Europe, her proceeding, however useful to her own commerce and character, would be productive, comparatively, of little advantage to Africa, and followed by an extensive clandestine trade in her own dependencies.

Reviewing the statements of those who brought about the abolition, respecting the immensity of the crime she had committed, and the misery and mischief she had caused; and on the other hand, the estimates made by the anti-abolitionists, of the vast emolument and general advantages which she had gained, in the prosecution of the trade, closet-moralists thought it incumbent upon her, to interpose her whole strength in favour of the region she had so long desolated, and of the portion of its offspring within the limits of her empire, in any way that might be found necessary to give efficacy to her intervention, and at any risk. For the sake of an addition to her revenue, she had hazarded and incurred the loss of thirteen flourishing colonies; for the acquisition of slips of territory in America, and of sugar

PART I. islands filled with black slaves,—for points of honour and maritime prerogative; for security from possible dangers,—she had waged long and destructive wars. She might, then, to make her atonement for the enormity and havoc of the slave trade, in some degree commensurate with her guilt—to prevent the continuance of a system subversive of the law of nations, and of the principles of Christianity; superlatively baneful and immoral,—she might, if no other means would suffice, unsheath her sword, and be assured in so doing of the favour of the God of battles, and of all the friends of humanity and justice on earth. On such an occasion it became her, when convinced of the futility of every other expedient, to exert her maritime superiority, regardless of all forms and obstacles—a course of proceeding not without precedent in her history.

At the period of her abolition, France and Spain being at war with her, had long been cut off from the trade. The only power engaged in the prosecution of it, was Portugal, whose government depended upon her for its existence. Scarcely a year elapsed, when Spain returned to a state of amity with her, under such circumstances, as rendered it impossible she should be refused any boon she might be pleased to ask. But I will leave it to an English writer to explain the nature of the conjuncture, and to state the result. I find the following exposition in a remarkable work published the last year (1818) in London, and entitled, "A View of the present Increase of the Slave Trade, by Robert Thorpe, L. L. D. late Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in that Colony."

"At the moment England abolished the slave trade, all Europe was most favourably circumstanced to ensure an universal abolition. The royal family of Spain threw themselves into the arms of France, and were handed to a prison. The royal family of Portugal sought the protection of England, and were safely conveyed to their Brasil dominions. We only wanted the co-operation of these powers to establish a perfect abolition; we upheld them as kingdoms; we had a right to insist on their abolishing the slave trade; every principle of justice and humanity called for such a demand, while the policy and professions of this nation should have made compliance necessary. Such a requisition could not have been considered as interfering with the independence of those governments, nor with the rights of their subjects. *Independence is not comprised in a power to enslave, nor do the lawful rights of any people consist in their ability to invade the natural rights of man.* While England was exhausting her blood and treasure

in defence of the liberty of Spain and Portugal, she was not warrantable in diminishing the resources of her wealth, to extend the cruelty of their commerce; but the most fortunate coincidence was criminally neglected."* SECT. IX.

Nothing can be more just than all this representation. Every one acquainted with the history of the era of Bonaparte's invasion of the Peninsula, must be convinced, that it was in the power of England, to extort from Portugal and Spain the abolition of their slave trade. "It would have been," said Mr. Canning, palliating the omission in the House of Commons, "*unwise* to have taken a high tone with them in the day of their distress; a strong remonstrance on this subject would have gone with too much of authority, and have appeared insulting."† So fastidious a delicacy, where the object was, according to the British theory, of immeasurable importance to the repose of the national conscience, and to humanity! The day of the absolute dependence of those powers upon England, was the only day, in which there was any likelihood of the accomplishment of that object with them; and *a strong remonstrance* against the prosecution of a system so exorbitantly wicked and pernicious, could not in itself have worn the air of insult, but would rather have appeared an act of noble friendship and resolute philanthropy. With the lives and happiness of millions of Africans, and all the other momentous considerations attached to the extinguishment of the slave trade, at stake, the opportunity was to be improved determinately, though at a greater cost than a little violence done to perverted feelings, and the excitement of an impotent discontent. If Spain and Portugal could be induced to comply at once, then, as no lawful trade in slaves would exist during the war, Great Britain ruling the seas and exercising the belligerent right of search, might repress all illicit trade, and take much more effectual precautions against its revival in any shape. In this point of view, the opportunity seemed doubly precious, and irretrievable.

The coincidence was, to repeat the language of Dr. Thorpe, "criminally neglected." The British abolition took the character of a division of the British share of the trade between foreign powers, and a number of British subjects upon whom the act of Parliament would not serve as a restraint. The anti-abolitionists predicted this, and contributed to the fulfilment of the prediction. Portugal was left at liberty to supply not only her own dependencies, but those of Spain; and to the

* Page 24. † Debate on the Treaty of 1814.

PART I. latter, cargoes were incessantly carried under the Portuguese flag, until at length the British cruizers were authorized to bring in for adjudication, such Portuguese ships as might be found carrying slaves, to places not subject to the crown of Portugal. It was discovered, within the year after the termination by law of the British exportation, that the trade itself had not suffered the least abatement; but, on the contrary, was plied with greater activity, to a greater extent, and with aggravated barbarity, under the Spanish, Swedish, and Portuguese flags. "The slave trade," says the Report, dated 1810, of the commissioners of African inquiry, "is at present carried on to a vast extent. By the autumn of 1809, the coast of Africa swarmed with contraband vessels; and it was not until the arrival of a small squadron of his majesty's vessels, early the next year (1810!) that any interruption could be given to their proceedings." In 1810, Great Britain concluded a treaty with Portugal, by which she secured to herself great commercial advantages, and consented that Portugal should carry on the trade in slaves from the African dominions (claimed or in possession) of the Portuguese crown, precisely the great marts of the trade—Portugal announcing, at the same time, with what sincerity will soon be seen, her resolution to co-operate with his Britannic majesty in the cause of humanity and justice, &c.

To display the efficacy of the British abolition for the first years, I will here make a few extracts from the Reports of the London African Institution—a society which boasts of the most illustrious names, and is the centre of information respecting African affairs.

"Circumstances," says the Report of 1809, "have come to the knowledge of the directors of this institution, which leave them no room to doubt that means are at this moment employed by persons formerly engaged in the slave trade, for eluding the salutary provisions of the abolition act, and perpetuating the guilt and misery of that traffic."

"No foreign states," says the Report of 1810, "have hitherto followed the example set them by the legislatures of Great Britain and the United States of America. The flags of Spain and of Sweden have of late been extensively employed in covering and protecting a trade in slaves. Nor is this all. It has been discovered that, in defiance of all the penalties imposed by act of Parliament, vessels under foreign flags have been fitted out *in the ports of Liverpool and London*, for the purpose of carrying slaves from the coast of Africa to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in America. Some car-

goes from that coast have been landed at St. Bartholomews, SECT. IX.
and smuggled thence into English islands. The discovery of one transaction has likewise discovered to the directors facts, which tend to implicate persons of some consideration in society in the guilt of these and similar practices."

"On the coast of Africa," says the Report of 1811, "the same melancholy scene has been exhibited during the last year, which the directors had the pain of describing in their former report. The coast has swarmed with slave ships, chiefly under Portuguese and Spanish colours, &c. Suffice it to say, that accounts from various quarters concur with certain judicial proceedings which have taken place in this country, to prove, that a very considerable trade in slaves has been carried on of late, and *a large portion of it by means of the capital and credit of British subjects.****After the length to which the report has already run, the directors are unwilling to enter into minute details, with regard to the means which have been practised in the West Indies, to elude the laws prohibiting the importation of slaves. Suffice it to say, that they have received information which satisfies them that those laws have been grossly, and in some instances openly, violated, by the importation of slaves, *to a considerable extent*, into our own West India colonies."

"There is a large class of contraband slave ships fitted out chiefly from London or Liverpool, destined in fact to the coast of Africa," &c.

"The representations," says the Report of 1812, "which the directors made in their last report, of the extent to which the slave trade had revived on the coast of Africa, appear to have fallen short of the truth. The result of the intelligence which they have since received is, that, during the year 1810, no less than from 70 to 80,000 Africans were transported as slaves from the western coast of Africa to the opposite shores of the Atlantic. The greatest proportion is either *a British*, or an American trade, conducted under the flags of Spain and Portugal.

"What," says the Report of 1813, "has been represented as a bona fide Spanish or Portuguese slave trade, has turned out, upon strict examination, to be, in many instances, a trade in slaves, illegally carried on *by British capital and British subjects*, and in some instances by American subjects."

"The directors have to bring before the general meeting a new species of slave trade, carried on, it should seem, between Egypt and the island of Malta. They have received information on which they are disposed to rely, stating that several

PART I. slaves have been brought from Alexandria to that island, and there sold to *Englishmen*, as well as to Maltese inhabitants. These poor creatures consist principally of negro children, brought from countries bordering on the upper Nile," &c.

"It is with extreme regret that the directors are again obliged to state the want of success which has attended their repeated, earnest, and urgent representations to government respecting the slave trade, carried on by means of the Portuguese island of Bissao," &c.

"The condition of the slaves, in the new British conquests, the Isles of France and Bourbon, is wretched in the extreme. It is with feelings of deep regret that the directors, in proceeding to advert to the condition of slaves in the West Indies, express their belief that most flagrant abuses continue to exist in the administration of the law, as far as regards those unhappy beings, if, indeed, they can be said to be under the protection of any law."

"The directors cannot close their observations on the state of Africa, without adverting to *the exportation of arms and gunpowder to that continent.* It is well known that before the passing of the act for the abolition of the slave trade, these were exported thither in very large quantities. Letters received from persons in Africa, whose veracity is unquestionable, assert the fact, that the slave traders are supplied with these necessary implements of their traffic, *solely from this country*, and that, indeed, they were to be obtained no where else."

"A very considerable slave trade," says the Report of 1814, "is still carried on to the islands of France and Bourbon."

"There is too much reason to believe that a considerable traffic of slaves still exists *on the north coast of Africa.*"

"The board have still to lament the continuance of flagrant abuses in several of the West India islands," &c.

14. On the triumph of the allied arms over the power of Bonaparte, in the spring of 1814, another crisis seemed to present itself, propitious to the object of universal abolition. Great Britain had the chief share of the glory and profit of that event; it was to her, in the language of all her subjects, that Europe owed its deliverance; she had rescued Portugal and Spain; restored Ferdinand to his throne, and reinstated the house of Bourbon in France. Hence, it would be impossible for the governments of those countries to resist her solicitations in favour of Africa; or, at all events, to brave her power, in case she manifested a determination to interpose

it as a shield between that continent and their ruthless cupidity. The African Institution, in the Report which I have last quoted, did not overlook the new turn of affairs. "The directors," said the Report, "have long been persuaded, that all that can be effected, in inducing particular states to renounce the traffic in slaves, however important in itself, will produce but a very partial benefit to Africa, unless, on the conclusion of a general peace, the renunciation should become general, and be adopted as a part of the standing policy of the great commonwealth of Europe. While the war continues, it is a matter of no moment whether the slave trade is abolished in France; but it is obvious, that, if a general peace should leave the merchants of that country at liberty to renew their former traffic in their fellow-creatures, little comparatively will have been achieved for Africa by all the *generous* efforts of this country. The present moment having appeared to the directors to be peculiarly favourable to the hope of obtaining a recognition of the great principles of the abolition, and even the entire and unqualified renunciation of this nefarious traffic by all the great powers of Europe, they have endeavoured to impress upon the minds of his majesty's ministers, the unspeakable importance of establishing a general convention among the European powers, for that purpose."

To aid the British negotiators at Paris, the two houses of Parliament voted unanimously on the 2d of May, addresses to the Prince Regent, representing the importance of a general abolition, and their conviction, that unless it took place, the practical result of the restoration of peace would be "to open the sea to swarms of piratical adventurers who would renew and extend, on the shores of Africa, the scenes of carnage and rapine in a great measure suspended by maritime hostilities; to kindle a thousand ferocious wars," &c. In supporting the address of the House of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce truly remarked, that "with regard to France, the war had practically abolished the trade, and therefore, if carried on by her, it would be creating it anew."

On the 30th May, 1814, the treaty between Great Britain and France was signed at Paris; and lo! France was allowed a term of five years in which to pursue the traffic in human flesh, and his Britannic Majesty restored to his most *Christian* Majesty all the colonies, factories, and establishments, of whatever kind, which France possessed the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas and upon the continents of America, *Africa*, and Asia, with the exception of the islands of Tobago and St. Lucia, and of the Isle of France and its dependencies. This

PART I. was an electric shock for the abolitionists upon principle, and the signal for a vigorous party assault upon the ministry.

It seemed impossible to doubt that France would have yielded, had the immediate and total prohibition of the trade been made the *sine qua non* of the restitution of her colonies; or had she been tempted with the Mauritius. Her utter inability to renew the war, and the certainty that the allies would not have passed over to her side to enforce her pretensions to the slave trade, were points on which even the most credulous could not be deceived.

The African Institution passed resolutions of reprobation, petitions without number were got up throughout the country; motions made in Parliament; and the stir had on the whole an imposing character. The following is part of the representations of the African Institution on the occasion. "A provision is contained in the recent treaty of peace with France, the consequence of which must be the revival of the slave trade on a large scale, and to an indefinite extent. This revival is attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation. Great and populous colonies, in which, during the last seven years, the importation of slaves has been strictly prohibited, have been freely ceded to France, not only without any stipulation for the continuance of that prohibition, but with the declared purpose on the part of that country, of commencing a new slave trade for their supply."

The apprehensions of the Institution did not receive much relief on the appearance of the French slave trade ordinance. By a circular letter from the administration of the customs, dated 29th August, the merchants of France were apprized, that "the traffic was restored in all its privileges, and might be carried on from every port having a public bonding warehouse:—That all the goods, foreign as well as domestic, including arms and ammunition, required for this trade, might be shipped for the coast of Africa, duty free: That the same provision extended to the ship's provisions, both for the crew and negroes: That the cargoes or provisions were not to be employed, except in the purchase and conveyance of negroes: That French ships only could engage in the trade; and, that they might import into all the French colonies, of which the government should recover possession, as well as those ceded by the treaty."

The language held in Parliament was no less emphatical than that of the African Institution. As a specimen, I will offer some extracts from the speech of Lord Grenville.

"That the immediate and total abolition of the slave trade

might, in this treaty, if pursued with zeal, have been with certainty obtained, is, unless I am greatly misinformed, the general sentiment of all who are conversant in foreign negotiation; the concurrent and decided judgment of enlightened statesmen in every country in Europe." SECT. IX.

"What credulity will acquiesce in the pretence, that to extort from France the surrender of her conquest, was easy; to dissuade her from the revival of the slave trade impracticable?"

"This treaty has secured to our country commercial profits, and colonial acquisitions, at the expense of France; inconsiderable in value, I admit it, but still sufficient to brand our national character with the dishonour of interested guilt. To France the renewal of the slave trade is conceded; into her hands we deliver up the wretched inhabitants of Africa; and from her in return we receive back those advantages; the contract is reciprocal; the transactions simultaneous; included in the same treaty, never will they be separated in the opinion of mankind."

"We have consented to revive and guarantee the slave trade, not because we feared war, but because we thirsted for more extended possessions. Such will be the just judgment, both of the present time, and of posterity; the opinion of impartial men in all ages. If, they will tell us, you could not otherwise refuse yourselves to a dishonourable contract for guilt, you might have proffered in exchange for it the abandonment of these acquisitions; an exchange which France most certainly would gladly have accepted."

"You are fully sensible also, how difficult it will be to prevent the application of British capital to this wickedness when authorized by France. How large a portion of this trade will really be carried on in her name by your own subjects; how much of it will be diverted to the supply of your own colonies, under a pretended destination to those with which they are so closely intermixed in the West Indian seas."

The subject was taken up officially in the Edinburgh Review, and treated with as little reserve. The Reviewers cried out against "the vile mockery of an abolition in reversion, expectant upon a five years term of unstinted, nay encouraged slave trade." "England," they added, "has no manner of difficulty in obtaining Malta, Tobago, St. Lucia, the Isle of France, (not to mention the Cape); in short, any thing which may serve her interests; *she surrenders Guadaloupe, that her islands may be supplied by smuggling.*"

Lord Castlereagh defended the treaty, upon the grounds of "the strong objection" of the French rulers to immediate abolition, because they would appear to submit to English dic-

PART I. tation! of the importance of ending the negotiation in mutual *respect* and confidence; of the danger of prolonging the war by insisting upon a concession which France felt to be *dishonourable* to her character as a nation, &c. He was "ready to admit, that Guadaloupe and Martinique being permitted to be points of depot, did, to a certain degree, increase the probability of an illicit trade being carried on from those islands with the British colonies. But if France had even consented to abolish the trade, the number of depots which would have otherwise existed, was sufficiently numerous for the illegal introduction of slaves into the islands belonging to Great Britain. From the Havanna and Porto Rico, the possessions of Spain, slaves might *very easily* find their way into the British colonies." His lordship remarked, too, a point of delicacy as to pressing the abolition: "However disposed he and the British nation might be to make sacrifices for it, he could assure the house that such was not the impression in France, and that even among the better classes of people there, the British government did not get full credit for their motives of acting. *The motives were not there thought to arise from benevolence, but from a wish to impose fetters on French colonies and injure their commerce.*"

This misgiving of the French was of no fresh date, and could not have been altogether unknown to Parliament. In 1807, Lord Lauderdale, whom Mr. Fox sent to negotiate with Bonaparte the preceding year, made the following statement in the House of Lords. "On my urging to the French ministers the abolition of the slave trade, I was answered, that it could not be expected that the French government, irritated as it had been by the negroes in St. Domingo, would readily agree to the abolition of the trade. I answered that the abolition would have been the only effectual means of preventing the horrors which had occurred in that island. Then the truth came out. I was told that England, with her colonies well stocked with negroes, and affording a larger produce, might abolish the trade without inconvenience; but that France, with colonies ill-stocked, and deficient in produce, could not abolish it without conceding to us the greatest advantages, and sustaining a proportionate loss."*

The transactions in England, and the fundamental policy in the case, prompted the British ministry to renew their instances with the French government. An island, or if preferable, a pecuniary indemnity to the French planters, was offered for the immediate abandonment of the trade, or the

* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii.

abridgment of the term stipulated by the treaty. It was proposed to France to establish a system of license, so *as to prevent the importation into her colonies of more negroes than would be necessary for the existing plantations, and to preclude the cultivation of new lands.* Lord Wellington discovered that there was no disposition among the French statesmen to relinquish the trade at once; but, finally, after a negotiation, the particulars of which are not a little curious, means were found by England to persuade the French government to put restrictions upon it; particularly that of confining it to the south of Cape Formosa. SECT. IX.

The first attempts upon the Spanish government bear date in 1814; but Ferdinand was upon his throne, and Spain clear of the French. The Spanish monarch consented to forbid his subjects to carry slaves to foreign possessions; nothing more could then be obtained, in the way and upon the terms which suited the views of England.

Lord Castlereagh made his main effort, within the limits prescribed, at the Congress of Vienna. He succeeded, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish and Portuguese plenipotentiaries, in rendering the eight principal powers, parties to the settlement of the question. Four sittings were specially assigned to its discussion. The fruit of the first, the only fruit of the whole arrangement, was the celebrated declaration of the 8th of February, 1815, in which all the powers proclaimed their detestation of the character, and their desire to accomplish the abolition, of the slave trade; at the same time that they acknowledged the right of each to take its own time for the total relinquishment on its own part. Talleyrand would not consent to abridge the term granted to France; Spain would make no acceptable concession: Portugal professed her readiness to limit the duration of her trade to *eight* years, provided his Britannic majesty would on his side acquiesce in certain material changes in the commercial relations between her and Great Britain. Some of the general observations made by the Spanish and Portuguese plenipotentiaries, in reply to Lord Castlereagh, are worth repeating. The first, Count Labrador, said, " if the Spanish colonies of America were, as to the supply of negroes, in the same state as the English colonies, his Catholic majesty would not hesitate a moment in decreeing an immediate abolition: But, the question having been before the British parliament from 1788 to 1807, the English traders and planters had full time to make extraordinary purchases of slaves; and, in fact, they did so. This was proved by the case of Jamaica, which,

PART I. in 1787, had only two hundred and fifty thousand slaves, whereas, at the period of the abolition, in 1807, she possessed four hundred thousand. During the long war with England, Spain had been deprived of the faculty of procuring negroes for herself. Jamaica had ten blacks to one white; in the island of Cuba, the best provided with slaves of all the Spanish colonies, there were two hundred and seventy-four thousand whites, and only two hundred and twelve thousand slaves."

The representative of Portugal alleged that "the position of Brasil was particularly delicate in this matter; it was an immense country, which was far from possessing the number of hands necessary for its cultivation; that a sudden stoppage in the importation of negroes would be of incalculable mischief, as well for Brasil as for the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Africa; that the treatment of the slaves in Brasil was notoriously mild; and that these considerations made the case of Portugal an exception; at all events she might be excused if she proceeded leisurely and cautiously in the affair, since, in the instance of England, so long an interval had occurred between the proposal and the adoption of the measure."

The primary object of Lord Castlereagh was to secure from the intrusion of foreign slave vessels, that part of the African coast, which England had marked out for her general trade. In the interval between the first and second general conference, (21st and 22d of January, 1815,) he signed two conventions with the plenipotentiary of Portugal, by which Great Britain released the balance due upon an old English loan to Portugal, and allotted three hundred thousand pounds sterling as a fund of indemnity for the owners of the Portuguese slave ships which her cruizers had captured before the 1st of June, 1814, on the ground of their being engaged in the trade illegally: She agreed at the same time to the abrogation of the treaty of 1810: Portugal, on her part, covenanted to prohibit her subjects from carrying on the slave trade, in any way, to *the north of the equator*, it being understood that they were to pursue it unmolested to the south of the line, as long as it should be at all permitted by the Portuguese laws.

In a *secret and confidential* letter of Lord Castlereagh to the duke of Wellington, at Paris, of August, 1814,* his lordship stated, that it was become necessary to consider how far certain Powers might be brought to do their duty in the matter

* See the Pièces Officielles de Schoell, vol. vii. p. 90.

of abolition, by a sense of interest; or, in other words, how they might be deprived of the undue *advantage* which they enjoyed over the states who, by a feeling of moral obligation, renounced the trade. Nothing, he suggested, appeared more likely to work the effect, than a concert among those states to exclude from their dominions the colonial produce of the refractory powers. Duke Wellington was instructed to sound the prince of Benevento on the subject. The true motives of this plan did not, we may presume, escape the penetration of the latter. Lord Castlereagh proposed it anew at Vienna to the emperor of Russia, in his formal interview with that monarch, on the subject of the slave trade. The abolition states could not, he urged, do less than adopt it: Unless they gave a preference to such colonial products as were not raised by slaves *newly introduced*, they would be partakers in the scandal and crime accompanying the growth of such as were! The British negotiator was indiscreet enough to submit the project for adoption, at the conferences of the plenipotentiaries; with the modification that the products of the colonies in which the trade was forbidden, should be alone received, *or* those of the vast regions of the globe furnishing the same articles by the labour of their own native inhabitants, meaning, says Schoell,† *the British possessions in the East Indies*. The ministers of Spain and Portugal protested against this expedient of coercion, and threatened that their courts would exclude in turn the most valuable export of the countries by which it should be adopted. SECT. IX.

What England could not persuade the Bourbons to do in 1814, Bonaparte did spontaneously on his return from the Island of Elba. He interdicted the French slave trade at once, from motives of personal interest which few were at a loss to detect. When Louis was replaced on his throne, nothing remained for him but to submit, apparently, to the will of the British minister who escorted him into Paris, and who required him not at least to retract the only favour granted by the arch-tyrant to humanity. Accordingly, on the 30th of July, 1815, Talleyrand announced to Lord Castlereagh that the slave trade was thenceforward, forever, and universally, forbidden to all the subjects of his most Christian majesty. The tenor of the correspondence on the subject between the two viziers is among the curiosities of that day.

In 1816, England resumed her negotiation with Spain,

† Histoire abregée des Traités de Paix, vol. xi.

PART I. and, finally, availing herself of the necessities of the latter, effected the treaty of Madrid of the 23d Sept. 1817. By this treaty, Spain, for a sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, stipulated to renounce the slave trade at once to the north of the line, and to prohibit it entirely, in all her dominions, from the 30th May, 1820. The sum of four hundred thousand pounds bore a small proportion, indeed, to the wealth which Britain had drawn from the traffic in human flesh; or to that which she expected to derive from the accomplishment of her views on Africa.* But the new *sacrifice* was emblazoned in Parliament, and the rescue of the northern part of that continent declared to be consummated.

"We have now," said Lord Castlereagh, "arrived at the last stage of our difficulties, and the last stage of our exertions. One great portion of the world was *rescued* from the horrors of the traffic. The approval of the grant amounted to this, whether the slave trade should be abolished or not."

Lord Castlereagh announced, on the same occasion, the conclusion of a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador in London, for the final suppression of the Portuguese slave trade; and the certainty of its ratification: But his lordship's assurance was premature. The court of Brasil could not be drawn into any further retrenchment, than was stipulated in the treaty of Vienna to which I have adverted. Sweden, who had never authorized the trade, readily consented to prohibit it, on receiving Guadaloupe in 1813, *in deposit*. The king of the Netherlands accepted of the condition of a total renunciation, attached to the restitution of the Dutch colonies in 1814.

15. Before I proceed to exhibit the actual, and what—it is to be feared from late British statements, which I shall produce,—may be considered as the final result of all these boasted triumphs for Africa, I wish to illustrate further the English sins of commission. We have seen that the African Institution acknowledges the participation of Bri-

* In the debate in the House of Commons, (Feb. 9th, 1818,) Mr. Wilberforce said, "He could not but think that the grant to Spain would be more than repaid to Great Britain in commercial advantages, by the opening of a great continent to British industry; an object which would be entirely defeated, if the slave traffic was to be carried on by the Spanish nation. Our commercial connexion with Africa will do much more than repay us for any pecuniary sacrifices of this kind. He himself would see Great Britain deriving the greatest advantages from its intercourse with Africa." *Hansard's Parl. Deb.*

tish subjects in the trade, to a great extent. The same admission has been made repeatedly in Parliament, by the highest authority. Before the establishment of the peace of 1814, Mr. Whitbread stated in the House of Commons, that "there were, to his knowledge, persons in England base enough to wish for the return of peace, on account of the facilities it would afford for carrying on the slave traffic under another flag."* On the 18th April, 1815, Mr. Barham alleged in the same place, "that it was a well known fact that a large British capital was employed in British ships, in the slave trade." And on the 9th of February, 1818, Lord Castlereagh held this language to Parliament. "It would be a great error to believe that the reproach of carrying on the slave trade illegally, belonged only to other countries. In *numberless* instances, he was sorry to say, it had come to his knowledge, that British subjects were indirectly and *largely* engaged."

With respect to the British West India islands, it is of notoriety that they have been replenished with negroes since the British abolition. In the quotations which I have made from the Reports of the African Institution, the contraband trade of those islands is formally denounced. The Report of that Society for 1815, is more pointed and circumstantial in its declarations on the same head, in relation to all of them. It gives us to understand that twenty thousand negroes had been yearly smuggled into them, and avers that "all of the settlements were confident of having the means of providing themselves still with slaves in the proportion of their actual demand;" that "insular laws, whose policy plainly depended on the permanence of the slave trade, remained unrepealed;" that "the assemblies still looked to Africa for the supply of their *wasting* population." The Edinburgh Review, in expressing some incredulity with respect to the amount of the illicit importation, intimated in the Report, remarks, however, that "to question the fact of clandestine importation would prove extreme ignorance of West Indian morals, and of the state to which the administration of the law is of necessity reduced, where nine persons in ten of the inhabitants are incompetent witnesses, and are, moreover, the property of the remaining tenth."†

The same Report denies that the slaves, in any one island, had, in regard to their legal condition, then derived the least benefit from the abolition acts. It represents them, also, as suffering the same miseries; as equally cut off from all

* Debate of May 2d, 1814. † No. 50.

PART I. means of mental and religious improvement. In their article upon this Report, the Edinburgh Reviewers ratify its exposition, and speak thus of their "sugar planting brethren:"—"They not only have taken no steps to encourage religious instruction, but have again and again attempted to prevent the black population from receiving it, in the only form in which it ever can reach them, as things are at present constituted, namely, by missionary preachers. The zeal of pious men was beginning to carry the blessings of the gospel into the settlements, not sectaries merely, but Church-of-England missions. The wisdom of colonial legislation took the alarm; acts were regularly and in all the forms, passed, to stop, by main force, all such attempts at illuminating the hundreds of thousands of their Pagan subjects. The royal assent has been refused, but they are of sufficient efficacy in the interval, and as often as one is annulled, another is passed. In some of the colonies, the impediments to manumission are enormous. The tax imposed by the policy of the law in those enlightened latitudes, for ever closes the door to emancipation. In Jamaica, the negroes are prohibited from being taught," &c.

The work of Dickson and Steele, entitled *Mitigation of Slavery*, of which I have already availed myself, is one of great and deserved authority on these subjects. It was published in London, in 1814, and the writers, who had long resided in the West Indies in high stations, go even beyond the African Institution in their representations of the nature of the slavery, and of the futility of the abolition acts, in that quarter.

"The abolition," says Dr. Dickson, "of what is called the African slave trade, was, in itself, an object every way worthy of the long and arduous struggle which effected it. But its relative value, as a corrective of West Indian abuses, hath been greatly overrated. The reader of this volume will see distinctly that, as many of the worst evils of the West Indian slavery were owing to other causes than the African slave trade, those evils could not possibly be remedied by the abolition of that trade. This important position, so solidly established in the first part of the following collection, hath been deplorably exemplified, since the date of the abolition act, in the accounts of respectable individuals; and in the correspondence of the secretary of state with the West Indian governors. The facts alluded to, though but a mere specimen of the West Indian slavery, clearly show, that they flowed from a source inherent in that slavery itself. An additional proof is, that, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave trade, the low price of produce, and the exorbitant price of slaves, (all strong

motives for economizing their lives,) *the deaths among the slaves of one island, in* 1810, *exceeded the births by above ten thousand.* No cause of any extraordinary mortality is alleged; but that surplus of deaths appears to have happened *in the common course of business.* On the whole, we may safely affirm, that the general treatment of the slaves, in the old sugar islands, has not received any material improvement for a century and a half. The new islands have but copied the old; with the difference, that the hardships inseparable from the clearing of fresh lands have, in all cases, deplorably aggravated the mortality."

"Facts leave not a doubt in the mind, that the harshness of the slave laws is but little softened by the lenity of the general practice in *any* of the sugar islands. Bad is the best treatment which the negroes experience in the West India colonies. They all perform their labour under the whip. Mr. Mathison, that sensible and candid planter, states broadly, in 1811, the general practice of *under-feeding* from one end of Jamaica to the other. He also believes that excessive labour is one of the prevailing causes of depopulation among the slaves on that island."

The registry system for the West Indies, is grounded upon the inefficacy of the abolition there; and, so far as appears by the facts disclosed in the House of Commons, the one has been found as nugatory as the other.* We may take an instance from the mouth of Mr. Wilberforce, of the state of things in Barbadoes, where, according to Dr. Dickson,† slavery is not near so bad as in most of the other islands.

"Mr. Wilberforce said, (April 22d, 1818,) that the situation of the slaves in Barbadoes was most wretched. Lord Seaforth, when governor of the island, endeavoured to improve it by procuring a law to render the murder of a slave capital. The island was at first *enraged* with the governor for proposing such a measure. When it was consented to, and the friends of humanity in this country were led to believe that the condition of the slaves in that island was much bettered, what was their surprise and disappointment, to find in two years after, when this law was laid upon the table of the house, that it was rendered entirely nugatory by a condition annexed to it; for it was provided, that the murder to be capital must be unprovoked."

* See, on this head, the Twelfth Report of the African Institution, p. 42.

† Mitigation of Slavery, p. 512.

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"There were cases," Mr. Wilberforce continued, "in which a negro had purchased his freedom, and the freedom of his children, and trained them up with the most exemplary care, yet his offspring had afterwards been seized on by the creditors of his deceased master, because he had died an insolvent, and had been thus transported even to the mines of Mexico."*

With such testimony as we have seen, notoriously extant, concerning the importation of negroes into the British West Indies, and their general condition, after the abolition act, the British minister, Lord Castlereagh, ventured, in his correspondence with the foreign powers in the year 1814,† to make the following representation. "The experience of eight years which have elapsed since the total abolition of the slave trade, as far as that depended on Great Britain, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, has furnished complete proof that the settlements in the West Indies have not suffered by the want of fresh supplies of African labourers. These colonies continue to be in a flourishing condition, and since there has been no new importation of slaves, the treatment of those already possessed has improved, and *the lights of religion and civilization have been diffused among them.*"

Another striking case of ministerial hardihood is furnished in the following extract from a speech of Mr. Goulbourn, on the production of the Registry returns to the House of Commons, on the 9th June, 1819. "The apparent increase of negro population had not arisen from any illegal importation of slaves into our colonies, but was attributable to other causes. It might appear extraordinary that in one island the colonial slaves had increased, in the course of two years, upwards of five thousand. Some of these might be the produce of *certain captures*;‡ but he was perfectly convinced that the augmentation was not attributable to any illegal traffic!"

Representations of this sort, in the face of those of the African Institution, in defiance of all fact and reason, belong to the old system which is exemplified in the following passage of Mills' History of British India.

"When the opinions which Lord Cornwallis expressed of the different departments of the Indian government, at the time when he undertook his reforms, (1790,) are attended to, it will not be easy to conceive a people suffering more intensely

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.

† Official letter to the British minister at Madrid, 15th July, 1814.

‡ That is to say, of foreign slave ships, whose cargoes have been sold in the British islands.

by the vices of government. The administration of justice through all its departments in a state the most pernicious and depraved; the public revenue levied upon principles incompatible with the existence of private property; the people sunk in poverty and wretchedness; such is the picture on the one hand: —*Pictures of an unexampled state of prosperity were, nevertheless, the pictures held forth at this very moment, by speeches in parliament, to the parliament and the nation,—and the flattering pictures, as they were the pictures of the minister, governed the belief of parliament, and through parliament that of the nation.*"* SECT. IX.

16. The strain of the communications of the British government, respecting the slave trade, to the foreign powers, down to the conclusion of the treaty with Spain, in 1817, implied that every thing would be accomplished for the portion of Africa north of the line, when the abolition was universal with regard to that portion. At every new arrangement, a descant was chaunted in Parliament, to the triumphant and generous zeal of the ministry, who, by the progressive decapitation of "the hydra," had nearly crowned all the generous sacrifices of Britain with the expected reward, in the security of Africa and the reformation of Europe. But there was reason to suspect that Louis XVIII. would not so easily have made a virtue of necessity in 1815; nor Ferdinand,—urgent as were his pecuniary wants, and comparatively unimportant as the acquisition of negroes had become to Spain from the revolt of her colonies,—have prescribed so near a term to the legal slave trade of his subjects; had not these monarchs been assured of an abundant and ready supply where it should be wanted, whatever anathemas and engagements might be extorted from them by the ascendant position and plausible reclamations of Great Britain. All that circumstances made it natural to suspect, and rendered, indeed, obviously certain, has been realized, and is now at length proclaimed by the British government itself. As the political scheme has reached a crisis when a full and vivid disclosure of the truth is necessary for progression and complete success, it is acknowledged outright, and vehemently bewailed, that *nothing* has as yet been accomplished for Africa, practically; that the slave trade has been constantly increasing, and that no limits can be descried to its duration or its depredations. Such is the purport of the thirteenth Report, dated 24th March, 1819, of the African Institution; a report which bears intrinsically the

* Book VI. vol. iii. p. 334.

PART I. character of a government-manifesto; and which furnishes materials to complete a skeleton of the history of the abolition. I will use it freely in detailing the result of the British management as respects France, Spain, and Portugal, severally, and the main ostensible object of retribution to Africa.

And first, with regard to France. In the Appendix to the Report, there is an eloquent address on the subject of the slave trade, to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which is said to have been distributed there by Mr. Clarkson, during the sittings in November, 1818. This address is evidently the work of the African Institution, under the direction of the British ministry; and the distribution of it an expedient of both for their joint and several purposes. It contains the following statement as to the French trade.

"No sooner was peace proclaimed, than the traders in human blood hastened from various quarters to the African shores, and, with a cupidity sharpened by past restraint, renewed their former crimes."

"Among the rest, the slave merchants of France, who had been excluded for upwards of twenty years, from any direct participation in this murderous traffic, now eagerly resumed it; and to this very hour, they continue openly to carry it on, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation of it by their own government, in 1815, and the prohibitory French laws which have since been passed to restrain them."

"The revival and progress of the French slave trade have, in one respect, been peculiarly opprobrious, and attended with aggravated cruelty and mischief."

"During the ten years which preceded the restoration of Senegal and Goree to France, no part of the African coast, Sierra Leone excepted, had enjoyed so entire an exemption from the miseries produced by the slave trade as those settlements, and the country in their vicinage."

"The suppression of the traffic was there nearly complete, and, in consequence, a striking increase of population and of agriculture in the surrounding districts, with a proportionate improvement in other respects, gave a dawn of rising prosperity and happiness, highly exhilarating to every benevolent mind."

"It was in the month of January, 1817, that these interesting settlements were restored to France; and melancholy, indeed, had been the effects: no sooner was the transfer completed, than, in defiance of the declarations by which the king of France had prohibited the slave trade to his subjects, that trade was instantly renewed, and extended in all directions

The ordinary excitements to the native chiefs, have produced more than the ordinary horrors. In the short space of a single year, after the change of flags, the adjoining countries, though previously flourishing in peace and abundance, exhibited but one frightful spectacle of misery and devastation."

"Now, let it here be recollected, that France had professed, in the face of the civilized world, her abhorrence of this guilty commerce. In the definitive treaty of the 30th of November, 1815, she had pledged herself 'to the entire and effectual abolition of a traffic so odious in itself, and so highly repugnant to the laws of religion and nature.' As early as the 30th of July, 1815, she had informed the ambassadors of the allied powers, that directions had actually been issued, 'in order that on the part of France the traffic in slaves might cease from that time, every where and for ever.' She had, even previously to this, assured the British government, that the settlements of Senegal and Goree, restored to her by treaty, should not be made subservient to the revival of the slave trade. Yet, notwithstanding all this, no sooner do these settlements revert to her dominion, than the work of rapine, and carnage, and desolation commence; every opening prospect of improvement is crushed; thousands of miserable captives, of every age and sex, are crowded into the pestilential holds of slave ships, and subjected to the well known horrors of the middle passage, in order to be transported to the French colonies in the West Indies. There, such of them as may survive, are doomed to pass their lives in severe and unremitting labour, exacted from them by the merciless lash of the cart-whip in the hands of a driver. It would admit of proof, that probably at no period of the existence of this opprobrious traffic, has Africa suffered more intensely from its ravages than during a part of the time which has elapsed since the re-establishment of the peace of the civilized world."

In another part of the Appendix, it is averred, and sufficiently proved to the date of September, 1818, that the French authorities in Africa *allow* the slave trade to be carried on to any extent, under their command; that in Senegal and Goree, they themselves are *interested* in carrying it on; and that the French vessels of war connive at the departure of slave ships. In the body of the Report, positive information to the same effect, is announced in this language—"The subscribers to the Institution will no doubt recollect the painful task which devolved upon the directors last year, in detailing the state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, and more particularly that part of it which lies in the neighbourhood of the French

PART I. settlements of Senegal and Goree. Of the statements then made, ample confirmation has since been received, accompanied by additional information of a similarly distressing nature. A considerable slave trade appears also to have been carried on by French subjects at Allredrâ, and other places in the river Gambia. The information, indeed, which the directors have received subsequently to their last Report, confirms the statement therein contained, of the existence, to a great extent, of this traffic in the French settlements on the coast of Africa," &c.

So much for the unconditional restoration of the French possessions, and the five years charter for organized kidnapping and murder!

In the debate in the House of Commons, of February 9th, 1818, which I have already mentioned, some curious particulars were disclosed respecting the French slave trade, that deserve to be known, in addition to the above. I will report them as they were stated by Sir James Mackintosh. "It being discovered that the trade was still carried on by France with great vigour, application was made by Sir Charles Stewart, the British ambassador, in January, 1817, for copies of 'Laws, Ordinances, Instructions, and other public acts, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.' The Duc de Richelieu had nothing to communicate but a mere colonial regulation passed *eight days before*, prohibiting the importation of slaves into the French colonies. Notwithstanding the assertion of Prince Talleyrand's letter, in spite of the more solemn affirmation of the treaty, it appears that France had taken no legal measure for the abolition, during eighteen months, after she professed she had adopted it. What she did at that time was imperfect, and it did not appear that she had done any thing since." So little had she done, indeed, that Sir William Scott found himself obliged to release, in 1817, a French slave ship detained by a British cruiser, on the ground that there was no sufficient proof that the French vessel, in carrying on the slave trade, had violated the laws of France.

Let us now see how the case stands with respect to Spain and Portugal, whom it would have been so easy to subdue to the purpose of abolition, ten years ago, and the mischiefs of whose legal appearance in the trade, might, therefore, have been averted. The Appendix to the Report contains a series of queries, dated December, 1816, addressed by Lord Castlereagh to the Institution, respecting the state of the trade during the preceding twenty-five years. Part of the information communicated in reply is as follows: "The number of slaves

withdrawn from western Africa during the last twenty-five years, is necessarily involved in much uncertainty. There is reason to believe that the export of the Portuguese was much more considerable than the amount supposed, 15,000. Previous to the British abolition, the Portuguese had confined their trade almost entirely to the Bight of Benin, and the coast to the southward of it, but in consequence of the reduction in the price of slaves on the Windward and Gold Coasts, they were gradually drawn thither. The whole of the slave trade, whether legal or contraband, passes, with very few exceptions, under the Spanish and Portuguese flags. The Spanish flag is a mere disguise, and covers the property of unlawful traders, whether English, American, or others." SECT. IX.

"Since the Portuguese have been restricted by treaty from trading for slaves on certain parts of the African coast, they have resorted to similar expedients for protecting their slave trade expeditions to places within the prohibited district. And at the present moment, there is little doubt, that a considerable part of the apparently Spanish slave trade, which is carrying on to the north of the equator, where the Portuguese are forbidden to buy slaves, is really a Portuguese trade."

"A farther use is now found for the Spanish flag, in protecting the French slave traders; and it is affirmed, that the French ships fitted out in France, for the slave trade, call at Corunna for the purpose of effecting a nominal transfer of the property engaged in the illegal voyage, to some Spanish house, and thus obtaining the requisite evidence of Spanish ownership."

"In consequence of these uses to which the Spanish flag has been applied, a great increase of the apparently Spanish slave trade has taken place of late. And as the flag of that nation is permitted to range over the whole extent of the African coast, it seems to keep alive the slave trade in places from which it would otherwise have been shut out; and it has of late revived that trade in situations where it had been previously almost wholly extinguished."

"The Portuguese flag is now chiefly seen to the south of the equator, although sometimes the Portuguese traders do not hesitate still to resort to the rivers between Whydaer and the equator, even without a Spanish disguise. *The only two cruizers* which have recently visited that part of the coast, found several ships under the Portuguese flag openly trading for slaves, in Sago and the Bight of Benin."

"The slave trade has certainly been carried on during the last two years, to a great extent north of the equator. The

PART I. native chiefs and traders who began to believe at length that the abolition was likely to be permanently maintained, have learnt from recent events to distrust all such assurances. Notwithstanding all that has been said and done, they now see the slave traders again sweeping the whole coast without molestation. It would be difficult fully to appreciate the deep and lasting injury inflicted on northern Africa, by the transactions of the last two or three years. An abolition on the part of Spain would at once deliver the whole of northern Africa from the slave trade, provided effectual measures were taken to seize and punish illicit traders. By the prolongation of the Spanish slave trade, on the contrary, not only is the whole of northern Africa, which would otherwise be exempt, given up to the ravages of that traffic, and the progress already made in improvement sacrificed, *but facilities are afforded of smuggling into every island of the West Indies;* which could not otherwise exist, and which, while slave ships may lawfully pass from Africa to Cuba, it would, perhaps, be impossible to prevent."

This was the state of things, according to the Institution, at the end of 1816. We will now see what it was at the beginning of the present year, notwithstanding the conventions signed with Spain and Portugal in the interval. "The African slave trade," says the Report itself, "is still unhappily carried on to an enormous extent under the foreign flags, with aggravated horrors. The directors have to lament the enormous extent, not of the French slave trade only; that of Spain and Portugal appears also to have greatly increased. Notwithstanding the great pecuniary sacrifices made by Great Britain to these nations, their subjects are stated by the governor of Sierra Leone to be now deeper in blood than ever." The Report mentions the fact, that at the distance of more than a year from the date of the Spanish and Portuguese conventions, the British naval commander in chief on the African coast had received no instructions as to the measures to be taken in pursuance of them, nor as yet had any commission been established, as they prescribed.

The estimate which the directors make in the Appendix to the Report, of the number of negroes transported of late years from Africa under the Spanish and Portuguese flags, falls greatly short of the real amount. Dr. Thorpe, whose testimony, on this head, is certainly entitled to weight, has made some statements which agree better with the direct knowledge which we have in this country, of the importation into the Spanish islands and into Brasil. He alleges that the

commissioners appointed by the British government to survey the West Coast of Africa, three years after it had abolished the trade, reported *eighty thousand* as the number of negroes annually carried away, and divided equally between the Portuguese and Spaniards. He computes, himself, from returns made by persons residing in the Havanna, in the Brasils, and on the coast of Africa, that the Spaniards carried from the West Coast, in 1817, *one hundred thousand;* and the Portuguese not less. He adds forty thousand as the number taken by other nations, and from other parts of that quarter of the globe. There is something almost overpowering for a real philanthropist in the observations with which this writer concludes his calculations. "As it appears that in 1807, about sixty thousand inhabitants of Africa were annually enslaved, and in 1817 two hundred and forty thousand, we may judge of her present deplorable condition, when the very cause of her barbarous and degraded state has increased four-fold; we should recollect the unshaken testimony presented to Parliament, which established her miserable condition before 1807; and we cannot but lament that all the professions for her happiness, and promises for her civilization, reiterated since that time, have been perfectly delusive."*

Dr. Thorpe asserts, also, that at the time Great Britain had the right of search, nineteen out of twenty of the contraband slave vessels escaped. One cannot but think that their success would not have been quite so great, had her cruizers exercised the same zeal and vigilance in pursuing them, as they did in hunting down the commerce of the United States, under the Orders in Council.

In the first negotiations respecting the trade, which Lord Castlereagh opened with the French cabinet after the treaty of 1814, he suggested, as a desirable arrangement, the concession *of a mutual right of search and capture* in certain latitudes, between France and Great Britain, in order to prevent an illicit exportation from the coast of Africa. The Duke of Wellington made the proposition to the Prince of Benevento, but soon discovered that it was "too disagreeable to the French government and nation, to admit of a hope of its being urged with success."† I do not find from the history of the conferences at Vienna in 1815, that it was more than hinted in those conferences. Spain and Portugal, however, in their mock renunciation of the trade north of the equinoc-

* P. 13. View of the Increase of the Slave Trade.

† See his letter to Lord Castlereagh of the 5th Nov. 1814.

PART I. tial line, acceded to a stipulation of like tenor. Great satisfaction was expressed in Parliament with the arrangement, when the Spanish treaty came under discussion. "The introduction of the right of search and bringing in for condemnation in time of peace," was declared to be "*a precedent* of the utmost importance." Of this precedent the British minister resolved to avail himself at once. There is a quasi official exposition of his proceedings in the thirteenth Report of the African Institution, of which I will abstract as much as may convey a sufficient idea of the new turn given to the question of abolition.

The ministers of the great powers were assembled in London to confer on the subject: all attended readily except the representative of Portugal, who consented to appear only on condition of a perfect freedom of action being left to his sovereign. At a meeting held in February, 1818, Lord Castlereagh produced a note, which alleged, among other things, That, since the peace, a considerable revival of the slave trade had taken place, especially north of the line, and that the traffic was principally of the illicit description:—That, as early as July, 1816, a circular intimation had been given to all British cruizers, that the right of search (being a belligerent right) had ceased with the war:—That it was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, that unless the right to visit vessels engaged in the slave trade should be established by mutual concessions on the part of the maritime states, the illicit traffic must not only continue to subsist, but increase: *That even if the traffic were universally abolished, and a single state should refuse to submit its flag to the visitation of vessels of other states, nothing effectual would have been done:* That the plenipotentiaries should, therefore, enter into an engagement to concede mutually the right of search, *ad hoc*, to their ships of war, &c. They did not deem themselves authorised to proceed so far, but undertook to transmit the proposition to their respective courts.

It does not appear that the American minister was invited to be a party to these conferences. To him, however, Lord Castlereagh addressed a special letter in the month of June, 1818, enclosing copies of the treaties made with Spain and Portugal, and inviting the government of the United States to enter into the plan digested in those treaties, for the repression of the slave trade, which must, otherwise, prove irreducible. The answer of the American government, communicated at the end of December by the American ambassador, is detailed in the Report of the Institution. It asserts the deep and

unfeigned solicitude of the United States, for the universal extirpation of the slave trade; but, with all due comity, declines the proposed arrangements, as being of a character "not adapted to the circumstances or institutions of the United States." Truly, the United States had sufficiently proved the British right of search in time of war, to be careful not to create one for the season of peace. SECT. IX.

No answer had been received from the courts whose ministers attended the conferences in London, when the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle furnished the British government with the fairest opportunity of pushing the adoption of its whole project. Thither, on the heels of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Clarkson repaired with the memorial, which I have already cited. It stated to the assembled sovereigns—That, "in point of fact, little or no progress had been made in practically abolishing the slave trade:" That "all the declarations and engagements of the European powers as to abolition, must prove perfectly unavailing, unless new means were adopted:" That the only means left were—the universal concession of the mutual right of search and detention; and the solemn proscription of the slave trade, as *Piracy* under the law of nations.

Lord Castlereagh's official representations were of the same purport, and were answered in separate notes from the plenipotentiaries of Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia. The respondents profess their readiness to make a combined address to the court of Brasil, in order to engage it to accelerate, *as much as the circumstances and necessities of its situation may permit*, the entire abolition of the trade; but all reject the proposition of a mutual right of search, that new *sine qua non* of the salvation of Africa. France, whose concurrence, according to Lord Castlereagh, was, "above all others, important," gave the most peremptory refusal; and suggested, on her side, a plan of common police for the trade, which would enable the several powers to know the transactions of each other, and would keep each government well apprized of all abuses within its jurisdiction. Upon the emperor Alexander, both Lord Castlereagh and the directors of the African Institution had counted, as a sure and irresistible auxiliary. The "unkindest cut," however, would seem to have come from his Russian Majesty. The answer of his plenipotentiary was fitted to produce a double disconcertion; and might be suspected of a little malice in the design. Besides alleging that it appeared to the Russian cabinet, beyond a doubt, that there were some states which no consideration would induce to submit their navigation to a principle of such high importance

PART I. "as the right of visit," he proposed an expedient to effect the common purpose, which went to deprive England of her sway, and unembarrassed action, on the west coast of Africa. This expedient consisted in "an institution, the seat of which should be a central point on that coast, and in the formation of which all the Christian states should take a part." It is thus particularly described in the Russian note: "Declared for every neutral, to be estranged from all political and local interests, like the fraternal and Christian alliance, of which it would be a practical manifestation, this institution would pursue the single object of strictly maintaining the execution of the law. It would consist of a maritime force, composed of a sufficient number of ships of war, appropriated to the service assigned to them; of a judicial power, which should judge all crimes relating to the trade, according to a legislation established upon the subject, by the common wisdom; of a supreme council, in which would reside the authority of the institution,—which would regulate the operations of the maritime force—would revise the sentences of the tribunals—would put them in execution—would inspect all the details, and would render an account of its administration to the future European conferences. The right of visit and detention would be granted to this institution, as the means of fulfilling its end; and perhaps no maritime nation would refuse to submit its flag to this police, exercised in a limited and clearly defined manner, and by a power too feeble to allow of vexations; too disinterested on all maritime and commercial questions, and, above all, too widely combined in its elements, not to observe a severe, but impartial justice towards all."

Neither the French plan of *surveillance*, nor the Amphyctionic Institution of his Imperial Majesty, suited the views of Lord Castlereagh, who could not be persuaded of the practicability of either. His lordship finally proposed to qualify the desired right of search, by limiting its duration to a certain number of years; and by this and other modifications, "he flatters himself," says the thirteenth Report of the African Institution, "that he has made a considerable impression in removing the strong repugnance which was at first felt to the measure." But the directors themselves do not appear to be so sanguine, if we may judge from the following passage of the Report: "Thus ended the conferences, and proceedings at Aix-la-Chapelle, respecting the more effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and thus have the directors been disappointed in the hopes which they had entertained, of seeing the

noble principles, announced to the world by the congress at Vienna, carried into complete effect, by the sovereigns and plenipotentiaries assembled in the course of the last autumn. Whether such another opportunity of bringing those principles into action, may ever again occur, cannot be foreseen; but the directors must be allowed to express their unfeigned regret, that so very favourable a combination of circumstances has led to such *unimportant results*."

SECT. IX.

The plan of England to obtain from the congress a sentence of *piracy* upon the slave trade, appeared to the sovereigns rather wanting in courtesy towards their royal brother of the Brasils, while he persisted in authorizing his subjects to prosecute it indefinitely as to number. It was evident, said the emperor of Russia, that the general promulgation of such a law could not take place, until Portugal had totally renounced the trade. At the same time, the congress might not have been able to discern the consistency, of proclaiming that a capital crime in the subjects of one nation, which those of another might do with impunity, under the sanction of recent treaties. It was certainly an awkward duty for an *English* ministry, to solicit the denunciation of piracy against the slave trade, which the English nation had, for two centuries, struggled to monopolize. The reflection upon all the generations of that whole tract of time, was rather too strong, in the use of such language as this—"Slave-trading always involves man-stealing and *murder*. Even on the passage its *murders* are numerous,"* &c. The Lord Chancellor Eldon could not have thought so, when, opposing the British abolition in 1807, "he entered into a review of the measures adopted by England, respecting the trade, which, he contended, had been sanctioned by Parliaments in which sat the wisest lawyers, the most learned divines, and the most excellent statesmen."† Nor could Lord Hawkesbury, when he moved that the words "inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity," should be struck out of the preamble of the British abolition bill.‡ Nor could Lord Sidmouth, when he said, "to the measure itself he had no objection, if it could be accomplished *without detriment to the West India islands*:"§ Nor the Earl of Westmoreland, in declaring that "though he should see the presbyterian and the prelate, the methodist and field preacher, the jacobin and murderer, unite in

* The Memorial. † Hansard's Debates, vol. viii. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

PART I. favour of the measure of abolition, he would raise his voice against it in Parliament."*

Throughout the conferences and negotiations above mentioned, we find the continental powers betraying a rooted distrust of the motives of the British government. The vehemence of its execrations upon the trade; the intensity of its present zeal for the welfare of Africa, contributed to excite suspicion, when compared with the language I have just cited, and with the toleration of the Spanish and Portuguese traffic before the peace;—with the treaty of 1814, by which England, having secured for herself, in the general distribution of spoil, some favourite objects of interest, delivered over to the miseries now so pathetically described, whole provinces which she boasted of having entirely relieved—with the free export of fire-arms and ammunition from the British ports to the coast of Africa; and with the existence of slavery in its worst form, in all the British settlements, including those of Asia Minor and the East Indies. It was remarked that, as soon as it was seen in England, in 1806, that her trade would be abolished, Parliament petitioned the king to negotiate with foreign powers for the abolition of theirs; but that nothing was vigorously attempted in this way,—all had been languor and connivance,—until the conclusion of peace, when the restitution took place, of considerable colonies, which, being stocked regularly and cheaply with slaves, while those retained by England received only a precarious and dear supply, might speedily outgrow the latter, and supplant them in the markets of the world; and when on other grounds avowed and pressed in Parliament, the commercial interests of England evidently required, if not universal abolition, at least the restriction to the south of the equator.

France knew that it was with British capital and shipping that her merchants had embarked in the trade, immediately after the peace; Spain and Portugal, that the greater part of the trade carried on under their flags was on British account; and they were somewhat incredulous, when they were told of the British negotiators being "the organs of a people *unanimous* in its condemnation; apprized of all its horrors; impressed with all its guilt; foremost in removing its pollution from themselves, and waiting with confident, but impatient hope, the glad tidings of its universal abolition." None of the powers had ever found those organs disposed to make a sacrifice for this object, beyond an island,

* Ibid.

a subsidy, or a largess; which might be considered as offered with a view to ample compensation in lucre; for Mr. Wilberforce was implicitly to be believed, when he said, in the House of Commons, in addition to what I have already quoted from him of a like tenor, that, "in a commercial point of view, it was of incalculable advantage to have the supply of that large tract of country, from the Senegal down to the Niger, an extent of more than 7500 miles, with the necessaries and gratifications which British manufactures and commerce afford."* Parliament still contained several of the hitherto inflexible anti-abolitionists, who had harangued without end to prove the justice and humanity of the trade at large; its very unanimity, therefore, where that of foreign powers was concerned, had the effect of lessening confidence abroad. Such a phenomenon as the union of General Gascoyne with Mr. Wilberforce, of Lord Westmoreland with Lord Grenville, in proclaiming the unequalled guilt and infamy of the slave traffic, could be viewed by the Talleyrands and the Nesselrodes only as indicating a universal sense, of the great importance of the end in view, to the commercial ascendancy of Great Britain. SECT. IX.

It is easily seen, from the strain of the diplomatic notes addressed to Lord Castlereagh at Aix la-Chapelle, that the congress had a common jealousy of the designs of England upon the African coast, and acted in concert in disappointing the hopes, and alarming the policy, of her plenipotentiary. To maintain a fleet upon that coast would obviously be in the power of none but England, so that the idea of reciprocity in the right of search was illusive; and it was not contrary to the entire analogy of British maritime administration, to suppose, that, in this case, it might be perverted to the ends of rapacity, oppression, or monopoly.

The invidiousness of the proceedings of the English statesmen, and the incredulity which they have rendered inveterate in the foreign cabinets, as to their professions, in this matter of the slave trade, make it doubtful whether the cause of real, universal abolition has not suffered by the intervention of England. Had the appeal to the justice, humanity, magnanimity, and true interests of France, Spain, or Portugal, come from a quarter where no selfish or hostile views could be suspected to lurk; had it been urged with steady effort, with the directness of conscious benevolence, and with only a part of that eloquence and sagacity which Great Britain has dis-

* February 11, 1818.

PART I. played in the *argument*, it might, in the end, have effectually reclaimed those powers, or have raised against them such a combination of influence as would have led to the same happy result. But, in dealing with Great Britain, the calculation with them has been, how to avoid a suspected snare; to counteract an insidious rival policy; to preserve the interests which they ostensibly sacrificed in compliance with the particular necessities of their situation Hence a more eager and obstinate purpose of filling their colonies with negroes in every practicable mode; a greater callousness to the shame and criminality of the traffic—hence on the part of other powers, giving the same construction to the instances of England, little disposition to adopt any system that should cut off their supplies, or second her aims. Hence, too, the unmeaning engagements about abolition after a certain period of enjoyment, which only serve to stimulate the exertions of the slave trade, and aggravate the immediate desolation of Africa; "the vows of future amendment coupled with present perseverance in guilt;" sacrifices promised to be made, with a determination to prove faithless; solemn assurances of future rectitude, for whose accomplishment we are to wait until commercial jealousy shall cease, avarice be satiated, or the sword drawn to enforce performance.

More of cant, hypocrisy, and inconsistency, has never disgraced any occasion, than this of the abolition of the slave trade. While it is admitted universally, and solemnly proclaimed by the potentates, to be the opprobrium of christendom, and the bane of Africa; "repugnant to the principles of humanity and essential morality,"* they enter into compacts among themselves for guaranteeing to one or the other, the unmolested prosecution of it, during such a term as the convenience of the party may require; and in no case is there an intention of observing the limitation prescribed. France demands, to use the language of Lord Grenville, five years of injustice and rapine, of murder and violence, laying waste a whole quarter of the globe, that she may recruit her colonial vigour, and particularly that she may have the facility of repeopling St. Domingo with slaves, in case of the reduction of that island; England, the tutelary genius of Africa, specially ratifies this demand: Portugal and Spain must have eight years of the same horrible career, and will not agree to desist even then, unless their commercial relations with England

* See the Declaration of the Congress of Vienna, 8th Feb. 1815.

shall undergo a particular change: they acknowledge the teeming wickedness of the traffic; but, unluckily, they have the prosperity of their dominions to promote: England disclaims all idea of giving the law on the subject, or pushing matters to an extremity:* Russia, Austria, and Prussia, cannot undertake to coerce any power, either as to time or space; and decide that each is to be left to consult "the prejudices, habits, and interests of its subjects, and the circumstances of its situation:" All pledge themselves, in the last place, to make every possible effort to accelerate the triumph of the magnificent cause of universal abolition!

The only governments, in fact, which have acted *sincerely and independently*, in relation to it, are those of Denmark and the United States. I am free to confess that no small share of the illicit trade has been carried on by Americans, or by persons assuming the character; and that no inconsiderable number of negroes has been clandestinely imported into the most southern parts of our territory. Perhaps the Federal Government has not exerted all the vigilance in repressing these abuses, which their enormity required; but the heartiest detestation of them is common to it and to the majority of the nation. The least participation in the slave traffic is certainly a deep stain, and a heinous guilt. The violence which this traffic does, in its very conception, to the rights and obligations of human nature; its effect in brutalizing those who pursue it; the flagitious and ferocious practices with which it is attended; the ineffable, accumulated woes which it inflicts upon its defenceless victims; the immeasurable evils of every kind with which it overspreads the continent of Africa, and threatens that of America—conspire to invest it with a character of greater deformity, scandal, depravity, and perniciousness, than belongs to any other general crime of the civilized world. I have been the more liberal of details concerning the horrors of the British trade, in order to attract a more earnest attention to our own late offences of the sort, about which we have been too supine; and against which the voice of every good citizen and moral man, as well as the voice and the arm of the government, should be perpetually raised.

17. Widely different, under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, is the case of retaining the wretched race of Africa in bondage. The most zealous of the English philan-

* See the Protocol of the third conference at Vienna, Feb. 4th, 1815.

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So late as 1817, Lord Holland, one of the most devoted among the associates of Mr. Wilberforce, moved, in the House of Peers, a petition to the Prince Regent, praying that the idea of emancipating the West India slaves might be disowned by royal proclamation throughout the islands; which was done accordingly. Their *unfitness for freedom*, no less than the danger to the white inhabitants, has been alleged as the motive for discarding all projects implying their liberation. This has always been treated in England as a question of practicability, not of strict justice. To give a specimen of the mode of reasoning on the subject, I will extract a passage from a speech of Mr. W. Grant in the House of Commons.

"Mr. W. Grant said, he had ever conceived that the end of legislation was to do good, and to consider justice in our means of doing it. Now, there were some occasions on which it was impossible to do so; and there the greatest good must be the object even in violation of strict justice. He would illustrate his meaning by an instance. Let them suppose a case of emancipation. Wherever slavery existed, there necessarily existed oppression, and the continuance of slavery was consequently a continuance of oppression. If he had professed to do justice, and a slave were to ask him, how could he account for the use he had in view in making him a slave; if he meant to do justice, he should not continue him a slave? he should answer, that his means were circumscribed, and that it was true philanthropy to effect the greatest good, which the nature of the case would admit. If he forbore to do an act, abstractly an act of humanity, but which would produce a different consequence, he surely acted rightly;

were he to act otherwise, he should not satisfy his conscience, because he should not diminish the misery he wished to relieve." SECT. IX.

Expediency is thus justified, and allowed on all hands to prevail, touching the existence of slavery in the West Indies. That the British government possesses the *power* to suppress it, no one ventures to deny. The Edinburgh Review has scouted the supposition of armed resistance on the part of the islands, to any exertion of the supreme authority of the mother country. "If," says the 50th number, "a threat of following the example of America, that is, of rebelling, be held out, then the answer is, that what was boldness in the one case, would be *impudence* in the other, and England must be reduced very low, indeed, before she can feel greatly alarmed at this threat from a Caribbee island." She is, therefore, responsible for the existence of slavery in the West Indies, as much as if it existed within her own bosom, and we might retort upon her the phrase of the Edinburgh Review directed against us,—"That slavery should exist among men who know the value of liberty, and profess to understand its principles, is *the consummation of wickedness*."

Were the question of the abolition of West India slavery to be treated as one of strict justice, England could have no escape from its fullest pressure. The circumstance of her having created and fostered the slavery itself; of her having been chiefly instrumental in making it the fate of so many millions of the race of its victims there, would give every possible degree of force and solemnity to the abstract obligation in the case. While, therefore, slavery continues to exist undisturbed in the West Indies, the Briton who approves of the policy of maintaining it, cannot deny to the United States, the benefit of the plea of expediency in regard to the emancipation of their blacks. To avert a personal danger from her planters, and to maintain her lucrative connexion with the islands, England abstains from "tearing off the manacles,"—the most galling that ever were imposed—from nearly a million of that race; she even abstains, upon considerations of possible disadvantage, as the postponement of the Registry Bill shows, from measures adapted merely to the amelioration of their condition.

I have, I think, proved in the first pages of this section, that but a slight degree of blame attaches to the colonists, respecting the existence of slavery in this country; and that their descendants were in no measure culpable, as far down as the declaration of our independence. They

PART I. were no more so, than they would have been, for an hereditary gout or leprosy, ascribable in its origin to the vices of the parent state, and which the authors of it should have studiously prevented them from curing. The continuation of the system of slavery among us, *during the Revolution*, was as much a matter of necessity, as it ever had been before. It was not the time for the southern states, to make the experiment of a fundamental alteration in the whole economy of their existence, when they were contending with a ruthless foe who sought to array the whole body of negroes against the whites, and who would have availed himself of the greater freedom of action which emancipation must have afforded the latter, to accomplish his diabolical purpose.

But the northern and middle states, more auspiciously circumstanced, began the work of extirpating the evil from their own bosom, even before the termination of the revolutionary struggle. In 1780, Pennsylvania decreed a gradual abolition; in the same year an immediate one was virtually effected in Massachusetts; the example of Pennsylvania was followed throughout New England at the distance of a few years; all that portion of the Union, north of the state of Delaware, has since pursued the same course.

It was more than a practical moralist could expect or exact, that the southern states, retaining sovereign governments of their own, should trust the federal councils with the determination of such a question, as the emancipation of their slaves, on which their highest interests of property and safety were immediately dependent. No power to decide for them on this question could be communicated, according to the drift and nature of our union, either to the Revolutionary Confederation, or to the actual government. The power of legislating in all respects for the territory belonging to the United States, accrued necessarily, however, to both; and it was exercised in relation to slavery, by the first, in a manner to evince the rectitude of the general spirit on the subject, rendered impotent in the south by the strongest of impulses, if not the first of duties—self-preservation. The ordinance enacted by the Congress of the United States, in 1787, for the government of the territory north west of the river Ohio, contains the following article—"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This vast region was thus scrupulously preserved from the evil; and the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois formed out of it, make an integral part of that consi-

derable and most prosperous division of our empire, into which, happily, an Englishman may emigrate without "exposing his own character or the character of his children to the demoralizing effect of commanding slaves." SECT. IX.

18. The question of the existence of slavery is not, as I have intimated,—could not be,—put within the jurisdiction of the present government of the United States. The condition of things assuring, for a long time, to the part of the country exempt or soon to be exempt from the evil, a numerical majority in the federal legislature, this domestic interest of the southern members of the Union, vital and pre-eminently delicate in its nature, would have been placed at the mercy of men incapable, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, of understanding it thoroughly; liable to an undue bias resulting from the action of good principles; and who, whatever their general spirit of forbearance, considerateness of character, and warmth of political friendship, might, from ignorance and prejudice combined, through a mistaken patriotism and philanthropy, or in obedience to a sentimental clamor of their constituents, seconded by a generous zeal in their own breasts, hastily take a step which would sooner or later involve both master and slave, in the south, in one common ruin.

As regards, then, the existence of slavery within the limits of the Union, the federal government has no responsibility such as that of the British parliament, in its omnipotence, with respect to the whole internal economy of the British possessions. The eleven of these American states, in which slavery is now abolished, are not implicated in the demerits of the question. To break loose from the confederation, and thus to risk their own political independence, because the other members do not perform that which is impracticable; because these happen, without their own fault, to be afflicted with the curse of negro slavery; or to attempt to enforce by arms, an abolition; is what no sane person will consider as incumbent upon them, and what would hardly be advised by England, who neither coerces nor discards the West Indies; and who would not "give the law" to Spain, Portugal, or France, with respect to the slave trade—infinitely the more detestable crime and destructive evil—when those powers were at her beck.

The eastern and middle states have not been backward in discharging any duty in the way of exhortation and aid, which their political and other ties with the slave-holding countries might seem to create. Their doctrine as to human rights is as

PART I. broad, as sincerely adopted, and as loudly proclaimed, as that of England; abolition societies abound in them, who do not yield in point of zeal to the African Institution, and have no compromise to make with any government.* The citizens of those states, in emigrating to the west, as they do constantly in great numbers, manifest the soundness of their feelings and principles on this subject, by settling in preference, in the parts from which negro slavery is excluded. Hence the astonishing growth of the states of Ohio and Indiana, the first of which has outstripped, in advances of every kind, whatever the world had seen in the spontaneous formation of communities.

But, those members of the Union, of which I am now speaking, while they have inculcated without reserve, in the national councils, every truth, either abstract or practical, appertaining to the question of our negro slavery, have not been blind to the just sentiments of their southern associates, who alone are accountable; nor have they overlooked, though they may not have always fully measured, the difficulties inherent in the situation of the latter. They, who have better opportunities of understanding it than the British reviewers, are far from thinking that it "affords no apology for the existence of slavery." They see it in the same light, in this respect, as they see that of the West Indies, which the Reviewers have declared a complete justification: for, though the negroes in our slave-holding states are not near so numerous in the proportion to the whites, as in the West Indies; and though, from the superiority of their condition, they are better prepared for freedom, yet they are in sufficient number to assure, in the event of insurrection, the most horrible disasters, before they could be subdued, with the earliest possible aid from the other states; and, they are still, from inevitable causes, far from the point of being prepared to exist here, out of the bonds of slavery, with advantage to themselves, or safety to the whites.

19. Before the American revolution, the British policy of multiplying their numbers by importations from Africa, closed the door against an attempt to qualify them, by moral and political instruction, for that state. Such an attempt would appear to have been equally impracticable, in the course of the revolutionary war, if we look only to the engrossing avoca-

* See the writings of Dr. Thorpe for an explanation of this inuendo. He roundly charges Mr. Wilberforce and the Institution, with playing into the hands of the ministry.

tions of the struggle, and to the belligerent system of the mother country. But it was so then, and has been ever since, from other causes; more obviously, as the numbers of the blacks increased. An effectual training of the kind is incompatible with their very being as slaves, and with the nature of the toil incident to their situation. It presupposes their emancipation, or such a modification of their existence as would be equivalent, in reference to their value as property, or to the danger threatened by their exemption from restraint. The doctrine so long popular and pursued in England, and maintained openly by some of her most distinguished statesmen,* that the labouring classes should not be enlightened, lest they might become unwilling to perform the necessary drudgery of their station in life, and prone to rise against the monarchical scheme of social order, was not, perhaps, in her case, altogether without foundation as to the latter topic of apprehension. Now, though the very reverse is the soundest policy for us, with our institutions, as respects the whites, that doctrine, if the right of the southern American to consult his own safety and the ultimate happiness of his slaves, be admitted, is unquestionably just in relation to the body of the southern negroes. You could not attempt to improve and fashion their minds upon a general system, so far as to make them capable of freedom in the mass and apart, without exposing yourself, even in the process, or in proportion as they began to understand and value their rights, to feel the abjection of their position and employment, calculate their strength, and be fit for intelligent concert—to formidable combinations among them, for extricating themselves from their grovelling and severe labours at once, and for gaining, not merely an equality in the state, but an ascendancy in all respects. The difference of race and colour would render such aspirations in them, much more certain, prompt, and active, than in the case of a body of villeins of the same colour and blood with yourselves, whom you might undertake to prepare for self-government. The Duke of Wellington, in the late debate on Catholic emancipation in the British House of Peers, expressed his belief that the Catholics of Ireland, if relieved from their disabilities, would endeavour to put down the reformed religion, and this because of the feelings which must accompany the recollection, that that religion had been established in their country by the sword. What consequences, then, might we not expect in the case of our slaves, from the sense of recent

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* See page 69, Sect. ii.

PART I. suffering and degradation, and from the feelings incident to the estrangement and insulation growing out of the indelible distinctions of nature?

I know of but one mode of correcting those feelings and preventing alienation, hostility, and civil war; of making the experiment of general instruction and emancipation with any degree of safety. We must assure the blacks of a perfect equality in all points with ourselves; we must labour to incorporate them with us, so that we shall become of one flesh and blood, and of one political family! It is doubtful even whether we could succeed in this point, so gregarious are they in their habits, and so strong in their national sympathy. No sublime philanthropist of Europe has, however, as yet, in his reveries of the impiety of political distinctions founded upon the colour of the body, or in his lamentations over our injustice to the blacks, exacted from us openly this hopeful amalgamation. It would, no doubt, suit admirably the views of our friends in England, who would then have full scope for pleasant comparisons between the American and English intellect, and the American and English complexion.*

I could suggest another consideration, alone sufficient to have deterred our southern states from hazarding, since our revolution, the measure of a general abolition of negro slavery, accompanied with the continuance of the negroes within their limits. It would have put those states especially, and this federal union, at the mercy of Great Britain. The facility of tampering with the blacks, and of exciting them to insurrection, would have been increased for her, incalculably, in their new condition, in time of war. Let her conduct on this head during the revolutionary struggle, and in our late contest, in relation both to the Indians and negroes, determine the point whether she would not have availed herself of the opportunity.

On the subject of the abolition of the negro slavery of the south, Judge Tucker, whom I have already cited, has made some remarks which cannot fail to have great weight with every dispassionate and candid mind.

"It is unjust," he says, "to censure the present generation for the existence of slavery in this country, for I think it unquestionably true, that a very large proportion of our fellow-citizens lament that as a misfortune, which is imputed to them

* See the Quarterly Review of May, 1819, on the point of complexion. "The white men, women, and children, are *all* sallow in America," &c.

as a reproach; it being evident that, *antecedent to the revolution*, no exertion to abolish, or even to check the progress of slavery, could have received the smallest countenance from the crown, without whose assent the united wishes and exertions of every individual here, would have been wholly fruitless and ineffectual: it is, perhaps, also demonstrable, that at no period since the revolution, could the abolition of slavery in the southern states have been safely undertaken, until the foundations of our newly established governments had been found capable of supporting the fabric itself, under any shock, which so arduous an attempt might have produced."

"The acrimony of the censures cast upon us must abate, at least in the breasts of the candid, when they consider the difficulties attendant on any plan for the abolition of slavery, in a country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants are slaves, and where a still larger proportion of the cultivators of the earth are of that description. The extirpation of slavery from the United States is a task equally momentous and arduous. Human prudence forbids that we should precipitately engage in a work of such hazard as a general and simultaneous emancipation. The mind of man is in some measure to be formed for his future condition. The early impressions of obedience and submission, which slaves have received among us, and the no less habitual arrogance and assumption of superiority among the whites, contribute equally to unfit the former for *freedom*, and the latter for *equality*. To expel them all at once from the United States would, in fact, be to devote them only to a lingering death, by famine, by disease, and other accumulated miseries. To retain them among us, would be nothing more than to throw so many of the human race upon the earth, without the means of subsistence; they would soon become idle, profligate, and miserable. They would be unfit for their new condition, and unwilling to return to their former laborious course."

These observations were published in 1803; but they are equally applicable to the succeeding period. Our foreign relations were always such in the interval between the commencement of the late war with England and the year just mentioned, as to give an aspect of extreme danger to immediate abolition; and there was no room for the question during the continuance of the war. The difficulties of the case increased, indeed, with the great increase of the negroes, independently of our general political embarrassments, both internal and external, sufficient to absorb our care and faculties.

PART I. It was by gradual, voluntary enfranchisement, not by legislative abolition, that an end was put to the *villeinage* of England, a bondage as complete and degrading as that of our negroes, and which lasted until the reign of Elizabeth. But the *villein*, when emancipated, being of the same race, colour, and general character with the master, was assimilated and conciliated at once; intermarriage neither debased the blood, nor destroyed the identity, of the nation; but added to its strength and security. The *gradual* emancipation of the negroes of our southern states, if we supposed them to remain, would, in the end, produce the same inadmissible condition of things as the immediate,—a two-fold, or a motley nation; a perpetual, wasting strife, or a degeneracy from the European standard of excellence, both as to body and mind. As far as it has been tried, it has inspired no confidence, whether as regards the happiness of the blacks, or the security of the whites. Virginia took advantage of her independence to authorize manumission, which the policy of the mother country discountenanced. Judge Tucker calculates that upwards of ten thousand obtained freedom in Virginia in this way, in the interval between 1782, when she passed her law, and the year 1791. In 1810, according to the census, the number of her free negroes amounted to thirty thousand five hundred and seventy. In Maryland, there were forty thousand; the increase having been near twenty-six thousand since 1790. In the states south of Virginia, this class was not so numerous, but yet not inconsiderable. We find, by Dr. Seybert's tables, that the free negroes and mulattoes increased 185.05 per centum, from 1790 to 1800; and from 1790 to 1810, 313.45. This extraordinary increase he ascribes to emancipations of slaves by their masters. Thus the experiment has been ample; and now let us see what is the result in the slave-holding states. It is fully given in the following representations which come from the pen of a politician well known, and most deservedly and highly respected, in Europe.

"You may manumit a slave, but you cannot make him a white man. He still remains a negro or a mulatto. The mark and the recollection of his origin and former state still adhere to him; the feelings produced by that condition, in his own mind and in the minds of the whites, still exist; he is associated by his colour, and by these recollections and feelings, with the class of slaves; and a barrier is thus raised between him and the whites, that is, between him and the free class, which he can never hope to transcend. The authority of the master being removed, and its place not being supplied

by moral restraints or incitements, he lives in idleness, and probably in vice, and obtains a precarious support by begging or theft. If he should avoid those extremes, and follow some regular course of industry, still the habits of thoughtless improvidence which he contracted while a slave himself, or has caught from the slaves among whom he is forced to live, who of necessity are his companions and associates, prevent him from making any permanent provision for his support, by prudent foresight and economy; and in case of sickness, or of bodily disability from any other cause, send him to live as a pauper, at the expense of the community." SECT. IX.

"But it is not in themselves merely that the free people of colour are a nuisance and burden. They contribute greatly to the corruption of the slaves, and to aggravate the evils of their condition, by rendering them idle, discontented, and disobedient This also arises from the necessity under which the free blacks are, of remaining incorporated with the slaves, of associating habitually with them, and forming part of the same class in society. The slave seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist, however scantily or precariously, by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow discontented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labour. Hence he is strongly incited to elude this authority by neglecting his work as much as possible; to withdraw himself from it altogether by flight, and sometimes to attempt direct resistance. This provokes or impels the master to a severity which would not otherwise be thought necessary; and that severity, by rendering the slave still more discontented with his condition, and more hostile toward his master, by adding the sentiments of resentment and revenge to his original dissatisfaction, often renders him more idle and worthless, and thus induces the real or supposed necessity of still greater harshness on the part of the master. Such is the tendency of that comparison which the slave cannot easily avoid making, between his own situation and that of the free people of his own colour, who are his companions, and in every thing except exemption from the authority of a master, his equals: whose condition, though often much worse than his own, naturally appears better to him; and being continually under his observation, and in close contact with his feelings, is apt to chafe, goad, and irritate him incessantly. This effect indeed is not always produced, but such is the tendency of this state of things; and it operates more extensively, and with greater force, than is commonly supposed."

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"But this effect, injurious as it must be to the character and conduct of the slaves, and consequently to their comfort and happiness, is far from being the worst that is produced by the existence of free blacks among us; a majority of the free blacks, as we have seen, are, and must be an idle, worthless, and thievish race. It is with this part of them that the slaves will necessarily associate, the most frequently and the most intimately. Free blacks of the better class, who gain a comfortable subsistence by regular industry, keep as much as possible aloof from the slaves, to whom in general they regard themselves as in some degree superior. Their association is confined, as much as possible, to the better and more respectable class of slaves. But the idle and disorderly free blacks naturally seek the society of such slaves as are disposed to be idle and disorderly too; whom they encourage to be more and more so, by their example, their conversation, and the shelter and means which they furnish. They encourage the slaves to theft, because they partake in its fruits. They receive, secrete, and dispose of the stolen goods; a part, and probably much the largest part, of which they often receive, as a reward for their services. They furnish places of meeting and hiding places in their houses, for the idle and the vicious slaves; whose idleness and vice are thus increased and rendered more contagious. These hiding places and places of meeting are so many traps and snares, for the young and thoughtless slaves, who have not yet become vicious; so many schools in which they are taught, by precept and example, idleness, lying, debauchery, drunkenness, and theft. The consequence of all this is very easily seen, and I am sure is severely felt in all places, where free people of colour exist in considerable numbers."*

The experience of the states north and east of the Susquehannah, with regard to this class of persons, is not, on the whole, much more encouraging. The number of respectable individuals is considerably greater indeed, but the character of the mass nearly the same. Nor can it be urged that they are debarred here, access to the ordinary means of moral and intellectual regeneration. On the contrary, schools are established for them; they are aided in procuring the conveniences for religious instruction and divine worship; they are united in societies adapted to produce self-respect, and mental activity; exemplary attention is paid, in numerous in-

* Letter of Robert Goodloe Harper, Esq. to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. August 20th, 1817.

stances, to the regulation of their habits and principles. They have every facility which is enjoyed by the labouring classes among the whites, of acquiring a plain education, and a comfortable subsistence, and of making provision for their children. They have the same legal security in person and property, and generally, the same political rights as the rest of the community. SECT. IX.

In the slave-holding states, they do, indeed, labour under civil incapacities; and the policy of denying them the higher privileges of citizenship, is imperative. We have felt the inconvenience of naturalized Europeans exercising those privileges in distinct bodies, collected and animated by national feeling; the risk of the African race voting and legislating with the *esprit de corps*, is too serious to be incurred, even where all of the race might be free, provided they should be at all numerous; and to incur it would be madness, where a considerable number of them should, as slaves, remain to be irritated and goaded to revolt, by the invidiousness of the example, and the inevitable conspiracy of the others for the universal release of their brethren. If we suppose that the multitude of free blacks whom Virginia, for instance, has now in her bosom, would exercise the privileges of citizenship, were these granted to them; and if we then assume the natural consequences, the elevation of some of their number to the legislature, and a concert of views and action among the whole, we must see that she would have to prepare herself at once for the alternative of a general extinction of her negro slavery, whatever might be the catastrophe; or of the establishment of a restraining code and police which, if it proved effectual to prevent that danger, must aggravate the condition of the slave, and defer the period at which his emancipation might otherwise take place. "The experiment, so far as it has been already made among us," says Judge Tucker, "proves that the emancipated blacks are not ambitious of civil rights. To prevent the generation of such an ambition, appears necessary; for if it should ever rear its head, its partizans, as well as its opponents, will be enlisted by nature herself, and always ranged against each other."

20. The complaints which the British travellers and reviewers have made of the *unjust* disfranchisement of the free blacks, have then no foundation in fact, as regards the eastern states; nor in sound speculation, in reference to the southern. The disfranchisement which exists in the latter, cannot be said to be *unjust*, if injustice in the business of life,

PART I. be not a mere abstraction, and have any thing to do with the consideration of self-preservation, and the welfare of the majority. All qualifications of property in the matter of election and legislation would be *unjust*, and the doctrine of universal suffrage, which the Edinburgh Review has so stoutly combated, the only true one, if the above mentioned complaints were admissible.

With what an ill grace does reproach on the subject of disfranchisement, come from an Englishman! One-fourth of the whole united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—four-fifths of the population of Ireland separately—are incapable of sitting in Parliament, and of holding various civil and military stations. The motive for continuing this system of exclusion is avowed to be *expediency*. A large portion of the most intelligent politicians of Great Britain deny the fact of the alleged expediency; and surely, in the case of the Catholics of England, a small body, confessedly qualified in point of understanding, morals, property, tried loyalty; there could be no practical inconvenience, as there is not even pretended to be the least direct danger, in admitting them to all the benefits of the British constitution; except only that their admission might render the Catholics of Ireland more earnest and importunate in seeking the same level. The case of the latter even, which wears a more plausible air as to expediency, is, in this respect, in no degree so strong as that of the negroes in our southern states, and infinitely beyond it in point of practical hardship and moral deformity.* England disfranchises, not a race of men of a different complexion from her own, and of inveterate heterogeneity; degraded, in the general estimation of the European race, and who had been forced upon her hands by another country; insensible to the value of political rights, and incompetent to exercise them beneficially; but a people in whose favour all the natural sympathies, and most endearing natural affinities plead to her heart; whom she and all the civilized world acknowledge to be their equals in the choicest endowments of mind and body; whose country she invaded and whose independence she crushed; among whom she established by the sword that reformed religion, the dissent from which is the pretext for their disfranchisement; to whom she owes a boundless retribution for ages of acknowledged misgovernment and oppression, and gratitude for the most important services and aids rendered to her in every branch of her public business.

* See Note V.

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21. Nothing can be more false than the representations of the English travellers concerning the treatment of the free blacks by the whites in the middle and eastern states. It is not true that they are "excluded from the places of public worship frequented by the whites;" that "the most degraded white will not walk or eat with a negro;" or that they are "practically slaves."* Their situation as hired domestics, mechanics, or general labourers, is the same in all respects as that of the whites of the same description; they are fed and paid as well; equally exempt from personal violence, and free to change their occupation or their employer. They approach us as familiarly as persons of the correspondent class in England approach their superiors in rank and wealth; and, in general, betray much less servility in their tone and carriage. They do not make part of our society, indeed; they are not invited to our tables; they do not marry into our families; nor would they, were they of our own colour, with no higher claims than they possess, on the score of calling, education, intelligence, and wealth. I confess that whatever claims they might possess in these or other respects, those are advantages from which they would be excluded; there must remain, in any case, a broad line of demarcation, not viewed as an inconvenience by them, but indispensable for our feelings and interests. Nature and accident combine to make it impassable. Their colour is a perpetual memento of their servile origin, and a double disgust is thus created. We will not, and ought not, expose ourselves to lose our identity as it were; to be stained in our blood, and disparaged in our relation of being towards the stock of our forefathers in Europe. This may be called prejudice; but it is one which no reasoning can overcome, and which we cannot wish to see extinguished. We are sure that it would prevail in an equal degree with any nation of Europe who might be circumstanced like ourselves; we do not find it so gross in itself, or so hurtful and unjust in its operation, as those of an analogous cast which we see prevailing in England. "Men of true speculation," says Mr. Burke, "instead of exploding general prejudices, employ their sagacity to discover the latent wisdom which prevails in them. If they find what they seek, they think it more wise to continue the prejudice, with the reason involved, than to cast away the coat of prejudice, and leave nothing but the naked reason."

* These are the allegations of Fearon; worthy of notice only so far as they have been employed as texts by the Reviewers. See Note W.

PART I. 22. The unfortunate condition and character of the free blacks generally, are not imputable to the whites; but to the existence itself of negro slavery among us, and to the circumstance of a distinctive colour. The first is the work of England; the other of nature. As the case is, we need not be surprised, nor can we much lament, that some of the southern states have passed laws to discourage manumission. The enactment of such laws proves that the practice prevailed, or was likely to prevail, notwithstanding the injuriousness of the effects. We know that many thousands of the planters of the old states in the south, are restrained, not by the laws, but by a tenderness and sense of duty to the negroes themselves, and to the commonwealth. There are few Americans capable of reasoning calmly and from experience, on this subject, who do not concur, in reference to the southern states at least, in the following sentiments of the enlightened and benevolent enquirer, whose accurate representation of the condition of the free blacks I have quoted above.

"The considerations stated in the first part of this letter, have long since produced a thorough conviction in my mind, that the existence of a class of free people of colour in this country is highly injurious, to the whites, the slaves, and the free people of colour themselves: consequently, that all emancipation, to however small an extent, which permits the persons emancipated to remain in this country, is an evil, which must increase with the increase of the operation, and would become altogether intolerable, if extended to the whole, or even to a very large part, of the black population. I am, therefore, strongly opposed to emancipation, in every shape and degree, unless accompanied by colonization."

Colonization is, in fact, the only reliance in this great question. Without it, no plan of abolition can be effectual for the security of the whites, or the good of the blacks; since the permanence of the latter, free or enslaved, within the abode, or the neighbourhood, of the former, is the main danger. Colonization is, no doubt, itself attended with appalling difficulties. The aspect of these difficulties prevented the legislature of Virginia from adopting, at an early period, a bill, prepared by a committee, for gradual emancipation in that state. It was thought, and not without reason, that to plant a nation of negroes in the American territory, would be to lay the foundation of intestine wars which could terminate only in their extirpation or final expulsion; that to assign them a country beyond the settlements of the whites, would be to put them on a forlorn hope against the Indians. The expense of

their transportation and establishment presented itself, also, as an obstacle little short of insurmountable.* SECT. IX.

The expedient of transplanting the free blacks to the coast of Africa; of opening there a receptacle for our black population at large; occurred to the Virginia legislature in the beginning of the present century. At the solicitation of that body, the federal government endeavoured, in 1802, through Mr. King, the American minister in London, to negotiate with the Sierra Leone Company, for the admission of the American blacks into their colony. But the application did not succeed; and the same fate attended a similar attempt, which was made with Portugal, to obtain an establishment for them within her South American dominions.

While the British slave trade continued, no hope could be entertained of the prosperity of such an establishment on the coast of Africa. "To account," said the Edinburgh Review, in 1805, "for the failure of the Sierra Leone plan, it is quite sufficient to reflect, that it was undertaken in 1791, on the supposition then so natural, of the slave trade being about to cease;—that, instead of this expectation being realized, the traffic in question increased daily and hourly in growth; that the company in vain besought Parliament to check the trade, at least in the narrow district where the colony was planted." In sending our negroes thither, we should only have been furnishing aliment for that insatiable passion which occasioned the introduction of the race into our own country. Constantly expecting a rupture with Great Britain, or actually engaged in hostilities with her, from the period of her abolition of the slave trade, it is only of late that we could again look to the coast of Africa. The project of making a settlement in that quarter, for the purpose of gradually restoring our black population to their native region, and thus extirpating the slavery which we detest, and fear, has been revived. As soon after the conclusion of the peace in 1815, as our political circumstances would permit, a society, styled the American Colonization Society, was formed in the south, on the most liberal plan, and under the most distinguished auspices. It enjoys the particular patronage of the legislature of Virginia; has the countenance and aid of the federal government; and appears to be viewed with an eye of favour by the slave-holding states. Auxiliary societies have been organized in different parts of the country, and will, probably, multiply fast, and excite every where an interest in the important object, which

* Tucker's Notes on Blackstone.

PART I. will greatly facilitate its success. The principal society has already caused the western coast of Africa to be explored, and is sanguine as to the practicability of the plan of settlement in some district of that coast. I must confess that I have no hope of its success. The British government, whatever may be its professions, will not allow any establishment to thrive and be perpetuated, which may interfere with its particular views in that direction. As long, moreover, as the slave trade is prosecuted in its present frightful extent, or, indeed, until it shall be contracted within very narrow limits, no colony which we may form, can be prevented from becoming, either its prey, or one of its factories. The acting attorney-general of Sierra Leone declared in 1813, on the trial of certain persons for an infraction of the British abolition laws, that the town itself, Sierra Leone, was "the heart from which all the arteries and veins of the slave-trading system had for years been animated and supplied."* The directors of the African Institution, in their answers to the queries of Lord Castlereagh, already cited, hold the following language. "Sierra Leone, and its immediate neighbourhood, may be considered as the only part of the African coast where plans of improvement can be pursued without immediately encountering the malignant influence of the slave trade. It is almost necessary, therefore, to confine within that sphere, at least for the present, any direct efforts made for the civilization and improvement of Africa. Even the establishment formed in the Rio Pongas, for the instruction of the natives, it is feared, must be withdrawn, in consequence of the revival of the slave trade."

Though, from the commercial jealousy of Great Britain, the prevalence of the slave trade, or our liability to be involved in wars with the European nations, which would interrupt our communication with Africa, we should be obliged to withdraw our aims from that continent, the plan of colonization may, I think, still be pursued on our own, with equal convenience and less risk of final miscarriage. I will not undertake to point out the spot for its execution; this does not belong to my subject; but there cannot be wanting a spot within our reach, free from all invincible objections. The object is of infinite importance; it calls for the earnest attention of the whole nation, and the unanimous agency of the federal

* See Dr. Thorpe's View of the present increase of the Slave Trade, p. 71.

government. "The alarming danger," says General Harper,* "of cherishing in our bosom a distinct nation, which can never become incorporated with us, while it rapidly increases in numbers; a nation which must ever be hostile to us, from feeling and interest; the danger of such a nation in our bosom, need not be pointed out to any reflecting mind. It speaks not only to our understanding, but to our very senses." SECT. IX.

23. In defiance of the lessons of history and of the true philosophy of the human mind, the British writers have insisted, that freedom must be altogether an empty name in the country where domestic slavery is established. Their doctrine would deprive Greece and Rome of the distinction, upon which the admiration of mankind for those republics has been chiefly built. Freedom would be just born, as it were, in the world. "In every age and country," says Hallam, in his History of the Middle Ages, "until times comparatively recent, personal servitude appears to have been the lot of a large, perhaps the greater portion of our species. We lose a good deal of our sympathy with the spirit of freedom in Greece and Rome, when the importunate recollection occurs to us, of the tasks which might be enjoined, and the punishments which might be inflicted, without control either of law or opinion, by the keenest patriot of the Comitia, or the Council of Five Thousand. A similar, though less powerful feeling, will often force itself on the mind, when we read the history of the middle ages."

The institution of slavery in the ancient republics was attended with every circumstance which might appear incompatible with the prevalence of true liberty, or of the moral and political virtues of the highest class.† But who can deny to Greece and Rome an ample share of those honours? "We feel," says Ferguson, in his Essay on the History of Civil

* Letter to the American Colonization Society.

† "In the ancient states," says the Scottish philosopher, Millar, in his Origin of Ranks, "so celebrated upon account of their free government, the bulk of their mechanics and labouring people were denied the common privileges of men, and treated upon the footing of inferior animals. In proportion to the opulence and refinement of those nations, the number of their slaves was increased, and the grievances to which they were subjected became the more intolerable."

"Allowing five persons to each family, the Athenian slaves exceeded the freemen in the proportion of between two and three to one. In the most flourishing periods of Rome, when luxury was carried to so amazing a pitch, the proportion of the inhabitants reduced into servitude was in all probability greater."

PART I. Society, "the injustice of the institution of slavery at Sparta. We suffer for the helot; but we think only of the superior order of men in this state, when we attend to that elevation and magnanimity of spirit, for which danger had no terror, interest no means to corrupt; when we consider them as friends or as citizens, we are apt to forget, like themselves, that slaves have a title to be treated like men."

Hallam, in the work which I have quoted above, has contended for the freedom of the English constitution during the days of English villeinage, and ascribed to the commons of those days a proud sense and tenaciousness of equality in civil rights. In what manner the villeins were treated, and in what light viewed, will be understood from the following passage of this author.

"By a very harsh statute in the reign of Richard II. no servant or labourer could depart, even at the expiration of his service, from the hundred in which he lived, without permission under the king's seal; nor might any one who had been bred to husbandry, till twelve years old, exercise any other calling. A few years afterwards, the commons petitioned that villeins might not put their children to school, in order to advance them by the church; 'and this for the honour of all the freemen of the kingdom.' In the same parliament they complained, that villeins fly to cities and boroughs where their masters cannot recover them, and prayed that the lords might seize their villeins in such places, without regard to the franchises thereof."*

If the traits which I have cited in the second section of this volume, from the early political history of the southern states, were not enough to convince the mother country of the compatibility of the love and possession of the broadest civil liberty, with the institution of domestic servitude, the part which they took as colonies in asserting and maintaining the rights of America against her scheme of usurpation, ought to have dispelled all her doubts on the subject. One of her statesmen, at least, an adept in the science of human nature, did not remain in error; but placed the question before her in the just and full light, as an admonition against perseverance in her perilous career. It is strange that it should be necessary to repeat, for the instruction of some of her most witted writers of the present day, the following passage of Burke's speech on the conciliation with America.

"There is a circumstance attending these southern Ameri-

* Vol. ii. c. viii.

can colonies, which makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty there than in those to the northward. It is that, in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, *may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude*, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; *but I cannot alter the nature of man.* The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those of the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." SECT. IX.

All our experience in America, since the revolution, confirms the opinion of the orator; or, at least, assures us, that the citizens of the slave-holding states understand quite as well, and cherish as fondly, the principles of republicanism, as those of the other members of our union. Bryan Edwards has indicated in the character and demeanour of the West Indians, what we find universal among our south and south-western brethren. "Of the character," says this author, "common to the white residents of the West Indies, it appears to me that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a white man, in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery."*

* History of the West Indies, ch. i. b. iv.

PART I.

I may apply in the same way the following representations which Edwards makes in continuation. "Possibly too, the climate itself, by increasing sensibility, contributes to create an impatience of subordination. But, whatever may be the cause of this consciousness of self-importance in the West Indian character, the consequences resulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it sometimes produces an ostentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of splendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propensities of our nature—frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent, than in the British sugar islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests. To be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction."

24. There is some plausibility in the theory of the Edinburgh Review concerning the effects of commanding slaves upon the heart and the morals. But it is not established by our experience, as true in the general. The native citizen of the slave-holding state displays, specifically, as much sensibility, justice, and stedfastness, in all the domestic and social relations, as the European, of whatever country. He is as strongly influenced by the ties of kindred and friendship; as open to the impressions which attemper and refine our nature. He has had a large share in the formation and administration of our institutions and laws; in all the executive offices, civil and military; and we have never discovered in him any particular proneness to tyranny or inhumanity; a torpid conscience, or an imperfect sense of equity. In none of the nobler virtues and qualities has he ever proved deficient, in the comparison with the individual born and fashioned among freemen alone. If there be any thing contradistinguishing in his manners and disposition, it is certainly not ferocity or even harshness. The planter of our old southern states has always been rather remarkable for his urbanity and facility, as well as for the dignity and liberality of his sentiments. Morals, it is said, are more loose in the slave-holding states. If we admitted this to be the case, it would by no means follow that the institution of slavery is the principal cause of the relaxation. An original difference of religious institutions, and maxims of conduct; of soil and climate; of modes of livelihood and materials of traffic; of circumstances attending the connexion with the mother country; might give the same result. Domestic slavery continues in Germany and the northern parts of Europe; it has disappeared from the southern; but the dissoluteness of

these is notoriously greater. Hungary is more in the odour of sanctity than the kingdom of Naples. The institution in question is to be abhorred, on account of the violence which it offers to human rights, and the abjection to which it reduces human nature: *a priori* it would seem to exert a fatal influence on the character of the master; but our experience at least, I repeat it, would not justify us in adopting the theory.

When we investigate the dispositions and morals of the European nations, it is not with the "lowest and least" of them alone, but with the highest and greatest that we venture to compare the white population of our slave-holding states. It is not unknown to us, that in Russia the number of slaves held as property, and subject to absolute will, is sextuple that of our negroes:* That, in the other parts of Europe, where the institution of slavery does not exist, there are *other institutions* generating an hundred fold more vice, misery, and debasement, than we have ever witnessed in the same compass in America.

25. The *laws* of the slave-holding states do not furnish a criterion for the character of their present white population, or the condition of the slaves. Those laws were enacted, for the most part, in seasons of particular alarm, produced by attempts at insurrection; or when the black inhabitants were doubly formidable by reason of the greater proportion which they bore to the whites, in number, and of the savage state and unhappy mood in which they arrived from Africa. The real measure of danger was not understood but after long experience; and in the interval, the precautions taken, were naturally of the most jealous and rigorous aspect. That these have not been all repealed, or that some of them should be still enforced, is not inconsistent with an improved spirit of legislation; since the evils against which they were intended to guard are yet the subject of just apprehension. England inundated South Carolina, for instance, with barbarians, and now reproaches her with the measures which she took for her security against their brute force.

There is no *Code Noir* which surpasses in atrocity that

* See the Appendix to Storch's Course of Political Economy, St. Petersburg, 1815. This writer states, that in 1782, the number of male peasants, or serfs, of the crown, amounted to 4,675,000; that they could be hired out, sold, given away, &c.; and the number of male slaves, the property of subjects, he estimates at 6,678,000; equally at the disposal of the masters.

PART I.

part of the British statute book relating to Roman Catholics.* What Englishman will allow us to make this, as it stood before Sir George Saville's act, or even as it now stands, the index to British humanity and justice? Acts of proscription are still suffered to remain *in terrorem*, ready for a barely possible emergence. "The laws against the Catholics," said the Bishop of Worcester, in the House of Lords, (May 19th 1819,) "had hitherto been administered tenderly and sparingly; they would, doubtless, continue to be so administered *unless some event should occur to render their strict enforcement necessary.*"

Since the revolution, most of the southern codes have been softened in regard to the slave police; and the murder of a negro is now capital throughout our union, except in one state. I have already quoted the assertion of Dr. Dickson, that "the harshness of the slave laws is but little softened by the lenity of the general practice in the British sugar islands." The reverse of this is notoriously true of the American states. The patrol laws, for example, of South Carolina, which contain the most oppressive of her regulations, are rarely put in execution. In Virginia, the interdict laid, at the time of what is called Gabriel's insurrection, upon the assemblage of negroes,—a "seditious meetings bill," like that passed by the British parliament in 1817,†—is wholly neglected. No restraint in this respect is imposed upon them by their masters, except such as may be necessary for purposes of domestic order and labour.

Before our revolution, the negro slavery of this country was, as we have seen, acknowledged to be universally less severe than that of any other part of the world. It has undergone, since that event, a great and striking amelioration. To this fact, all who have witnessed and compared the former and present lot of the slaves of our southern states, bear the most confident testimony. What was once deemed a moderate treatment, would now be a rigid one; and the tolerated rigour

* "Laws," says Mr. Burke, in his speech at Bristol, previous to the election, "were made in this kingdom against Papists as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the Popish princes and states; and where those laws were not bloody, they were worse; as they were slow, cruel, outrageous on our nature, and kept men alive, only to insult in their persons every one of the rights and feelings of humanity."

† By the standing *Riot Act* of England, not more than twelve persons are allowed to continue together, after it has been read by the magistrate. Lord Castlereagh said in Parliament in 1817, that "there was not on the statute book a law which had been more beneficial to the country."

of the first period could find no countenance at the present. The negro has gained nearly as much by our separation from Great Britain as the white. The causes of this undeniable fact are various and obvious. SECT. IX.

With the importation of the Africans, ceased much of the dread, which the slave population inspired, while it was continually receiving large accessions of strangers. At this time by far the greater part of the slaves of the old states, have been born and brought up by the side of the whites. In proportion as the indigenous character predominated, the propensity on the one hand to shake off the yoke, and the mistrust on the other, which occasioned its aggravation, regularly diminished. Another circumstance tended to render the slaves in a much less degree objects of terror, and to make room for the kindlier dispositions of our nature to operate; the whites came soon to exceed them considerably in number, from emigration added to natural increase. Brougham has speculated in his Colonial Policy, in conformity to the facts in our case. "There can be little doubt," he says, "that the fatal disproportion of the two classes, the great proportion of the imported negroes, and the cruel treatment of the slaves in general, would be all materially altered by any revolution that should separate the colonies from the parent state, while the more rigorous administration of an independent community, would lessen the danger arising from such a mixture of negroes, or such abuses of the slave system as might still remain."

Not only does the proportion which the slaves bear to the free part of the community, contribute to determine their condition, but, in general, the greater or smaller numbers in which they belong to individuals. The abolition of entails and the rule of primogeniture, together with the evaporation of those old prejudices which fettered parental affection in the testamentary distribution of estates, have, since the establishment of our independence, led to the subdivision of every kind of property, in the southern communities. The negroes, being more widely apportioned, exist in smaller bands, and are of course more under the immediate care and inspection of the masters, in whose eyes they must at the same time have, singly, more value. The interest of the master in the welfare of the slave is not to be urged as a full security against ill usage; but it cannot fail to have a considerable influence; and it has been constantly increasing from the enhancement of the price of negroes, occasioned by the demand for their labour in the new states, and the insufficiency of the supplies

PART I. which the illicit importation from Africa can furnish. The more abundant production of food, the increase of wealth with the planters, and more strictness of principle and regularity of habits, (for these too can be proved to be among the effects of the revolution,) have redounded likewise to the advantage of the slaves.

It is not to be doubted, but that the political discussions, which preceded our revolution, the spirit of the institutions which grew out of it, and the diffusion of education, excited a greater sensibility to human rights; a quicker sympathy with human sufferings; a more general liberality of sentiment; and a higher pride of character, in the slave-holding part of our population. Hence a new public opinion sprung up, requiring a system of lenity and generosity in the government and sustentation of the slaves; and repressive, not only of barbarity, but of habitual severity in any marked degree, and of what may be equivalent in its effects, habitual indifference and estrangement. These abuses have become disreputable; they expose the man who is guilty of them to the disdain and reprobation of his neighbours; and in this way are more efficaciously checked than they could be by any legislative enactments. The master who should deprive his negro of his *peculium*,—the produce of his poultry house or his little garden; who should force him to work on holidays or at night; who should deny him the common recreations, or leave him without shelter or provision in his old age, would incur the aversion of the community, and raise obstacles to the advancement of his own interests and external aims.

26. The American negro slavery is almost wholly free from two of the grievances which characterize that of the West Indies—*under-feeding* and *over-working*. With regard to the great article of food, the American negroes are, assuredly, better supplied than the free labourers of most parts of Europe. Flesh meat is not attainable for the latter in the same quantity which is commonly given to the first; it would seem, (on this head I refer to the quotations which I have made from the Quarterly Review,*) not to be attainable at all for the poorer classes of Great Britain and Ireland. In respect to clothing and lodging, the comparison would give nearly the same result. On the score of fuel, the want of which occasions so much suffering in particular counties of Great Britain, and, as to the point of labour, the advantage is greatly

* See page 228.

on the side of the American negroes in general. I cannot, here, enter into the details of the system, upon which they are worked on the southern plantations; but I can say of it, that it involves nothing like the same intensity, duration, or continuity of exertion, which would appear to be indispensable in Great Britain, in almost all the lower walks of mechanical industry, for the mere support of animal life. The average number of hours of daily toil exceeds there by nearly one half that which is exacted under the system just mentioned. A few extracts from recent debates of Parliament will determine the validity of this assertion. SECT. IX.

In the House of Commons, (April 29th, 1818,) "Mr. Peel said, in Manchester alone, 11,600 children were employed in the cotton factories, and the average time of labour thirteen hours a day. Most of these poor children, after the thirteen hours of labour, were obliged to go to school to learn to write."

"Sir Robert Peel said, it was proved that in Lancashire, *children* were employed *fifteen hours* a day, and after any stoppage, from five in the morning until ten in the evening, *seventeen hours*, and this often for three weeks at a time. On Sunday they were employed from six in the morning until twelve in cleaning the machinery."

"Mr. Peter Moore said, (May 13th, 1819,) in the town which he had the honour to represent, (Coventry,) there were five classes of manufacturers, each working *ninety-six* hours in the week, or sixteen hours in the day. The first of these classes gain, in return for their labour, ten shillings a week, or two pence halfpenny an hour, which is but a very trifling share of what they were formerly in the habit of acquiring. The second class gained 5*s*. 6*d*. a week. The third 2*s*. 9*d*., which is labouring four hours for five farthings. The two remaining classes receive 2*s*. and 1*s*. 6*d*. a week, which is working at the rate of seven and nine hours for a single halfpenny."

"Mr. Mansfield said, (March 25th, 1819,) that he had attended a committee that day, before whom a case was proved of a great number of labourers, who, by working fifteen or sixteen hours a day, could not earn above seven shillings per week."

The physical condition of the American negro is, on the whole, not comparatively alone, but positively good, and he is exempt from those racking anxieties—the exacerbations of despair, to which the English manufacturer and peasant are

PART I. subject in the pursuit of their pittance.* The old age of the negro, in Virginia and the Carolinas particularly, is by no means one of cheerlessness or destitution. He is not tasked beyond his strength; he is sure of nutriment; he remains in the midst of his comrades; and, in most cases, has a family about him with the feelings and attractions of legitimacy; for, the polygamy, and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, which crown the abominations of West India slavery, are not common features in the North American.

We have it upon the authority of the Quarterly Review, that the great body of the British people "work with the prospect of want and pauperism before their eyes *as what must be their destiny at last;*" that "in the road in which the English labourer *must* travel, *the poor house* is the last stage on the way to the grave."† If we are entitled to form an opinion from the Parliamentary Reports,—no mean authority,—this final stage of the English labourer is worse than any stage in the career of the American negro. The "victim of American barbarity" finds in his "quarter" comforts which the tenant of the British poor house might envy, and can never hope to enjoy.

From the minutes of evidence before the parliamentary committee on the state of the poor, it would appear, that the treatment experienced in the receptacles provided for them, is wretched and barbarous almost beyond credibility. By way of example, the witnesses stated that in one room 28 feet long by 15 wide, there were two and twenty persons sleeping; that

* I appeal to the petitions presented to Parliament by bodies of ten and twenty thousand agriculturists and manufacturers at a time. The following representation, made by Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons, may be taken as a specimen of their condition.

"Mr. Brougham observed that the weavers, in consequence of the reduction of their wages, were compelled first, to part for their sustenance with all their trifling property by piece-meal, from the little furniture of their cottages to the very bedding and clothes that used to cover them from the weather. They struggled on with hunger, and went to sleep at night-fall, upon the calculation that if they worked an hour or two later, they might indeed earn three halfpence more, one of which must be paid for a candle, but then the clear gain of a penny would be too dearly bought, and leave them less able to work the next day. To such a frightful nicety of reckoning are human beings reduced, treating themselves like mere machines, and balancing the produce against the tear and wear, so as to obtain the maximum that their physical powers can be made to yield! At length, however, they must succumb; the workhouse closes their dismal prospect; or, with a reluctance that makes their lot a thousand times more pitiable, they submit to take parish relief; and, to sustain life, part with the independent spirit, the best birthright of an English peasant."

† See page 287.

idiots lived promiscuously with the other paupers; that the fowls and chickens were kept in the pantries where the food for the poor was kept; that they were in general extremely ill clothed, &c. The parishes contracted with individuals for keeping their poor at so much a head, and made them thus victims of avaricious speculation. It was shown that one individual *farmed* the poor of no less than forty parishes, receiving six shillings a week for each pauper; and spending of course as little as possible of this stipend for the accommodation of his guests. London had eighteen thousand poor in the different workhouses in England. I refer to the Report of the House of Commons on Mendicity, for a general picture of the condition of the paupers in those work-houses.

"Your committee," says the Report, "cannot hesitate to suggest that there are not in the country a set of beings more immediately requiring the protection of the legislature than the persons in a state of lunacy and mendicity, *a very large proportion of whom are entirely neglected by their friends and relations.* If the treatment of those in the middling or in the lower classes of life, shut up in hospitals, private mad-houses, *or parish work-houses*, is looked at, your committee are persuaded that a case cannot be found, where the necessity for a remedy is more urgent."

The details of the Report recall to mind, but with features of tenfold patheticalness, the touching lament of the poet Crabbe:

> "Then too I own, it grieves me to behold
> Those ever virtuous, helpless now and old,
> By all for care and industry approv'd,
> For truth respected, and for temper lov'd;
> And who, by sickness and misfortune try'd,
> Gave Want its worth and Poverty its pride:
> I own it grieves me to behold them sent
> From their old home; 'tis pain, 'tis punishment,
> To leave each scene familiar, every face,
> For a new people and a stranger race;
> For those who, sunk in sloth and dead to shame,
> From scenes of guilt with daring spirit came;
> Men, just as guileless, at such manners start,
> And bless their God that time has fenc'd their heart,
> Confirm'd their virtue and expell'd the fear
> Of vice in minds so simple and sincere.
> Here the good pauper, losing all the praise
> By worthy deeds acquir'd in better days,
> Breathes a few months, then to his chamber led,
> Expires while strangers prattle around his bed."*

27. The religious instruction of the slaves cannot be said to be an object of immediate care with the majority, or any

* See Note X.

PART I. great proportion, of the American masters; but they are far from refusing them access to it, in any form. It is left at the option of the negroes to frequent the churches and meeting houses, which, in the country, have universally a compartment for their occupation. The old, or infirm, or those whose conduct has been exemplary, are indulged with horses to ride to sermons. They have, in numerous instances, houses of worship for their separate use, where individuals of their own number, empowered by the white elders, preach, and discharge the other functions of the ministry. Itinerant missionaries of the gospel have formed congregations of them in almost every district; and though the Christian lecture cannot be otherwise than rare, and the attendance upon it loose, yet enough is done to leave a salutary impression, and to make it utterly inconsistent with the truth to say of them, what the Quarterly Review says, no doubt with great truth, of two-thirds of the lower order of people in all the large cities and towns of England, and of "the greatest part of her manufacturing populace, and her miners and colliers,"—*that they live as utterly ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and are as errant and unconverted Pagans, as if they had existed in the wildest part of Africa.*"*

South Carolina has had a great share of the obloquy of the British travellers, on this subject. Their outcry will not be silenced, but the friends of justice and humanity will be gratified, by the following facts which I extract from an official Report, dated the 14th June, 1819, of a committee of the Board of Managers of the Bible Society of Charleston, respecting the progress and present state of Religion in South Carolina. "From the best information the committee have been able to obtain, they find that the Gospel is now preached to about six hundred and thirteen congregations of Protestant Christians; that there are about two hundred and ninety-two ordained clergymen who labour amongst them, besides a considerable number of domestic missionaries, devoted and supported by each denomination, who dispense their labours to such of the people as remain destitute of an established ministry. From actual returns, and cautious estimates where such returns have not been obtained, it appears that in the state there are about 46,000 Protestants who receive the holy communion of the Lord's supper. In the city of Charleston, upwards of *one-fourth* of the communicants *are slaves or free people of colour:* and it is supposed that in the other parts of the state, the

* See page 288.

proportion of such communicants may be estimated at about one-eighth. *In every church they are freely admitted to attend on Divine service*—in most of the churches distinct accommodations are provided for them, and the clergy in general make it a part of their pastoral care to devote frequent and stated seasons for the religious instruction of catechumen from amongst the black population." SECT. IX.

This train of affairs in South Carolina is somewhat more creditable than that in the British West Indies, where scarcely any thing has been done for the conversion of the negroes. If we did not see by the statements of the Quarterly Review and the parliamentary papers, to what a deplorable extent the initiation of the people of England into Christianity has been neglected,* we should find it difficult to believe that her established church had, in the course of nearly two centuries, attempted nothing towards the regeneration of the millions of heathens who have been held in bondage in her islands. To this effect, however, is the testimony of all the best authorities concerning the affairs of those islands. Moravian missionaries alone had sought to introduce the light of the Gospel among a population requiring its lessons and consolations, more, perhaps, than any other on earth. At length the late Bishop Porteus founded a "Society for the conversion of negro slaves," which has been nearly inoperative. With respect to the British planters themselves, it is asserted in a recent work entitled to full credit, that "there is not, and never was, either worship or instruction of any kind provided by them for their numerous slaves."† The number of negroes in the British West Indies, baptized and endoctrinated, bears no assignable proportion to those in the United States.

28. The British philanthropists, in making their appeal in favour of the former, have seemed to consider every thing as gained, if only "the *humblest and coarsest necessaries of life, the protection of law, and the assistance of labouring cattle*, could be secured to them.‡ It is long since so much and more has been secured to the great majority of the North American negroes; and the irresistible proof offers itself in the increase of their numbers. The Edinburgh Reviewers would, with all their ingenuity, find it difficult to reconcile the aspersions

* See Note Y.

† Letters on the West Indies, by James Walker, London, 1818. Letter VI.

‡ Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery. Preface.

PART I. which they cast upon the American as *the murderer and scourger of slaves*, with the fact that, according to the rate of increase from 1790 to 1810, the number of years required for the duplication of our slave population is only 25.99. The allowance to be made on account of importations, would not extend this term to twenty-eight at the utmost, for the natural increase. The population of Great Britain, as appears by authentic documents, does not double in less than *eighty years*.* Even in the most unhealthy districts of South Carolina, where rice is cultivated, and the labour of the negroes comparatively severe, they do not diminish in numbers. A benevolent practice prevails among some of the rice planters, of paying to the overseers, in addition to their regular emoluments, a certain sum per head (usually ten dollars) for the annual increase; and it has proved no insignificant source of revenue to the latter.

"The increase of the American slaves and people of colour," says the Quarterly Review of May, 1819, "appears to have been in *a much greater proportion* than that of the white population, and it is not improbable, that in a few generations, the negro race will *exceed* the whites in all except the eastern states. The number of slaves in the United States, is now *above* two millions, and including the free negroes, the black population of America constitutes more than one-fourth part of the whole." If all this were accurate, it would refute at once the tales which the orthodox journal has so often repeated *con amore*, respecting the treatment of that black population. It is marked, however, by the usual ignorance, or spirit of exaggeration, where America is in question. Our census of 1810 teaches, that, according to the ratio of increase for the twenty years preceding, the number of years required for the duplication of the whites was 22.48; and that required for the slaves, as I have mentioned, 25.99. The whites increased from 1790 to 1810, 85.26 per cent.; the slaves 70.75. The mere natural increase is not, however, shown exactly by this calculation. We should deduct the annual addition made to the numbers of both from without, which would probably leave the proportion the same. The whole number of slaves in 1810, was 1,191,364: and of free people of colour, 186,466. Together they did not equal one-fourth of

* "It appears by Mr. Pickman's tables," says the Quarterly Review, "that the population of England and Wales has *nearly* doubled in the last *hundred* years,"—a term nearly four times longer than that required for the duplication of the American negroes.

the white population, which was 5,862,092; nor make but little more than one-sixth of the whole. At present, the proportion must be still less, as the ratio of increase for the white population is undoubtedly greater.* In 1810, the white population of the nine slave-holding states of that period, amounted to 2,153,455; that of the coloured, free and enslaved, to 1,242,862. The census of 1820 will give three millions at least of white population in the slave-holding countries of the union; and not more than 1,700,000 of black, allowing for the addition made to the number of the last by illicit importation. Should we admit the ratio of increase to be the same for both, the political arithmetician of the Quarterly Review would find it difficult to solve the problem, in how many generations "the negro race will *exceed* the whites," especially if he be confined to his own limitation—"in all except the *eastern* states," under which denomination he could not mean to include Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; containing nearly a million of whites, without the alloy of a slave. SECT. IX.

29. The removal of considerable numbers of the slaves from the old slave-holding states, to the south and south-west, tends materially to increase the relative majority of the whites in those states, and is likely to continue, so as greatly to lessen the danger to which they may be held to be exposed. The slaves emigrate either with their original owners, or with persons of the same or an adjoining state, to whom they are sold, and who purchase them for their own use; or with the *negro traders* as they are called. The greater number go with the two first descriptions of persons, to a more fruitful soil; to a climate equally or more favourable to their constitutions; altogether they suffer but little, if at all, by the change of position. They are not, in general, committed to a new master, who is unknown; or who does not possess the best testimonials as to his views, and the respectability of his character. It had been long the practice to sell the intractable slaves, and such as were guilty of crimes, to the *traders*, who disposed of them to the planters of South Carolina and Georgia. This disposition even of culprits may scandalize the writers of the Quarterly Review; but it is not quite so harsh as that of selling them to

* The operation of it may be understood from the following statement.

In 1790,	for every 100 free persons, there were	22.13 slaves.
In 1800	- ditto - - - - - -	20.29 do.
In 1810	- ditto - - - - - -	19.69 do.

PART I. the Bey of Tripoli* would have been; nor worse than the transportation of the British convicts to Botany Bay, according to the description of it which I have already given in the language of members of Parliament;† or to the character of it which is implied in the following extract from the volume of Parliamentary Debates for the year 1792. "Mr. Fox noticed the mention that had been made of the transportation of convicts to Botany Bay, and said, that the hardships of the passage would appear less extraordinary, when it was known, that the transportation was undertaken by slave merchants, and slave captains, and that a part of the misery of the convicts was the effect of slave fetters being used instead of those employed in general for convicts."‡

The proportion of slaves of good character, whom the traders obtain, is small comparatively: The severance or dispersion of families is by no means so common as might be supposed from the tales of the English travellers. This evil is produced in England in a hundred instances to one that occurs among our negroes, and with tenfold affliction, by the extensive emigration which the public burdens occasion, and

* The Report of the Parliamentary proceedings of April, 1819, furnishes the following.

"Mr. Bennet said (House of Commons) he had no high opinion of the tender sympathies of ministers on these subjects. He had in his recollection what passed on the subject of convicts in the year 1789, when they were first sent out; when (the house would scarcely believe it) *it was proposed and discussed in the Privy Council, whether the convicts at that time should not be sold to the Bey of Tripoli as slaves!* This proposition (the proposition of, as we understood, *Lord Auckland*) was considered, though of course rejected; though it showed how little disposed the government were at that time to attend to the situation of the convicts. At the same time, a ship that was sent out with them had not any settled destination; and the sentences of some of the convicts had expired before they reached the colony to which they were at length consigned."

† See page 304.

‡ "From the year 1785 to 1801, of 3833 convicts embarked, 385 died on board the transports, being nearly one in ten." *O'Hara's History of N. S. Wales.*

"The difficulties, which for a long course of years attended the plan for sending our convicts to New South Wales, gave rise to the convict establishments at Woolwick, Sheerness, and Portsmouth: where great numbers of criminals were crowded together to await the hour of their deportation, under circumstances of the most afflicting nature: many, who have been sentenced to transportation, having passed the whole period of their punishment in a state of wretched and useless imprisonment at home. Such was then the condition of these establishments, that they were pronounced in the House of Commons, by one of the best and greatest men that ever entered its walls, to be a *hot bed of vice and wickedness.*" *Roscoe, Observations on Penal Jurisprudence*, 1819.

the operation of the poor laws; to say nothing of the cases so common in time of war, of seamen impressed when returning from distant voyages, and that even without being allowed the comfort of seeing their families.

Kidnapping is frequent; but the states have universally subjected it to the severest penalties; some of them to that of death. As great an abhorrence for it pervades the whole country, as any crime can be supposed to excite among a moral people. The flagellation of the slaves for misdemeanors, or from the impulses of anger, or churlishness in the masters, is, no doubt, too common; but it would be every way unjust to judge of the conduct of the Americans in this respect, by what passes in the West Indies. In the use of the lash the discipline of the southern plantations is contradistinguished from that of the West Indian, as much as in the degree of labour and the supply of food. Public opinion, and all the other causes of reformation which I have noticed, operate equally in this matter. But it is not for an Englishman to complain of the use of the lash among foreiguers. The hysterical indignation of the British Reviewers and travellers on this head, appears even ludicrous, when we advert to the fact, that no nation employs the scourge more severely or generally than the British. Education with her is conducted with the birch; whipping is almost her sum of discipline in the army and navy; the seaman is flogged from ship to ship; the soldier, tied up to the halberds and exposed in the most shameful and ignominious manner, dies under the stripes of the drummer, or is withdrawn only when the surgeon who watches his ebbing pulse, declares that nature can bear no more. The number of apprentices in Great Britain is, probably, little less than that of our negroes; corporal punishment is as familiarly inflicted upon them, and as frequently to a brutal excess: I attest the Old Bailey calendar, when I assert, that they are oftener maimed and murdered by the hand of the masters. So horrid and multiplied were the enormities of this kind, which accident or private feeling brought to light, that the legislature was compelled to interfere; but with how little effect the records of the Assizes and the tenor of the late Parliamentary Reports, will show. In short, there is no form of human suffering which an Englishman is so much accustomed to witness, to hear and to read of, in his own country, as flagellation in all its varieties and degrees. I do not wish to pursue this odious topic, on which reprisals might have no end, further than to quote a passage of some significancy from

PART I. a late and excellent work of Mr. Roscoe of Liverpool.

"It has frequently been observed, with some degree of exultation, that *torture* is not permitted in this country. If by torture be meant the subjecting a person to the rack, for the purpose of compelling him to give evidence, or to confess an imputed crime, this country is certainly not chargeable with so diabolical a practice. But, if the lacerating and *scourging* the person of an individual, as a punishment for his offences, be *torture*, it is a proceeding not only well known to our laws, *but of frequent occurrence*. There are, in fact, few mutilations or sufferings to which the human frame can be subjected, that have not, in this country, at one time or another, been resorted to, as a punishment for offenders; nor does there appear to be any obstruction, other than such as arises from the more improved and humanized spirit of the times, to similar punishments being again inflicted; but independent of these barbarities, the use of the whip is general throughout the prisons of the kingdom, where prisoners, for small offences, are *whipped and discharged.*"*

Those advertisements for the recovery of runaways, which are copied into the English Reviews, and books of Travels, with exclamations of such horror and reproof, as though English newspapers contained nothing to chafe the feelings of humanity, and rouse the spirit of freedom, are incident to the existence itself of negro slavery; and I think I have shown that this is an evil which could neither be avoided nor removed by America. Negroes cannot be held as property, without being subject to alienation. A mortmain would be impracticable, and if it could be established, mischievous to all parties. The proclamation of the intention to sell, while it gives effect to the necessary and useful right of alienation, affords the subject of it a better chance of being transferred into good hands. At all events, it is an inevitable incident of an inevitable institution. Slaves who abscond from the master must be reclaimed, or there would be an end to all slavery in the most mischievous of all forms of abolition. Without the aid of the public, the master would be unable to recover the fugitive. And it is to be presumed that the latter is, quite as often, a delinquent seeking independence for the sake of licentiousness, or from a refractory disposition, as a victim escaping the exactions of avarice, or the lash of tyranny. Unfortunately, the character of the negro race with us, and indeed the character which is produced in all cases of bondage, might warrant

* Observations on Penal Jurisprudence, 1819.

a presumption more unfavourable to the slave. His flight is, SECT IX.
in a general point of view, a violation of the order of society, which it is the interest, and, abstractedly, the duty, of every citizen to repress and correct.

The Quarterly Review of May, 1819, after transcribing from Fearon's Travels a couple of plain advertisements of negroes *for sale or hire*, which that missionary had extracted from a New York paper, proceeds thus—"What, subjoins Mr. Fearon with an amiable warmth, should *we* say, if in England we saw such advertisements in the Times newspaper? Should *we* not conclude that freedom existed only in words? Such would, indeed, be a legitimate conclusion."—Alas, then, for the freedom of England herself, as late as the year 1772, notwithstanding the boasts of the Britons of that day! Clarkson and Granville Sharp have kept a record which, upon the principles of Mr. Fearon and the Quarterly Review, invalidates all their pretensions. Clarkson, having mentioned the opinion given in 1729. by the great law officers of the crown —that a slave coming from the West Indies into Great Britain did not become free, and that the master might legally compel him to return again to the plantations,—makes the following statement:

"The cruel and illegal opinion was delivered in the year 1729. The planters, merchants, and others, gave it of course all the publicity in their power. And the consequences were as might easily have been apprehended. In a little time slaves absconding were advertised in the London papers as runaways, and rewards offered for the apprehension of them, in the same brutal manner as we find them advertised in the land of slavery. They were advertised also, in the same papers, to be sold by auction, sometimes by themselves, and at others with horses, chaises, and harness. They were seized also by their masters, or by persons employed by them, in the very streets, and dragged from thence to the ships; and so unprotected now were these poor slaves, that persons in no wise concerned with them began to institute a trade in their persons, making agreements with captains of ships going to the West Indies to put them on board at a certain price."

Granville Sharp, unmindful, like the British Reviewers, that the domestic slavery which Britain had planted in our soil, and so assiduously cultivated, could not be exscinded, nor divested of its essential properties, also suffered himself to be fired by some New York advertisements. When he has recited them, in his "Representation of the Injus-

PART I. tice of Slavery,"* he proceeds, however, in a different way—

"But hold! perhaps the Americans may be able, with too much justice, to retort this severe reflection, and may refer us to newspapers published even in the free city of London, which contain advertisements, not less dishonourable than their own. See the following advertisement in the Public Ledger of 31st December, 1761.

"FOR SALE,

"A healthy Negro GIRL, aged about 15 years; speaks good English, works at her needle, washes well, does household work, and has had the small pox. By I. W. &c."

Another advertisement, not long ago, offered a reward for stopping a female slave who had left her mistress in Hatton Garden. And in the Gazetteer of 18th April, 1769, appeared a very extraordinary advertisement, with the following title.

"HORSES, TIM WHISKEY, AND BLACK BOY.

"To be sold, at the Bull and Gate Inn, Holborn, a very good Tim Whiskey, little the worse for wear, &c." Afterwards, "A chesnut Gelding"—Then, "A very good grey Mare."—And last of all, (as if of the least consequence) "A well made good tempered Black Boy; he has lately had the small pox, and will be sold to any gentleman. Enquire as above."

Another advertisement in the same paper, contains a very particular description of a negro man, called Jeremiah ——, and concludes as follows:—"Whoever delivers him to captain M—u—y, on board the Elizabeth, at Prince's stairs, Rotherhithe, on or before the 31st instant, shall receive thirty guineas reward, or ten guineas for such intelligence as shall enable the captain or his master, effectually to secure him."

"A creole Black Boy is also offered to sale in the Daily Advertiser of the same date."

"Besides these instances, the Americans may perhaps taunt us with the shameful treatment of a poor negro servant, who not long ago was put up to sale by public auction, together with the effects of his bankrupt master.—Also, that the

* London, 1769.

prisons of this free city have been frequently prostituted of late by the tyrannical and dangerous practice of confining negroes, under the pretence of slavery, though there has been no warrant whatsoever for their commitment."

It may be said that these practices were arrested in England. They were indeed, and so have they been wherever this could be done, in the United States. But they were more wanton and malignant in that country, since they did not spring out of a general and long established system of slavery; and they show how the people of England would have acted, if the old law had not proved to be, upon laborious investigation, peremptory upon the subject. The British merchant, however, continued to fit out his ship at Liverpool, or London, for the coast of Africa; the British factory supplied him with troops of kidnapped negroes; his captain transported them, with every refinement of cruelty, to the British West Indies, and there *advertised* and sold them, under the sanction of the British government, in the name of his owner, a great stickler, perhaps, for liberty and universal emancipation; who railed each day against American inconsistency and barbarity in holding and *advertising* slaves, and repeated complacently the well known verses of Cowper, "slaves cannot breathe in England," &c.

30. We do not deny, in America, that great abuses and evils accompany our negro slavery. The plurality of the leading men of the southern states, are so well aware of its pestilent genius, that they would be glad to see it abolished, if this were feasible with benefit to the slaves, and without inflicting on the country, injury of such magnitude, as no community has ever voluntarily incurred. While a really practicable plan of abolition remains undiscovered, or undetermined; and while the general conduct of the Americans is such only as necessarily results from their situation, they are not to be arraigned for this institution. If,—as I have no doubt is the case,—it produces here much less misery and vice, than it produces in the other countries which are cursed with it, it furnishes occasion rather for praise than blame. The native Americans claim the distinction of abusing less the dangerous power with which it invests the slave holder; of consulting more the comfort and general welfare of its victims; than the foreigners, Britons not excepted, who so readily participate in that power on associating themselves to this nation. We are

PART I. told by an English writer, Ramsay,* who is supported in the assertion by Edwards, that, with respect to the West India slavery, "adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel and morose towards the slaves than the creoles or native West Indians." The analogy is perfect in our case, and of notoriety. It is a matter of old experience in Virginia and the Carolinas: and the American planter appears to like advantage at present in Louisiana, in the contrast, on this head, with the French and Spanish, who have pursued, but who are gradually abandoning under the salutary influence of our political and social spirit, an hereditary system of rigour.

In admitting the deformity and evil of our negro slavery, we are far from acknowledging, that any nation of Europe is entitled, upon a general comparison between our situation as it is thus unluckily modified, and her own, with all appendages and ingredients, to assign to herself the pre-eminence in felicity, virtue, or wisdom. On the contrary, we know of none with which we would make a general exchange of "institutions," and are assured that there is none, whose mode of being on the whole, is not much more unfavourable than ours, to the attainment of the great ends of society. Who can say that the negro slavery of these states, combined even with every other spring of ill, existing among us, occasions, proportionably, as much of suffering, immorality and vileness, as the unequal distribution of wealth and the distinctions of rank, the manufacturing system, the penal code, the taxes, the tythes, the poor rates, the impressment, in England? Are there not as many of her inhabitants, *as the whole number of our blacks*, as effectually "disfranchised;" as entirely uninstructed; in the last stage of penury and distress; whose physical condition universally, is hardly better than that of the most lowly plantation slave, and who are heart-struck and broken-spirited, if not hardened and enraged?

Let us examine for a moment how the case stands with the people of England, as to one of the worst of the effects, with which our, and all other domestic slavery, is properly reproached,—the abasement of the human character. Lord Sheffield is a witness who will never be suspected of a disposition to disparage his country. In 1818, he published a pamphlet, entitled Observations on the Poor Laws; which contains the following, among other striking representations:

"There is much truth in the remark that a small additional increase of the assessments would, in many instances, render

* Essay on the treatment and conversion of slaves, &c.

the land productive of no rent at all. The very aggravated situation of our little farmers is deplorable; it is ruinous."

"In many parishes, three-fourths, sometimes four-fifths of the parish, actually receive relief: the greatest part of the population have become beggars, and often insolently insist upon relief depending rather upon their clamorous demands than on their industry, foresight, or economy."

"The prevailing abuses have brought the country to such a pass, and have so *demoralized and vitiated a great proportion of the people*, that, notwithstanding the ruinous expense incurred by the poor rates, the misery of the lower ranks is so far from being alleviated, that it is virtually created and extended by it."

In the House of Commons, March 3d, 1818, Mr. Curwen said, that "the inadequacy of wages and the practice of supplying the deficiency of them from the parish funds, *had destroyed the spirit of independence among the poor.*" In the month of March of the year preceding, Lord Castlereagh remarked to the house, that "it must be aware that a great proportion of the wages of the country was paid out of the poor rates." On the 19th May, 1819, Lord J. Russell said, in the same place, "he must refer to the conduct of the ministry on the important subject of the poor laws, the discussion of which subject not one of his majesty's ministers had attended. A lamented friend of his, whose loss was felt every day more and more—he meant Mr. Horner—had observed that by the present poor laws, the people were returning fast to a state of *villeinage*. The observation was true; they were returning to a state of *villeinage*, and to a state of villeinage that was incalculably more dangerous than that which existed six centuries ago in an age of darkness and superstition. Sorry was he to say that the once manly peasantry of this country, were now becoming lazy and riotous, and disrespectful to their superiors, and that they were beginning to look up to the laws with no other view than that of obtaining by them a temporary subsistence."

We have the curious confession of Lord Sidmouth, made in the House of Peers, on the 3d June, 1818, that "it was notorious the dread of transportation had almost subsided, and perhaps had been succeeded by *the desire to emigrate to New South Wales.*" This desire, which indicates so clearly the state of things at home, would not appear, however, to have been always indulged. Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, in her evidence before the committee of the House of Commons on the state of the prisons, mentioned that "several persons,

PART I. husbands in anxiety to follow their wives, and vice versa, were induced to commit crimes. She instanced one woman who lately suffered death, viz. Charlotte Newman, actuated by a desire to follow her husband to Botany Bay, who had committed the same offence; but it was thought proper to make an example of her, *and she was executed!*"

I could produce lamentations without end, uttered in Parliament and in the British pamphlets on domestic affairs, respecting this prostration of character among the body of the English people. It is one view of the state of society in Great Britain, which excites grief and commisseration; but there are numberless others which fill the mind with horror, and bring unequalled disgrace upon human nature. The extent and variety of the disorder, corruption, oppression, and barbarity; in short, of every species of guilt, misery, and degradation, which we find unveiled in the late Parliamentary Reports concerning the poor laws; the state of the prisons; the lunatic asylums, and work houses; the charitable trusts; the mendicity and vagrancy, particularly of London; the ignorance of the lower orders; the administration of the penal code, —could not be believed, if they were not so authenticated; and can as yet scarcely be conceived to exist in a community professing to be well governed, and styling itself the "best and most enlightened" in the world.* America will be content to admit all that the British travellers have written of her negro slavery; to "hold each strange tale devoutly true;" and then to stand the comparison with Great Britain, provided the disclosures of these Reports, the practice of impressment, the system of discipline in the army and navy, the proceedings during the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the excise, and the hulks, be kept in view by the umpire.

* See Note Z.

NOTES.

(NOTE A. p. 35.)

PART I.

The character of the American Indians is too apt to be underrated by the historians, and the proper degree of credit to be, therefore, withheld from the European settlers in North America, as regards the issue of the struggle. I select from writers, who may be considered as of the highest authority, some general views of Indian hostilities.

"The Indians," says Ramsay, in his History of South Carolina, "in their military capacity, were not so inferior to the whites as some may imagine. The superiority of muskets over bows and arrows, managed by Indians, in a woody country, is not great. The savage, quick-sighted and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his hiding place, behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forest like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, till he sends the tidings in the fatal blow."

"The Indians go to war," says Franklin, in his Canada Pamphlet, "as they call it, in small parties, from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and scarce any part of it is impracticable to such a party. They can travel through the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They pass easily between your forts undiscovered; and privately approach the settlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of provisions to follow them; for whether they are shifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to strike a blow, every thicket and stream furnishes so small a number with sufficient subsistence. When they have surprised separately, and murdered and scalped a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways: and it is very rare that pursuers have any chance of coming up with them."

Pownall's Administration of the Colonies.

"Our American frontiers," says governor Pownall, in his Administration of the Colonies, "from the nature of advancing settlements, dispersed along the branches of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited vallies, amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded, and defenceless against the incursions of Indians. And were we able, under an Indian war, to advance our settlements yet farther, they would be advanced up to the very dens of those savages. A settler, wholly intent on labouring on the soil, cannot stand to his arms.

PART I. nor defend himself against, nor seek his enemy. Environed with woods and swamps, he knows nothing of the country beyond his farm. The Indian knows every spot for ambush or defence. The farmer, driven from his little cultured lot into the woods, is lost: the Indian in the woods is every where at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp to the Indian, from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. The farmer's cow or his horse, cannot go into the woods, where alone they must subsist: his wife and children, if they shut themselves up in their poor wretched log-house, will be burned in it: and the husbandman in the field will be shot down while his hands hold the plough. An European settler can make but momentary efforts of war, in hopes to gain some point, that he may by it obtain a series of security, under which to work his lands in peace. The Indian's whole life is a warfare, and his operations never discontinued. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages: and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting. To countries, circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For, in a war with Indians, no force whatever can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas, on the contrary, our temporary expeditions against these Indians, even if successful, can do these wanderers little harm. Every article of their property is portable," &c.

"The Indians," says Loskiel, in his History of the Indian Missions, "need not much provocation to begin a war with the white people; a trifling occurrence may easily furnish a pretence. They frequently first determine upon war, and then wait a convenient opportunity, to find reasons for it: nor are they much at a loss to find them.

"It has occasioned much surprise, that, notwithstanding the prevailing fear of the Six Nations, lest the Europeans should become too powerful, they have sold them one tract of land after the other. Some thought it was done merely for the sake of the presents offered by the purchasers. But experience has shewn, that this settling of land proved the best pretence for a war. For when the white people had settled upon the purchased territory, they drove them away again. They have frequently continued their hostilities against the white people, even during the settling of the peace, or renewed them soon after. In such a critical juncture, the Europeans cannot sufficiently guard against the Indians, especially against the Iroquois. They will treat a white person, who is ignorant of their evil designs, with all apparent civility, and give him victuals and drink, but before he is aware, cleave his skull with a hatchet."

(NOTE B. p. 42.)

The first constitution of South Carolina was framed by Locke. Mr. Verplank, in the beautiful Anniversary Discourse, from which I have made a long extract in the text, celebrates him among "the illustrious dead, the rich fruits of whose labours we are now enjoying;" as one of the "original legislators of the country, who gave to our political character its first impulse and direction." It appears to me, that the great philosopher is not entitled to these distinctions, as far, at least, as his *fundamental constitutions* for Carolina are concerned. M. Verplank, in claiming for them "*many* excellent provisions," acknowledges that they were "in all respects, unnecessarily complicated and artificial." I see but two provisions in them worthy of particular approbation—to

wit, the biennial parliament, and the perfect freedom in religion. On the whole, it is wonderful how Locke, so practical and sober in his speculations generally, could have fallen upon a scheme of government so fanciful, and indeed so preposterous, when viewed in reference to the character and situation of the colonists for whom it was intended. "Nothing," says Chalmers, "can show more clearly the fallibility of the human understanding than the singular fate of these constitutions. Discovered instantly to be wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of an inconsiderable colony, and in a variety of cases, to be altogether impracticable, they were immediately changed. The identity of them was debated by those to whom they were offered as a rule of conduct, because they had not been consulted in the formation of them. They gave rise to the greatest dissentions, which long distracted the province, and engendered civil discord. And, after a little period of years, the whole, found inconvenient and even dangerous, were laid aside, and a much simpler form established."* PART I.

"Locke," adds this author, "was, in the year 1670, created a landgrave, as a reward for his services; and, like the other Carolinian nobles created under this constitution, would have been consigned to oblivion, but for those writings that have enlightened the world, while they have immortalized himself." Those admirable writings had, undoubtedly, a sensible influence over the minds of the American legislators of a subsequent period. Their impress is distinguishable in our present federal constitution particularly. His fundamental principles were, however, embodied in political statutes, and put into steady action, in the midst of the North American wilderness, even before the era of his birth. If we compare his constitutions for Carolina with those which the New England settlers framed for themselves, we will not have so much to complain of "the fallibility of the human understanding," as to mock at the pride of philosophy, and to question the competency of the highest talents in speculation, to the business of devising the true rule of action for communities of men. The French philosophers succeeded for their country, no better than Locke for Carolina: Jeremy Bentham's "Codification" is a masterpiece of absurdity, &c.

(NOTE C. p. 48.)

The body of Roman Catholic gentlemen, who settled Maryland in 1633, appear to me to be clearly entitled to the merit of priority in the establishment of religious freedom for all *Christian* sects. Lord Baltimore, as we have seen in the text, by his original plan of polity, established Christianity agreeably to the old common law, with the express denial of pre-eminence to any sect. His associates recognized this principle, and acted upon it from the outset. The first assemblies of the freemen of the province, held in 1634-5-7-8-9, all admitted it as fundamental. That of 1649, promulged a statute concerning religious equality and freedom, which is not only prior in date, as a charter for all *Christian* sects, to any other legislative act of the kind, of which this country can boast, but provides more minutely and anxiously than any other extant, for the protection of the rights of conscience, and the preservation of religious harmony. I know of no law on the subject

* Annals, p. 528.

PART I. bespeaking so tolerant a spirit as to the divisions of Christianity; so prudent and sound a judgment, and so generous a solicitude. It is to be noted, that among the early settlers, were several priests. The number of these had increased at the date of the act, and their concurrence in its regulations, is ascertained from unquestionable evidence. The toleration of the Church of England might have been unavoidable for the founders of Maryland, and at all events, tended obviously to keep them well with the English government. But no motive of this nature existed with respect to the sectaries, whose familiar appellations they enumerated, as far as it was practicable, in the law, in order to their greater security even from insult. The favour of the English government was, on the contrary, to be gained by the persecution of the Quakers and Puritans.

Roger Williams began his plantation in Providence in 1636. Rhode Island was settled in 1638. In these settlements, a system of universal toleration would seem to have been pursued from the beginning.

But there is no specific law on the subject of religious freedom in the first code of Rhode Island, of 1647, although the concluding paragraph of that code implies universal toleration. It is said in the Political Annals of Chalmers,* that among the ordinances of the Rhode Island assembly of 1663, there is one which enacts, that "all men professing Christianity, and of competent estates and civil conversation, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers." Holmes has repeated this statement in his very useful Annals; and its correctness does not appear to have been questioned by any of our historians. This disfranchisement of Roman Catholics was so little in unison, however, with the doctrines previously asserted and acted upon by Rhode Island and her illustrious founder, Roger Williams, that it was natural to doubt of the existence of the alledged exception. The attention of the public having been drawn to the subject, last winter, by Mr. Verplank's Discourse, James Burrill, jun. Esq., the distinguished senator from Rhode Island, in the federal congress, zealous for the honour and credit of Roger Williams, as the earliest apostle of unlimited toleration, solicited Mr. Samuel Eddy, the secretary of state of Rhode Island, to make research into her records, with a view to the solution of the difficulty. Mr. Eddy had occupied the station of secretary from October 1797, until May 1819, and acquired a thorough acquaintance with the archives and antiquities of Rhode Island. He is, besides, a gentleman of a discriminating mind and scrupulous veracity, who must inspire the fullest confidence in every point of view.

Mr. Burrill has had the goodness to communicate to me the answer of Mr. Eddy, containing the results of a diligent investigation. I am induced to make it part of this note, notwithstanding its length, being assured that it will be considered as interesting and valuable, by all who are curious or concerned about American history. It affords a fine lesson of state liberality, and establishes the singular facts—that the restriction in the law, to those only who professed Christianity, and the exception of Roman Catholics, were introduced after the year 1688, by some committee who prepared a new digest of the laws; that if the restriction, with the exception, was ever approved of by the Rhode Island Assembly, this approbation must have been given after 1688; and that the object of its introduction and continuation was solely to win favour in England in the reigns of William and Anne. The bigotry of the mother country is set in a striking light, by the necessity of such a feint for the acquisition of her good will.

* C. xi.

Statement of Mr. Eddy.

The first settlers in Providence, (1636) and in the island of Rhode Island (1638) were governed by voluntary associations until 1647. Religious liberty was fully enjoyed in these associations. In March 1643-4, a charter was obtained by Roger Williams from "the Governor in Chief, Lord Admiral, and Commissioners for foreign plantations," authorising the inhabitants to adopt "such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them, they should find most suitable to their estate and condition," "and to make and ordain such civil laws," &c. "as they or the greater part of them should by free consent agree unto," "to be conformable to the laws of England so far as the nature and constitution of the place would admit."

Pursuant to this charter, in May 1647, a form of government and a body of laws were agreed to. The laws are thus introduced:

"And now to the end that we may give each to the other (notwithstanding our different consciences, touching the truth as it is in Jesus, whereof upon the point we all make mention,) as good and hopeful assurance as we are able, touching each man's peaceable and quiet enjoyment of his lawful right and liberty, We do agree unto, and by the authority abovesaid enact, establish, and confirm these orders following."

Among others, "That no person in this colony shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his lands or liberties, or be exiled or any otherwise molested or destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by some known law, and according to the *letter of it*, ratified and confirmed by the major part of the General Assembly, lawfully met, and orderly managed."

"For as much as the consciences of sundry men truly conscionable, may scruple the giving or taking of an oath, and it would be no ways suitable to the nature and constitution of our place, (who profess ourselves to be men of different consciences, and not one willing to force another,) to debar such as cannot so do, either from bearing office among us, or from giving in testimony in a case depending. Be it enacted," &c. "that a solemn profession be accounted of as full force as an oath." &c. This body of laws is concluded by these memorable words, "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established throughout the whole colony. And otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God, for ever and ever."

These are all the laws relating to this subject under the charter of 1643-4. The second charter bears date July 8, 1663, was brought over (by Capt. George Baxter,) and presented to the Court of Commissioners November 24, 1663, and the next day to "a very great meeting and assembly of the freemen of the colony." The day following, the Court of Commissioners resigned their authority, and declared themselves dissolved.

The preamble to this charter recites, "that whereas in their humble address, they have freely declared, that it is much in their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state, may stand, and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments," and then declares, "That no person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do

PART I. not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony, but that all and every person and persons may from time to time, and at all times hereafter freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others."

The first meeting of the General Assembly under this charter, was March 1, 1663-4, when the government was organized. They repealed certain laws, which were "contradictory to the form of the present government," and "ordered and enacted that all other laws be of force, until some other course be taken by a General Assembly for better provision therein."

The proceedings of this session are all entire, and *there is not a word on record*, of the act referred to by Chalmers, Political Annals, c. xi and contained in the revision of 1745, purporting to have been passed the session of 1663-4.

Nor is there any thing on record, at either of the sessions this year, which has any relation to the subject, unless the following may be so considered. At May session, the inhabitants of Block Island, being incorporated into a town, the recorder (secretary) was desired to furnish them with "a transcript of the body of laws," (enacted under the first charter) and "at present," to communicate to them the following words of the charter, to wit, "That no person within the said colony at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony." At the same time, John Sands and Joseph Kent, freemen of Block Island, presented a petition in behalf of a number of the inhabitants of that island, praying that the latter might be admitted freemen of the colony, "and being demanded, if they did know, that all the aforesaid persons were men of peaceable and good behaviour, and likely to prove worthy and helpful members in the colony, they answered yea." Wherepon they were admitted. No where have I discovered any enquiry respecting religion, on the admission of freemen.

At the session, in May, 1665, three of the king's commissioners, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, presented to the General Assembly five propositions or proposals as they are called in the records; the first and second of which are in these words,—1st. "That all householders inhabiting this colony, take the oath of allegiance, and that the administration of justice be in his majesty's name" 2d. "That all men of competent estates, and civil conversation, who acknowledge, and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of different judgments, may be admitted freemen, and have liberty to choose and to be chosen officers both civil and military."

In answer to the first, after saying much about liberty of conscience in relation to oaths, &c. (See Hist. Collections Massachusetts, vol. 7. 2d series, p. 95) they enacted, that an "engagement of allegiance" should be given (the form of which is prescribed) "by all men capable, within their jurisdiction."

In answer to the second, they enacted, "That so many of them that take the aforesaid engagements, and are of competent estates, civil conversation, and obedient to the civil magistrate, shall be admitted freemen of this colony, upon their express desire therein declared to the General Assembly, either by themselves, with sufficient testimony of their fitness and qualifications, as shall by the Assembly be deemed satisfactory, or if by the chief officers of the town or towns where they live, they be proposed and declared as abovesaid, and that none shall have admission to vote for public officers or deputies, or enjoy any pri-

vilege of freemen, till admitted by the Assembly as aforesaid, and their names recorded in the general records of the colony."

To the third proposal (See Hist. Coll. Mass. p. 99.) they say, "This Assembly do with all gladness of heart and humbleness of mind, acknowledge the great goodness of God, and favour of his Majesty in that respect, declaring, that as it hath been a principle held forth and maintained in this colony *from the very beginning thereof*, so it is much in their hearts to procure the same liberty to all persons within this colony forever, as to the worship of God therein, taking care for the preservation of civil government, to the doing of justice, and preserving each other's privileges from wrong and violence of others."

Among other reasons assigned in a law allowing compensation to the members of Assembly, to enable them the better to discharge their duties, passed September, 1666, is this, "So as in some good measure to answer one main ground of his Majesty's grant, which was to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among his English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments."

A militia law, passed May, 1677, is concluded with the words, "Provided always, that this Assembly do hereby declare, that it is their full and unanimous resolution, to maintain a full liberty in religious concernments, relating to the worship of God, and that no person inhabiting within this jurisdiction shall be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of this colony."

I have formerly examined the records of the state, from its first settlement, with a view to historical information, and lately, from 1663 to 1719, with a particular view to this law, excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen, and can find nothing that has any reference to it, nor any thing that gives any preference or privileges to men of one set of religious opinions over those of another, until the revision of 1745.

It remains now to account for the law quoted by Chalmers, as contained in this revision of 1745. To do this, it may be proper to state, that the general practice was, and which continued under different regulations till 1798, (the date of the last revision,) either for the secretary or others united with him, to draw up in form the laws and proceedings at the close of each session, and for the secretary to record the same, and until 1747, to send copies in manuscript under the seal of the colony, to the several towns. The first order for printing the proceedings of the General Assembly, was in October, 1747. The first edition of the *Laws* was printed in 1719.* This was attended with so many errors, that a committee was appointed to correct them, in a supplement that was to be printed and annexed to the edition. The second was printed in 1730, by whom, or at what place I have not learnt. Neither of these editions is in the secretary's office, nor have I been able to find them. The third was printed in Newport, in 1745, and from which I imagine Chalmers quoted.

The laws have been uniformly revised by committees. Their practice has been to embody in one all the different laws on the same subject previously passed, with such additions and amendments as they thought proper, confirmed however, before publication, by the General Assembly. The two last revisions (1767 and 1798,) give no date to the several laws, other than by figures in the margin, generally opposite the title or first section of the law, referring to the years when the different laws embodied in one are supposed to have been passed. These references are inaccurate and deficient.

* By Nicholas Boone in Boston.

PART I. In the revision of 1745,* the *whole* of every law purports to have been passed at a particular session, though composed of a number of acts passed in *different* and *subsequent* years, and which, in many instances are referred to in the margin. None of them are dated before March, 1663-4, the time of the first meeting under the second charter, and of those which bear this date *not one section of any one of them was passed at this session.* The following act, bearing this date, is traced from its origin, as a specimen of the inaccuracy of the dates in this revision of 1745. "Be it enacted," &c. "That there be one seal made for the public use of the colony, and that the form of an anchor be engraven thereon, and the motto thereof shall be the word Hope." In the laws of 1647, "It is ordered that the seal of the *Province* shall be an anchor." There is nothing more on this subject till March, 1663-4, when "ordered that for the present, the old seal that hath been the seal of the colony, shall be the present seal," until a new one be procured. May 1664, "ordered, that the seal with the motto Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, with the word Hope, over the head of the anchor, is the present seal of the colony." This *continued* to be the seal till 1686, when on the surrender of the charter, it was broken by Sir Edmund Andros, and in February, 1689, the charter having been resumed, it was "ordered that the seal brought in by Mr. Arnold Collins, being the anchor, with the motto Hope, is appointed to be the seal of the colony, he having been employed by this Assembly to make it." This is now in the secretary's office, and has ever since been the seal of the colony and state, is the only one of this description the colony ever had, and is the same pointed out in the before mentioned act (revision of 1745) purporting to have been passed in 1663-4.

The intention in this revision appears to have been either to date the laws at or after the time when the operations of government commenced under the second charter, as having derived all their validity from that, or to let the whole of each law compiled as before mentioned, bear date when the first act on the subject was supposed to have existed under the second charter. For although the "body of laws," as enacted under the first charter was continued under the second, yet in no instance do our printed laws imply or express an existence before 1663-4.† Whatever the intention was, great inacuracy exists as to their true date. Thus the law particularly referred to by Chalmers, the greater part of which is from Magna Charta, was in substance passed in 1647, as will appear by an extract on the former part of this communication. The latter part of the law, and which has occasioned this inquiry, is in these words, "And that all men *professing Christianity*, and of competent estates, and of civil conversation, who acknowledge, and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of different judgments in religious affairs, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen officers in the colony, both military and civil." Now that this law was not passed in 1663-4 is most certain, for not only does it make no part of the record of either session this year, but omitting the words *professing Christianity*, and *Roman Catholics only excepted*, they are the very words of the second proposition of Carr, Cartwright and Maverick, made to the General Assembly in May 1665, and which at the same time were enacted into a law.

In addition to this, these commissioners, in a narrative of their pro-

* There have been five 1719, 1730, 1745, 1767, and 1798.

† Policy might have suggested the imprudence of noticing an authority derived from an act of the Long Parliament, under which the first charter was granted.

ceedings, under their commission, (Hutchinson's Col. 412.) expressly state that this colony "admit *all* to be *freemen* that desire it, they allow liberty of conscience and worship to *all* who live civilly." They further say, that "this colony, which admits of all religions, even Quakers and Generalists, was begun by such as the Massachusetts would not suffer to live among them, and is generally hated by the other colonies, who endeavoured several ways to suppress them." PART. I.

The answer of the colony in 1680, to the enquiries of the commissioners for foreign plantations as stated by Chalmers, is a farther confirmation of the correctness of this statement, in which they say, that all of different persuasions and principles "enjoy their liberty according to his Majesty's gracious charter." "We leave every man to walk as God shall persuade their hearts, and do actively, impassively yield obedience to the civil magistrate." Though Chalmers, supposing the law relative to Roman Catholics to have been passed in 1663-4, considers this answer to have been a designed concealment of that act.

Thus you have positive and indubitable evidence, that the law excluding Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen was not passed in 1663-4, but that they were, by law, at this time, and long after, entitled to all the privileges of other citizens; and satisfactory evidence, that these privileges were continued by law until 1719, when, or in one of the subsequent revisions, the words "*professing Christianity*," and "*Roman Catholics only excepted*," were inserted by the revising committee. These words may possibly have been inserted in a manuscript copy of the laws sent over in 1699, but of this the words afford no evidence.

Roger Williams was an assistant (member of the upper house) in the years 1664, 1670, and 1671. He was chosen in 1677, but refused to serve. He was also a deputy (member of the lower house) in May, 1667. These are the only years in which he was in office under the second charter. He died in 1682; "When he was buried with all the solemnity the colony was able to shew." (Callender.) Most of the first settlers were dead at this time. Indeed, that such a law should have been passed in the lifetime of the first settlers, is hardly credible. Religious liberty was their pride and boast. The records abound with allusions to it. (See Coll. Mass. Hist. Society, vol. vii. 2d series, pp. 83, 85, 88, 103-4. See also, Hutch. Coll. 154.) The legal enjoyment of it was granted and secured at their special request; and, notwithstanding this distinguishing feature in their government was stigmatized with the most reproachful and opprobrious epithets, they considered it as their highest honour; and themselves in the enjoyment of a natural right, denied to the great body of mankind.

I acknowledge that this account does not exhibit a very flattering view of the legislative accuracy of Rhode Island; but I believe it exhibits a true one, and that is my object. It may be proper to add, that each revision of the laws appears to have been attended with delays and disappointments. It was nearly twenty years after the appointment of the first committee, for revising and printing the laws, before the publication of the first edition. There was no printing press in the colony till 1745, and no newspaper printed till 1758. The colony was frequently pressed by the government in England for copies of their laws and other proceedings, and, in 1699, they sent over a copy of the laws in manuscript. How, or from what originals they were made up, does not appear. As usual, it was done by a committee. A list of the laws was ordered to be left in the secretary's office, but is not now to be found.

I would also suggest, that it appears at all times to have been an important object with the colony to be on the best terms with the mother country. Being poor, of small extent of territory, and in contention with the bordering colonies, both on account of its boundaries and to-

PART I. lerating principles, it required the special protection of the British government. I am inclined to think, that the exception of Roman Catholics in the printed laws (1745), was inserted with the view of ingratiating the colony the more with the mother country. I have no evidence of this but the general tenor of the laws, and the spirit of liberality which they always manifest on religious subjects. In 1696, a letter was received from William Blaithwait, containing a form of association, recommended to be entered into, to defend the king against the conspiracies of the papists, "in consequence of the discovery of the late horrid conspiracy against his majesty," (the assassination plot). It does not appear, however, that the general assembly took any steps about it. Why a law should be passed to exclude from the privileges of *freemen*, those who were not *inhabitants*, by those who believed *all* to be equally entitled to their religious opinions, is difficult to conceive, unless for the purpose above suggested. There were no Roman Catholics in the colony in 1680. (Chalmers, 284.) That this colony was an asylum for the persecuted of all religions, as well of those of none, is evident from Cotton Mather, who says, anno 1695, "Rhode Island colony is a collection of Antinomians, Familists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, and every thing but Roman Catholics and true Christians." Douglas, vol. ii. 110, 112. The same fact is established by the testimony of others of the old writers, who speak of the colony with the utmost contempt on that account, and also by the evidence of the colonial records. In the proceedings of June session, 1684, is this entry, "In answer to the petition of Simon Medus, David Brown, and associates, being Jews, presented to this assembly, bearing date June 24, 1684, 'we declare they may expect as good protection here as *any* stranger, not being of our nation, residing among us, in this his majesty's colony, ought to have, being obedient to his majesty's laws.'" These Jews are supposed to have been Portuguese.

On the revocation of the edict of Nantz, many of the Hugonots settled in this colony. In the proceedings of February session, 1689-90, is this entry: "Ordered, that the Frenchmen that reside at Narragansett be sent for by Major John Greene, to what place in Warwick he shall appoint, to signify unto them the king's pleasure, in his proclamation of war (against France), and his indulgence to such Frenchmen as behave themselves well, and require their engagements thereunto."

It is observable, that the laws of the colony never made any provision for ascertaining any other qualification of a freeman, than competency of estate, and that no *test* or *oath* could ever be required by law of *any* man in *any* case.

There is one trait in the laws of the first settlers of this colony, which places them, as advocates for the equal rights of all men in matters of religion, on an elevation above their contemporaries The liberality of the most liberal of the latter is confined to *Christians, believers in Jesus' holy church*, (Chalmers, 213, 215, 218, 235.); that of the former is extended to all men of civil conversation, without regard to their opinions, whether Christians or Jews, believers in Moses, or Jesus, or Mahomet, or neither. The *life only*, being of competent estates, furnished to the former evidence of the fitness to be freemen. Chalmers justly contends for the equal rights of the Roman Catholics with other Christians, and he ought, for the same reasons, to have contended for the equal rights of Jews, Mahometans, and all others, whether believers or not believers; for their natural rights are certainly equal.

N B. The records of the colony from 1663 to 1686 are entire. From the latter period to 1715, the proceedings of the General Assembly are not recorded; but manuscript copies of the proceedings during this period, under the seal of the colony, are in the town clerk's office, and some of them in the secretary's office, and have been examined, except

for the year 1692, in which I have found the proceedings of one session only. PART. I.

The foregoing is a copy of a communication from Mr. Samuel Eddy, secretary of this state from October, 1797, to May, 1819, and now representative in Congress, in reply to enquiries made by me relative to the correctness of the assertion of Chalmers, (Political Annals, p. 276,) that the toleration of Roger Williams and the first settlers, at Providence and Rhode Island, did not extend to Roman Catholics.

JAMES BURRILL, Junr.

Providence, May 12, 1819.

(NOTE D. p. 51.)

It will be thought extraordinary, that Mr. Brougham, who appears to have read our history, and not to be unacquainted with that of England, should have hazarded such a statement as the following, in his Colonial Policy. "Long after the mother country had relinquished *for ever* the arts of persecution, they found votaries in the constituted authorities of the colonies; and the northern states, at the end of the seventeenth century, afforded the disgraceful example of that spiritual tyranny, from which their territories had originally served as an asylum!"* The persecutions for witchcraft, of which I have given a full explanation in the text, are the only instances of spiritual persecution, if they can be so denominated, which disgrace the annals of New England at so late a period as the close of the seventeenth century. None took place afterwards in any of the colonies, except in New York, where the royal governor, Lord Cornbury, of detested memory, attempted to stifle the Presbyterian worship;† and in Maryland, against the Catholics, at the instigation of the British government. It is true, that the legislatures of Massachusetts and New York passed each, in the first year of the eighteenth century, a law proscribing Catholic priests; but the motive was political; it being believed that those priests laboured uniformly to excite the Indians to hostilities against the Anglo-Americans. No doubt, the spirit of intolerance continued for some time to prevail, in a greater or less degree, against popery, alternately the bugbear and the stalking-horse of the British rulers. They, however, not only studiously fomented, but exacted that spirit in the colonies; where, as we have seen in the last Note, it was even thought necessary to counterfeit persecution, in order to retain their favour.

The author of the Colonial Policy has not specified the period at which the mother country relinquished for ever the arts of persecution; and after which the constituted authorities of the colonies cultivated them; but he is to be understood as referring to the end of the seventeenth century. His accuracy, or his candour, will be illustrated by the following extracts, which I make from an article of the Edinburgh Review,‡ commonly ascribed to his pen.

"The arms of William III. overthrew the last remnant of Catholic government or ascendancy in Britain and Ireland; and, by the articles in Limerick, which closed the scene of hostility in 1691, it was expressly stipulated, that the Roman Catholics should enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws

* B. I. p. 1. † See Smith's History of New York, vol. iii. p. 119.
‡ Volume for 1807. Article on Catholic Question.

PART I. of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as they can summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics *such further security* in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion. This solemn instrument of pacification, granted in the moment of victory, was ratified and published in letters patent, under the great seal, in the fourth year of king William; and *in three years* thereafter, was passed, in direct violation of it, the famous act for preventing the growth of popery, the foundation and model of the many barbarous enactments by which that race of men were oppressed for *little less than a century thereafter*."

"By this barbarous act, and the satutes by which it was followed up, Catholics were disabled from purchasing or inheriting land,—from being guardians to their own children,—from having arms or horses,—from serving on grand juries,—from entering in the inns of court,—from practising as barristers, solicitors, or physicians, &c. &c."

"At the close of the reign of Queen Anne, in short, when the privileges and liberties of Englishmen stood on so triumphant a footing, nothing remained to two-thirds of the inhabitants of Ireland, by which they could be distinguished from slaves or aliens, but the right of voting at elections. Of this, too, they were deprived *under the succeeding sovereigns*."

The following account of the above mentioned act, and of some of its effects, given in Mr. Burke's speech of 1780, at Bristol, previous to the election, is a still more pointed commentary upon the assertion that the arts of persecution were relinquished in Great Britain, *for ever*, at the end of the seventeenth century.

"A statute was fabricated," says Mr. Burke, "in the year 1699, by which the saying mass (a church-service, in the Latin tongue, not exactly the same as our liturgy, but very near it, and containing no offence against the laws, or against good morals,) was forged into a crime punishable with perpetual imprisonment. The teaching school, an useful and virtuous occupation, even the teaching in a private family, was, in every Catholic, subjected to the same unproportionate punishment—Your industry, and the bread of your children, was taxed for a pecuniary reward to stimulate avarice to do what nature refused, to inform and prosecute on this law—Every Roman Catholic was, under the same act, to forfeit his estate to his nearest Protestant relation, until, through a profession of what he did not believe, he redeemed, by his hypocrisy, what the law had transferred to the kinsman as a recompense of his profligacy. When thus turned out of doors from his paternal estate, he was disabled from acquiring any other by any industry, donation, or charity; but was rendered a foreigner in his native land, only because he retained the religion, along with the property, handed down to him from those who had been the old inhabitants of that land before him."

"The effects of the act have been as mischievous, as its origin was shameful. From that time, every person of that communion, lay and ecclesiastic, has been obliged to fly from the face of day. The clergy, concealed in garrets of private houses, or obliged to take a shelter (hardly safe to themselves, but infinitely dangerous to their country) under the privileges of foreign ministers, officiated as their servants, and under their protection. The whole body of the Catholics, condemned to beggary and to ignorance in their native land, have been obliged to learn the principles of letters, at the hazard of all their other principles, from the charity of your enemies. They have been taxed to their ruin, at the pleasure of necessitous and profligate relations, and according to the measure of their necessity and profligacy. Examples of this are many and affecting. Some of them are known by a friend who stands near me in this hall. It is but six or seven years since a

clergyman, of the name of Malony, a man of morals, neither guilty, nor accused of any thing noxious to the state, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for exercising the functions of his religion; and, after lying in jail two or three years, was relieved by the mercy of government from perpetual imprisonment, on condition of perpetual banishment. A brother of the earl of Shrewsbury, a Talbot, a name respectable in this country, whilst its glory is any part of its concern, was hauled to the bar of the Old Bailey, among common felons, and only escaped the same doom, either by some error in the process, or that the wretch who brought him there could not correctly describe his person; I now forget which," &c. (See on this subject—Note V.)

(NOTE E. p. 86.)

"On the 14th of December, 1795," says Bryan Edwards (Hist. of W. Indies, b. ii.) "the British commissioners who went to the Havanna *for assistance*, arrived at Montego Bay with forty *chasseurs* or Spanish hunters (chiefly people of colour) and about *one hundred Spanish dogs*." Their number was really one hundred and twenty according to Dallas, and a great proportion of them not regularly trained, so that the fugitive whom they overtook could not escape being torn in pieces by them. The following compact is copied from Dallas's History (vol. ii.)—

"Articles of Agreement between his Britannic Majesty's Commissary and the undersigned Spanish Chasseurs.

"1st. We, the undersigned, oblige ourselves to go to the island of Jamaica, taking each three dogs for the hunting and seizing negroes.—2d. That, when arrived at the said island, and informed of the situation of the runaway or rebellious negroes, we oblige ourselves to practice every means that may be necessary to pursue, and apprehend *with our dogs*, said rebellious negroes.—3d. Our stay in the island shall be three months.—4th. If, at the expiration of our being three months in the island of Jamaica, government should consider our residence there for a longer time necessary, it then shall be at our option to make a new agreement," &c. [Here follow the signatures, &c.]

(NOTE F. p. 92.)

"To his most excellent majesty George, King of Great Britain, &c. &c.

"The humble petition of his subjects the late French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, formerly settled on the Bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging; now residing in the province of Pennsylvania, on behalf of themselves and ye rest of the late inhabitants of the said bay, and also of those formerly settled on the river of Annapolis-Royal, wheresoever dispersed.

"May it please your Majesty,

"It is not in our power sufficiently to trace back the conditions upon which our ancestors first settled in Nova Scotia, under the protection of your majesty's predecessors, as the greatest part of our elders who were acquainted with these transactions are dead, but more especially because our papers which contained our contracts, records, &c. were by violence taken from us, some time before the unhappy catastrophe

PART I. which has been the occasion of the calamities we are now under, but we always understood the foundation thereof to be from an agreement made between your majesty's commanders in Nova Scotia, and our forefathers, about the year 1713, whereby they were permitted to remain in the possession of their lands, under an oath of fidelity to the British government, with an exemption from bearing arms, and the allowance of the free exercise of their religion.

"It is a matter of certainty (and within the compass of some of our memories) that in the year 1730, general Philips, then governor of Nova Scotia, did in your majesty's name confirm unto us, and all the inhabitants of the whole extent of the bay of Minas and rivers thereunto belonging, the free and entire possession of those lands we were then possessed of, which by grants from the former French government we held to us and our heirs forever, on paying the customary quit-rents, &c. And on condition that we should behave with due submission and fidelity to your majesty, agreeable to the oath which was then administered to us, which is as follows, viz.

"We sincerely promise and swear by the faith of a Christian, that "we shall be entirely faithful, and will truly submit ourselves to his "majesty king George, whom we acknowledge as sovereign lord of "New Scotland, or Arcadia; so God help us."

"And at the same time, the said general Philips did in like manner promise the said French inhabitants in your majesty's name, 'That they should have the true exercise of their religion, and be exempted from bearing arms and from being employed in war either against the French or Indians.' Under the sanction of this solemn engagement we held our lands, made further purchases, annually paying our quit-rents, &c. and we had the greatest reason to conclude that your majesty did not disapprove of the above agreement: and that our conduct continued during a long course of years to be such as recommended us to your gracious protection, and to the regard of the governor of New England, appears from a printed declaration made seventeen years after this time, by his excellency William Shirley, governor of New England, which was published and dispersed in our country, some originals of which have escaped from the general destruction of most of our papers, part of which is as follows.

"By his Majesty's command,

"A declaration of William Shirley, Esq. captain-general and governor in chief, in and over his majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.

"To his majesty's subjects the French inhabitants of his province of Nova Scotia: Whereas upon being informed that a report had been propagated among his majesty's subjects the French inhabitants of his province of Nova Scotia, that there was an intention to remove them from their settlements in that province, I did, by my declaration, dated 16th September, 1746, signify to them that the same was groundless, and that I was on the contrary persuaded that his majesty would be graciously pleased to extend his royal protection to all such of them as should continue in their fidelity and allegiance to him, and in no wise abet or hold correspondence with the enemies of his crown, and therein assured them that I would make a favourable representation of their state and circumstances to his majesty, and did accordingly transmit a representation thereof to be laid before him, and have thereupon received his royal pleasure, touching his aforesaid subjects in Nova Scotia, with his express commands to signify the same to them in his name: Now by virtue thereof, and in obedience to his majesty's said orders, I do hereby declare in his majesty's name, that there is not the least foundation for any apprehensions of his majesty's intending to remove them, the said inhabitants of Nova Scotia, from their said settlements and ha-

bitations within the said province, but that on the contrary, it is his majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of them as have adhered to and shall continue in their duty and allegiance to him in the quiet and peaceable possession of their respective habitations and settlements, and in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as his subjects, &c. &c. PART I.

"Dated at Boston, the 21st of October, 1747.

"And this is farther confirmed by a letter dated 29th June in the same year, wrote to our deputies by Mr. Mascarine, then your majesty's chief commander in Nova Scotia, which refers to governor Shirley's first declaration, of which we have a copy legally authenticated, part of which is as follows, viz.

"'As to the fear you say you labour under on account of being threat-'ened to be made to evacuate the country you have in possession, his 'excellency William Shirley's printed letter, whereby you may be made 'easy in that respect: you are sensible of the promise I have made to 'you, the effects of which you have already felt, that I would protect 'you so long as by your good conduct and fidelity to the crown of Great 'Britain you would enable me so to do, which promise I do again repeat 'to you.'

"Near the time of the publication of the before mentioned declaration, it was required that our deputies should, on behalf of all the people, renew the oath formerly taken to general Philips, which was done without any mention of bearing arms—and we can with truth say, that we are not sensible of any alteration in our disposition or conduct since that time, but that we always continued to retain a grateful regard to your majesty and your government, notwithstanding which we have found ourselves surrounded with difficulties unknown to us before. Your majesty determined to fortify our province and settle Halifax; which the French looking upon with jealousy, they made frequent incursions through our country in order to annoy that settlement, whereby we came exposed to many straits and hardships; yet from the obligations we were under, from the oath we had taken, we were never under any doubt but that it was our indispensible duty and interest to remain true to your government and our oath of fidelity, hoping that in time those difficulties would be removed, and we should see peace and tranquillity restored: and if, from the change of affairs in Nova Scotia, your majesty had thought it not consistent with the safety of your said province, to let us remain there upon the terms promised us by your governors, in your majesty's name, we should doubtless have acquiesced with any other reasonable proposal which might have been made to us, consistent with the safety of our aged parents and tender wives and children; and we are persuaded if that had been the case, wherever we had retired, we should have held ourselves under the strongest obligations of gratitude from a thankful remembrance of the happiness we had enjoyed under your majesty's administration and gracious protection. About the time of the settlement of Halifax, general Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, did require that we should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption before allowed us, of not bearing arms; but this we absolutely refused, as being an infringement of the principal condition upon which our forefathers agreed to settle under the British government.

"And we acquainted governor Cornwallis that if your majesty was not willing to continue that exemption to us, we desired liberty to evacuate the country, proposing to settle on the island of St. John's, where the French government was willing to let us have land, which proposal he at that time refused to consent to, but told us he would acquaint your majesty therewith, and return us an answer. But we never received

PART I. an answer, nor was any proposal of that made to us until we were made prisoners.

"After the settlement of Halifax, we suffered many abuses and insults from your majesty's enemies, more especially from the Indians in the interest of the French, by whom our cattle was killed, our houses pillaged, and many of us personally abused and put in fear of our lives, and some even carried away prisoners towards Canada, solely on account of our resolution steadily to maintain our oath of fidelity to the English government, particularly René Leblanc (our public notary) was taken prisoner by the Indians when actually travelling in your majesty's service, his house pillaged, and himself carried to the French fort, from whence he did not recover his liberty but with great difficulty, after four years captivity.

"We were likewise obliged to comply with the demand of the enemy made for provision, cattle, &c. upon pain of military execution, which we had reason to believe the government was made sensible was not an act of choice on our part, but of necessity, as those in authority appeared to take in good part the representations we always made to them after any thing of that nature had happened.

"Notwithstanding the many difficulties we thus laboured under, yet we dare appeal to the several governors, both at Halifax and Annapolis-Royal, for testimonies of our being always ready and willing to obey their orders, and give all the assistance in our power, either in furnishing provisions and materials, or making roads, building forts, &c. agreeable to your majesty's orders, and our oath of fidelity, whensoever called upon, or required thereunto.

"It was also our constant care to give notice to your majesty's commanders of the danger they from time to time have been exposed to by the enemy's troops, and had the intelligence we gave been always attended to, many lives might have been spared, particularly in the unhappy affair which befel major Noble and his brother at Grand-Pray, when they, with great numbers of their men, were cut off by the enemy, notwithstanding the frequent advices we had given them of the danger they were in; and yet we have been very unjustly accused as parties in that massacre.

"And although we have been thus anxiously concerned to manifest our fidelity in these several respects, yet it has been falsely insinuated, that it had been our general practice to abet and support your majesty's enemies; but we trust that your majesty will not suffer suspicions and accusations to be received as proofs sufficient to reduce some thousands of innocent people, from the most happy situation to a state of the greatest distress and misery! No, this was far from our thoughts; we esteemed our situation so happy as by no means to desire a change. We have always desired, and again desire that we may be permitted to answer our accusers in a judicial way. In the mean time permit us Sir, here solemnly to declare, that these accusations are utterly false and groundless, so far as they concern us as a collective body of people. It hath been always our desire to live as our fathers hath done, as faithful subjects under your majesty's royal protection, with an unfeigned resolution to maintain our oath of fidelity to the utmost of our power. Yet it cannot be expected, but that amongst us, as well as amongst other people, there have been some weak and false-hearted persons susceptible of being bribed by the enemy so as to break the oath of fidelity. Twelve of these were outlawed in governor Shirley's proclamation before mentioned; but it will be found that the number of such false-hearted men amongst us were very few, considering our situation, the number of our inhabitants, and how we stood circumstanced in several respects: and it may easily be made appear that it was the constant

care of our deputies to prevent and put a stop to such wicked conduct when it came to their knowledge. PART I.

"We understood that the aid granted to the French by the inhabitants of Chignecto has been used as an argument to accelerate our ruin; but we trust that your majesty will not permit the innocent to be involved with the guilty; no consequence can be justly drawn, that because those people yielded to the threats and persuasions of the enemy, we should do the same. They were situated so far from Halifax as to be in a great measure out of the protection of the English government, which was not our case; we were separated from them by sixty miles of uncultivated land, and had no other connexion with them than what is usual with neighbours at such a distance; and we can truly say we looked on their defection from your majesty's interest with great pain and anxiety. Nevertheless, not long before our being made prisoners, the house in which we kept our contracts, records, deeds, &c. were invested with an armed force, and all our papers violently carried away, none of which have to this day been returned us, whereby we are in a great measure deprived of means of making our innocency and the justness of our complaints appear in their true light.

"Upon our sending a remonstrance to the governor and council of the violence that had been offered us by the seizure of our papers, and of the groundless fears the government appeared to be under on our account, by their taking away our arms, no answer was returned us; but those who had signed the remonstrance, and some time after sixty more, in all about eighty of our elders, were summoned to appear before the governor and council, which they immediately complied with, and it was required of them that they should take the oath of allegiance without the exemption, which, during a course of near fifty years, had been granted to us and to our fathers, of not being obliged to bear arms, and which was the principal condition upon which our ancestors agreed to remain in Nova Scotia, when the rest of the French inhabitants evacuated the country, which, as it was contrary to our inclination and judgment, we thought ourselves engaged in duty absolutely to refuse. Nevertheless, we freely offered, and would gladly have renewed, our oath of fidelity, but this was not accepted of, and we were all immediately made prisoners, and were told by the governor, that our estates, both real and personal, were forfeited for your majesty's use. As to those who remained at home, they were summoned to appear before the commanders in the forts, which, we showing some fear to comply with, on the account of the seizure of our papers, and imprisonment of so many of our elders, we had the greatest assurance given us that there was no other design but to make us renew our former oath of fidelity; yet as soon as we were within the fort, the same judgment was passed on us as had been passed on our brethren at Halifax, and we were also made prisoners.

"Thus, notwithstanding the solemn grants made to our fathers by general Philips, and the declaration made by governor Shirley and Mr. Mascarine in your majesty's name, that it was your majesty's resolution to protect and maintain all such of us as should continue in their duty and allegiance to your majesty, in the quiet and peaceable possession of their settlements, and the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, as your majesty's subjects; we found ourselves at once deprived of our estates and liberties, without any judicial process, or even without any accusers appearing against us, and this solely grounded on mistaken jealousies and false suspicions that we were inclinable to take part with your majesty's enemies. But we again declare that that accusation is groundless; it was always our fixed resolution to maintain to the utmost of our power the oath of fidelity which we had taken, not only from a sense of indispensable duty, but also because we were well satisfied with

PART I.

our situation under your majesty's government and protection, and did not think it could be bettered by any change which could be proposed to us. It has also been falsely insinuated that we held the opinion that we might be absolved from our oath so as to break it with impunity; but this we likewise solemnly declare to be a false accusation, and which we plainly evinced, by our exposing ourselves to so great losses and sufferings, rather than take the oath proposed to the governor and council, because we apprehended we could not in conscience comply therewith.

"Thus we, our ancient parents and grand parents, (men of great integrity and approved fidelity to your majesty,) and our innocent wives and children, became the unhappy victims to those groundless fears: we were transported into the English colonies, and this was done in so much haste, and with so little regard to our necessities and the tenderest ties of nature, that from the most social enjoyments and affluent circumstances, many found themselves destitute of the necessaries of life: Parents were separated from children, and husbands from wives, some of whom have not to this day met again; and we were so crowded in the transport vessels, that we had not room even for all our bodies to lay down at once, and consequently were prevented from carrying with us proper necessaries, especially for the support and comfort of the aged and weak, many of whom quickly ended their misery with their lives. And even those amongst us who had suffered deeply from your majesty's enemies, on account of their attachment to your majesty's government, were equally involved in the common calamity, of which René Lablane, the notary public before mentioned, is a remarkable instance. He was seized, confined, and brought away among the rest of the people, *and his family, consisting of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grand children, were scattered in different colonies, so that he was put on shore at New York with only his wife and two youngest children,* in an infirm state of health, from whence he joined three more of his children at Philadelphia, where he died without any more notice being taken of him than any of us, notwithstanding his many years labour and deep sufferings for your majesty's service.

"The miseries we have since endured are scarce sufficiently to be expressed, being reduced for a livelihood to toil and hard labour in a southern clime, so disagreeable to our constitutions, that most of us have been prevented by sickness from procuring the necessary subsistence for our families, and therefore are threatened with that which we esteem the greatest aggravation of all our sufferings, even of having our children forced from us, and bound out to strangers, and exposed to contagious distempers unknown in our native country.

"This, compared with the affluence and ease we enjoyed, shows our condition to be extremely wretched. We have already seen in this province of Pennsylvania two hundred and fifty of our people, which is more than half the number that were landed here, perish through misery and various diseases. In this great distress and misery, we have, under God, none but your majesty to look to with hopes of relief and redress: We therefore hereby implore your gracious protection, and request you may be pleased to let the justice of our complaints be truly and impartially enquired into, and that your majesty would please to grant us such relief as in your justice and clemency you will think our case requires, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray," &c.

This pathetic appeal of the Acadians had not the least effect with the British government. When Jasper Mauduit, agent of the province of Massachusetts, represented to Mr. Grenville, the British minister, that his most Christian majesty, looking upon the Acadians as of the number of those who had been his most faithful subjects, had signified his wil-

lingness to order transports for conveying them to France, from the British provinces, Mr. Grenville immediately said—"that cannot be—that is contrary to our acts of navigation—how can the French court send ships to our colonies?" (See letter of Jasper Mauduit, dated Dec. 1768, to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives—in the vol. of the Mass. Hist. Coll. for 1799.)

(NOTE G. p. 113.)

"The English made, in 1745, an important conquest, which they considered as an ample indemnification for the losses which the allies had suffered in the low countries: it was that of Cape Breton," &c. Koch. *Histoire Abrégée des Traités de Paix.* Vol. ii.

In the negotiations of 1748, France prescribed the restitution of Louisbourg as the first article of a pacification. It was the first point taken up by the plenipotentiaries at Aix la Chapelle; and the British minister stated at once the readiness of England to restore it, for certain equivalents. We have the following account in that instructive work, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, (b. v. vol. 5.)

"A memoir was sent by the French court to the Count St. Séverin, its minister at Aix la Chapelle, upon the indispensable necessity of Cape Breton to France, and upon the fatal consequences of leaving that island in the hands of the English, in relation to the free trade of Canada and Louisiana, and the general trade of the other powers of Europe." "It will be the more necessary," said the official instructions, "to shew merely a moderate wish to recover the island, as we know that *England has it not much at heart to retain her conquest.* The Count St. Séverin may then give the Earl of Sandwich to understand, that the loss of Cape Breton is less important in itself, than on account of the stress laid upon it by the public opinion in France; and that the king does not attach so much consequence to the matter himself, as not to prefer an equivalent in the low countries," &c.

It is stated in the work from which I have made these quotations, that the British court proposed to France, in 1755, that the whole southern bank of the river St. Lawrence should remain *uninhabited*, and the lakes unappropriated. "The pretext of the war of 1756," says the same work, "on the part of England, was the encroachment of the French on the limits of Acadia, and some acts of violence committed on the Ohio; but the real motive was to avail herself of the supposed weakness of the cabinet of Versailles, to destroy the French navy, and to avenge the defeats of Fontenoy and of Lawfeldt. (Vol. vi. b. 1.)

(NOTE H. p. 119.)

Braddock's papers all fell into the hands of the French. In the year 1757, there was made and published in Philadelphia, a translation of three French volumes found on board a French privateer, and containing authenticated copies of those papers. They throw great light upon the origin of his expedition, and do not redound to the credit of the British government for good faith in its negotiation with France, preliminary to the war of 1756. A few extracts from the instructions given to Braddock, and his correspondence with his government, may serve to amuse the American reader.

PART I. "His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland," says the letter of instructions of November 25, 1754, "recommends to you that it be constantly observed among the troops under your command, to be particularly careful that they be not *thrown into a panic by the Indians*, with which they are yet unacquainted, whom the *French* will certainly employ to *frighten them*. His Royal Highness recommends to you the visiting your posts night and day, that your colonels and other officers be careful to do it, and that you yourself frequently set them the example, and give all your troops plainly to understand *that no excuse will be admitted for any surprise whatsoever*."

Part of a letter from General Braddock, to the Hon. Thomas Robinson.

"Alexandria, 19th of April, 1755.

"Governor *Shirley* will acquaint you, sir, of the expense of *New England* upon the prodigious levy of men that has been made in these governments, *for the enterprises of the north*, the other governors have done very little, or rather nothing. I cannot but take the liberty to represent to you the necessity of *laying a tax upon all his majesty's dominions in America, agreeably to the result of council*, for reimbursing the great sums that must be advanced for the service and interest of the colonies in this important crisis."

From the same to the same.

"Fort Cumberland, (at Will's Creek)
June 5th, 1755.

"I have at last assembled all the troops destined for the attack of *Fort du Quesne*, which amount to two thousand effective men, of which there are eleven hundred furnished by the southern provinces, *who have so little courage and disposition, that scarce any military service can be expected from them*, though I have employed the best officers to form them."

"I desired Mr. B. Franklin, Post-Master of *Pennsylvania*, who has great credit in the provinces, to hire me one hundred and fifty waggons and the number of horses necessary, which he did with so much goodness and readiness, that it is almost the first instance of integrity, address, and ability that I have seen in all these provinces."

(NOTE I. p. 125.)

His Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Earl of Loudon, though of a very lordly carriage towards the provincials, was unable to stifle the petulance of their press. The newspapers of their large towns carped and sneered at his operations, in a manner that might have provoked the master of fewer legions to exert a vigour beyond the law. The following piece published in a New-York gazette, during his presence in that city, shows the boldness of the censorship exercised over the management of the British commanders, and furnishes a good sketch of the first campaigns of the war.

Extract of a letter from New York, to a gentleman in London, dated New-York, August 26, 1757

"The situation of affairs in America, grow more and more dangerous; and what makes us despair of seeing things mend, is that, by l

know not what fatality of conduct in our commanders, the more we are strengthened with land forces from Great Britain, the more ground we lose against the French, whose number of regular troops is, according to the best information we can get here, much inferior to ours. PART I.

"To give you some idea of this, all the success we can pretend to boast of in the course of this war, happened in the two *first* years of it, when we had not a fourth part of the regular troops we now have, and the French had at least an equal number in Canada and Louisbourg.

"Our campaign in 1755, opened with an expedition against the encroachments of the French in Nova-Scotia, with about four hundred troops of the three regiments posted there, and two thousand New-England irregulars, fitted out from Boston; which was conducted in such a manner, that the French forts upon the isthmus were soon surrendered to us; their garrisons transported to Louisbourg; one of their forts upon the river St. John, abandoned by them, and their settlements about it broken up; and in the same year our own fortifications were advanced towards Montreal as far as lake St. Sacrament, now lake George, as in the preceding year they had likewise begun to be upon the river Kennebeck, towards the metropolis of Canada:—And the French general Deiskau, who came from France that year with about three thousand troops, and had begun his march to invest Oswego, was prevented from making an attempt upon it, and defeated in his attack upon our camp at Lake George; and in the year 1756, a large party of French regulars, Canadians and Indians, which attacked by surprise a party of our batteaux men, upon the river Onondago, were entirely defeated by an inferior number of them.

"No sooner were our forces increased by those which arrived here from Europe with general Abercrombie, in June, 1756, but things took a very different turn. Though timely information was given, that a large French camp was formed within about thirty miles of Oswego, with intent speedily to attack it; yet, by some unaccountable *delay* to send it a reinforcement, that most material place was lost; General Webb, who did at last embark with one for its relief, not setting out till two days before it was taken.

"Our next misfortune, which followed close upon the heels of this, was, that when our general had got as far as the great carrying-place, at Oneida, (a pass in the country of the Six Nations,) which was so strongly fortified, and so inaccessible to the enemy's artillery, that it might have defied the whole French army to take it, he demolished the fort and works there in a few days, and retired with his forces to a place called the German-Flats, which is sixty miles nearer Albany, and soon after to Schenectady, which is no more than seventeen miles from that city; and thereby not only abandoned the Six Nations of Indians, and their country, to the enemy, but left the French a free passage from Oswego, through the Mohawks river, to Schenectady.—And what is still more extraordinary in this, is, that whilst the general was demolishing the works at this carrying-place, and retiring back to Schenectady, the French were as busy in demolishing the works at Oswego, and retiring from thence back towards Montreal.

"This precipitate retreat was immediately followed by as fatal a delay; for though we had a sufficient force ready to have proceeded that year in our expedition against Crown-Point, yet we wasted the whole season in entrenching at Lake George, and fortifying Fort William-Henry there; the consequence of which was, that we not only lost a favourable opportunity for making an attempt against Crown-Point, but paid for that neglect, by the loss of Fort William-Henry itself, this year.

"This closed our *operations* in 1756: The beginning of this year was spent in making preparations for the expedition against Louisbourg,

PART I. which took us up till the latter end of June; then our transports sailed from hence for Halifax, with about six thousand regular troops; and in their passage most miraculously escaped being taken by the French ships, which, we are informed, had been about five days before cruizing off that harbour. After spending about five weeks at Halifax in holding councils of war, the result of them was, to lay aside the expedition against Louisbourg.

"Whilst we were employed in making this dangerous passage to Halifax, and holding councils of war there, Mons. Montcalm took the opportunity of lord Loudon's absence, and proceeded from Quebec to Crown-Point, with about ten thousand men, consisting of regular troops, Canadians, and Indians; from whence he made Fort William-Henry a visit, which he took, after a siege of about five or six days, and demolished: disabled the garrison, which consisted of about two thousand three hundred men, from serving against the French for the space of eighteen months; made himself master of our magazines of provision and stores; the former of which were of very great service to the enemy; and secured the entire possession of the lakes between Lake-George and Montreal; finished this business, and retired with his army, before the return of lord Loudon with his troops from Halifax, which are expected here every day.

"Such is the present state of our affairs, the fruits of our two last years inactive campaigns, of our want of proper intelligence, and the little use we make of what we do get! we find by woful experience, that our great numbers of regular troops have been of no service, for want of proper management; the French carry all before them: and what the next year will produce, God only knows; I tremble to think."

(NOTE J. p. 131.)

Every account of these campaigns, which was published in England, contained some fabricated or distorted anecdotes, tending to bring ridicule or contempt upon the provincials. In Knox's Historical Journal,* for instance, the most considerable and esteemed work respecting the operations in America from 1756 to 1760, I find such stories as the two which I am to quote, and which have neither verisimilitude nor poignancy to compensate for their falsehood.

"March 29, 1758.—Two sail of ships were discovered to cross the basin below, and run up Moose and Bear rivers, which being unusual for British ships, a boat was sent down for intelligence and to watch their motions. The boat returned, and brought up the masters of the two vessels; they came from fort Cumberland, and are bound to Boston; by them we are informed there is an embargo laid on all the ports of New England, New York, Halifax, &c. &c. We hear of great preparations for opening the campaign, that there are more troops expected from Europe, and that the province of Massachusetts is raising a large body of provincials to co-operate with the regulars; the masters of these sloops say, that all is well at Chegnecto, and also at Fort Edward and Fort Sackville, where they have lately been; these men farther add, that it was reported at Boston, that the particular department of the

* Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758 1759, and 1760, by captain John Knox: dedicated by permission, to General Amherst. 2 vols. 4to.

New England troops this campaign, would be the reduction of Canada; this was matter of great mirth to us, and an officer who was present, humorously replied, *And let the regulars remain in the different forts and garrisons, to hew wood and dig sand, &c. then the French will be finely humbled in America.*" Vol. i. p. 112.

"December 1st. 1758.—We weighed this morning about eight o'clock, and attempted to get out into the bay; but not consulting the proper time of tide, we were obliged to put back, and come to an anchor; about noon we weighed again with the tide of ebb, and little wind falling, with an agitated sea, occasioned by conflicting currents, our transport missed stays, and we narrowly escaped being wrecked upon a lee shore, where the vessel would probably have been dashed to pieces, the western side of the entrance being a complete ledge of rocks, the master instantly fell upon his knees, crying out—'What shall we do? I vow I fear we shall all be lost, let us go to prayers; what can we do dear Jonathan?' Jonathan went forward muttering to himself, 'do—I vow Ebenezer, I don't know what we shall do any more than thyself;' when fortunately one of *our soldiers*, who was a thorough bred seaman, and had served several years on board a ship of war, and afterwards in a privateer, hearing and seeing *the helpless state of mind which our poor New England men were under*, and our sloop driving towards the shore, called out, 'why d— your eyes and limbs,—down with her sails and let her drive a—e foremost; what the devil signifies your canting and praying now?'—Ebenezer quickly taking the hint, called to Jonathan to lower the sails, saying, 'he vowed he believed that young man's advice was very good, but wished he had not delivered it so profanely.' However, it answered to our wish; every thing that was necessary was transacted instantaneously; the soldier gave directions, and seizing the helm, we soon recovered ourselves, cleared the streight, and drove into the bay stern foremost."

Knox's Hist. Journal, vol. i. p. 217–18.

The London newspapers were never without "extracts of letters from officers serving in the British army in America," which surpassed the formal relations of the war, in ridicule and obloquy of the Americans. A lampoon of this description, published in the London Chronicle of May, 1759, drew an answer from Dr. Franklin, which was inserted in the same paper a few days afterwards. I have not seen this characteristic production in any collection of his works, and I therefore give it place in this volume, with the aim of which it so happily coincides. It evidences the staleness, as it explodes the absurdity of those contumelious allegations against us, which the same spirit that gave them birth at the earliest period, and has never since declined, now reproduces in the British Journals.

From the London Chronicle.

"Mr. Chronicle,

"Sir, while the public attention is so much turned towards *America*, every letter from thence that promises new information, is pretty generally read; it seems therefore the more necessary that care should be taken to disabuse the public, when those letters contain facts false in themselves, and representations injurious to bodies of people, or even to private persons.

"In your paper, No. 310, I find an extract of a letter, said to be from a gentleman in general Abercrombie's army. As there are several strokes in it tending to render the colonies despicable, and even odious to the mother country, which may have ill consequences; and no notice having been taken of the injuries contained in that letter, other

PART I. letters of the same nature have since been published; permit me to make a few observations on it.

"The writer says, 'New-England was settled by Presbyterians and Independents, who took shelter there from the persecutions of Archbishop Laud;—*they still retain their original character, they generally hate the Church of England,*' says he. It is very true, that if some resentment still remained for the hardships their fathers suffered, it might perhaps be not much wondered at; but the fact is, that the moderation of the present Church of England towards dissenters in old as well as New England, has quite effaced those impressions; the dissenters too are become less rigid and scrupulous, and the good will between those different bodies in that country, is now both mutual and equal.

"He goes on: '*They came out with a levelling spirit, and they retain it. They cannot bear to think that one man should be exorbitantly rich, and another poor; so that, except in the sea port towns, there are few great estates among them. This equality produces also a rusticity of manners; for in their language, dress, and in all their behaviour, they are more boorish than anything you ever saw in a certain northern latitude.*' One would imagine from this account, that those who were growing poor, plundered those who were growing rich, to preserve this equality, and that property had no protection; whereas, in fact, it is no where more secure than in the New England colonies, the law is no where better executed, or justice obtained at less expence. The equality he speaks of, arises first from a more equal distribution of lands by the assemblies in the first settlement than has been practised in the other colonies, where favourites of governors have obtained enormous tracts for trifling considerations, to the prejudice both of the crown revenues and the public good; and secondly, from the nature of their occupation; husbandmen with small tracts of land, though they may by industry maintain themselves and families in mediocrity, having few means of acquiring great wealth, especially in a young colony that is to be supplied with its cloathing, and many other expensive articles of consumption from the mother country. Their dress the gentleman may be a more critical judge of, than I can pretend to be: all I know of it is, that they wear the manufacture of Britain, and follow its fashions perhaps too closely, every remarkable change in the mode making its appearance there within a few months after its invention here; a natural effect of their constant intercourse with England, by ships arriving almost every week from the capital, their respect for the mother country, and admiration of every thing that is *British*. But as to their language, I must beg this gentleman's pardon, if I differ from him. His ear, accustomed perhaps to the dialect practised in the *certain northern latitude* he mentions, may not be qualified to judge so nicely what relates to *pure English*. And I appeal to all Englishmen here, who have been acquainted with the colonists, whether it is not a common remark, that they speak the language with such an exactness both of expression and accent, that though you may know the natives of several of the counties of England, by peculiarities in their dialect, you cannot by that means distinguish a North American. All the new books and pamphlets worth reading, that are published here, in a few weeks are transmitted and found there, where there is not a man or woman born in the country but what can read: and it must, I should think, be a pleasing reflection to those who write either for the benefit of the present age or of posterity, to find their audience increasing with the increase of our colonies; and their language extending itself beyond the narrow bounds of these islands, to a continent larger than all Europe, and to a future empire as fully peopled, which Britain may probably one day possess in those vast western regions.

"But the gentleman makes more injurious comparisons than these

'*That latitude,*' he says, 'has this advantage over them, that it has produced sharp, acute men, fit for war or learning, whereas, the others are remarkably simple or silly, and blunder eternally. We have 6000 of their militia, which the general would willingly exchange for 2000 regulars. They are for ever marring some one or other of our plans, when sent to execute them. They can, indeed, some of them at least, range in the woods; but 300 Indians with their yell, throw 3000 of them in a panic, and then they will leave nothing to the enemy to do, for they will shoot one another; and in the woods our regulars are afraid to be on a command with them *on that very account*' I doubt, Mr. Chronicle, that this paragraph, when it comes to be read in America, will have no good effect; and rather increase that inconvenient disgust which is too apt to arise between the troops of different corps, or countries, who are obliged to serve together. Will not a New-England officer be apt to retort and say, what foundation have you for this odious distinction in favour of the officers from your *certain northern latitude?* They may, as you say, be *fit for learning*; but, surely, the return of your first general, with a well appointed and sufficient force, from his expedition against Louisbourg, without so much as seeing the place, is not the most shining proof of his *talents for war.* And no one will say his plan was *marred by us*, for we were not with him.—Was his successor who conducted the blundering attack, and inglorious retreat from Ticonderoga, a New-England man, or one of *that certain latitude?* —Then as to the comparison between regulars and provincials, will not the latter remark, that it was 2000 New-England provincials, with about 150 regulars, that took the strong fort of Beausejour, in the beginning of the war; though in the accounts transmitted to the English Gazette, the honour was claimed by the regulars, and little or no notice taken of the others.—That it was the provincials who beat general Dieskau, with his regulars, Canadians, and 'yelling Indians', and sent him prisoner to England.—That it was a provincial-born officer,* with American batteauxmen, that beat the French and Indians on Oswego river.—That it was the same officer, with provincials, who made that long and admirable march into the enemy's country, took and destroyed fort Frontenac, with the whole French fleet on the lakes, and struck terror into the heart of Canada.—That it was a provincial officer,† with provincials only, who made another extraordinary march into the enemy's country, surprized and destroyed the Indian town of Kittanning, bringing off the scalps of their chiefs.—That one ranging captain of a few provincials, Rogers, has harrassed the enemy *more* on the frontiers of Canada, and destroyed *more* of their men, than the whole army of regulars.—That it was the regulars who surrendered themselves, with the provincials under their command, prisoners of war, almost as soon as they were besieged, with the forts, fleet, and all the provisions and stores that had been provided and amassed at so immense an expence, at Oswego.—That it was the regulars who surrendered fort William-Henry, and suffered themselves to be butchered and scalped with arms in their hands.—That it was the regulars under Braddock, who were thrown into a panic by the '*yells* of 3 or 400 Indians,' in their confusion shot one another, and, with five times the force of the enemy, fled before them, destroying all their own stores, ammunition, and provision!—These *regular gentlemen*, will the *provincial rangers* add, may possibly be *afraid*, as they say they are, *to be on a command with us* in the woods; but when it is considered, that from all past experience, the chance of our shooting them is not as one to a hundred, compared with that of their being shot by the enemy; may it

PART I.

* Colonel Bradstreet. † Colonel Armstrong, of Pennsylvania.

PART I. not be suspected, that what they give as the *very account* of their fear and unwillingness to venture out with us, is only the *very excuse;* and that a concern for their scalps weighs more with them than a regard for their honour.

"Such as these, Sir, I imagine may be the reflections *extorted* by such provocation, from the provincials in general. But the New-England men in particular, will have reason to resent the remarks on their reduction of Louisbourg. Your writer proceeds, 'Indeed they are all very ready to make their boast of taking Louisbourg, in 1745; but if people were to be acquitted or condemned according to the propriety and wisdom of their plans, and not according to their success, the persons that undertook the siege, merited little praise: for I have heard officers, who assisted at it, say, never was any thing more rash; for had one single part of their plan failed, or had the French made the fortieth part of the resistance then that they have made now, every soul of the New-Englanders must have fallen in the trenches. The garrison was weak, sickly, and destitute of provisions, and disgusted, and therefore became a ready prey; and, when they returned to France, were decimated for their gallant defence.' Where then is the glory arising from thence?—After denying his facts, 'that the garrison was weak, wanted provisions, made not a fortieth part of the resistance, were decimated,' &c. the New-England men will ask this regular gentleman, if the place was well fortified, and had (as it really had) a numerous garrison, was it not at least *brave* to attack it with a handful of raw undisciplined militia? If the garrison was, as you say, 'sickly, disgusted, destitute of provisions, and ready to become a prey,' was it not *prudent* to seize that opportunity, and put the nation in possession of so important a fortress, at so small an expence? So that if you will not allow the enterprize to be, as we think it was, both *brave* and *prudent*, ought you not at least to grant it was *either one* or *the other?* But is there no merit on this score in the people; who, though at first so greatly divided, as to the making or forbearing the attempt, that it was carried in the affirmative, by the small majority of *one* vote only; yet when it was once resolved on, *unanimously* prosecuted the design, and prepared the means with the greatest zeal and diligence; so that the whole equipment was completely ready before the season would permit the execution? Is there no merit of praise in laying and executing their plan so well, that, as you have confessed, not a *single part* of it failed? If the plan was destitute of 'propriety and wisdom,' would it not have required the *sharp acute* men of the *northern latitude* to execute it, that by supplying its deficiencies they might give it some chance of success? But if such 'remarkably silly, simple, blundering *mar-plans*,' as you say we are, could execute *this plan*, so that not a *single part* of it failed, does it not at least show that the plan itself must be laid with *some* 'wisdom and propriety?'—Is there no merit in the ardour with which all degrees and ranks of people quitted their private affairs, and ranged themselves under the banners of their king, for the honour, safety, and advantage of their country? Is there no merit in the profound secrecy guarded by a whole people, so that the enemy had not the least intelligence of the design, till they saw the fleet of transports cover the sea before their port?—Is there none in the indefatigable labour the troops went through during the siege, performing the duty both of men and horses; the hardships they patiently suffered for want of tents and other necessaries; the readiness with which they learnt to move, direct, and manage cannon, raise batteries, and form approaches; the bravery with which they sustained sallies; and finally, in their consenting to stay and garrison the place after it was taken, absent from their business and families, till troops could be brought from England for that purpose, though they undertook the service on a promise of being dis-

charged as soon as it was over, were unprovided for so long an absence, and actually suffered ten times more loss by mortal sickness, through want of necessaries, than they suffered from the arms of the enemy? The nation, however, had a sense of this undertaking different from the unkind one of this gentleman. At the treaty of peace, the possession of Louisbourg was found of great advantage to our affairs in Europe; and if the brave men that made the acquisition for us were not *rewarded*, at least they were *praised*. *Envy* may continue awhile to caval and detract, but *public virtue* will in the end obtain esteem; and honest impartiality in this and future ages, will not fail doing justice to merit.

"Your *gentleman writer* thus *decently* goes on. 'The most substantial men of most of the provinces, are children or grandchildren of those that came here at the king's expence; that is, thieves, highwaymen, and robbers.' Being probably a military gentleman, this, and therefore a person of nice honour, if any one should tell him in the *plainest* language, that what he here says is an absolute falsehood, challenges and cutting of throats might immediately ensue. I shall therefore only refer him to *his own account in this same letter*, of the *peopling* of New-England, which he says, with more truth, was by Puritans who fled thither for shelter from the persecutions of Archbishop Laud. Is there not a wide difference between removing to a distant country to enjoy the exercise of religion, according to a man's conscience, and his being transported thither by a law, as a punishment for his crimes? This contradiction we therefore leave the *gentleman* and *himself* to settle as well as they can between them. One would think from his account, that the provinces were so many colonies from Newgate. The truth is, not only Laud's persecution, but the other public troubles in the following reigns, induced many thousand families to leave England, and settle in the plantations. During the predominance of the parliament, many royalists removed or were banished to Virginia and Barbadoes, who afterwards spread into the other settlements: The Catholics sheltered themselves in Maryland. At the restoration, many of the deprived nonconformist ministers, with their families, friends and hearers, went over. Towards the end of Charles the Second's reign, and during James the Second's, the Dissenters again flocked into America, driven by persecution, and dreading the introduction of popery at home. Then the high price or reward of labour in the colonies, and want of artisans there, drew over many, as well as the occasion of commerce; and when once people begin to migrate, every one has his little sphere of acquaintance and connections, which he draws after him, by invitation, motives of interest, praising his new settlement, and other encouragements. The 'most substantial men' are descendants of those early settlers; new comers not having yet had time to raise estates. The practice of sending convicts thither, is modern; and the same indolence of temper and habits of idleness that make people poor and tempt them to steal in England, continue with them when they are sent to America, and must there have the same effects, where all who live well, owe their subsistence to labour and business; and where it is a thousand times more difficult than here, to acquire wealth without industry. Hence the instances of transported thieves advancing their fortunes in the colonies, are extremely rare; if there *really is* a single instance of it, which I very much doubt; but of their being advanced there to the gallows, the instances are plenty. Might they not as well have been hanged at home?—We call Britain the *mother* country; but what good mother besides, would introduce thieves and criminals into the company of her children, to corrupt and disgrace them?—And how cruel is it, to force, by the high hand of power, a particular country of your subjects, who have not deserved such usage, to receive your outcasts, repealing all the laws they

PART I. make to prevent their admission, and then reproach them with the detested mixture you have made: 'The emptying their jails into our settlements,' says a writer of that country, 'is an insult and contempt, the cruelest perhaps that ever one people offered another; and would not be equalled even by emptying their jakes on our tables.'

"The letter I have been considering, Mr. Chronicle, is followed by another, in your paper of Tuesday the 17th past, said to be *from an officer who attended* Brigadier-general Forbes, *in his march from* Philadelphia *to* fort Du Quesne; but written probably by the same gentleman who wrote the former, as it seems calculated to raise the character of the officers of the *certain northern latitude*, at the expence of the reputation of the colonies, and the provincial forces.—According to this letter-writer, if the Pennsylvanians granted large supplies, and raised a great body of troops for the last campaign, it was not obedience to his majesty's commands, signified by his minister, Mr. Pitt, zeal for the king's service, or even a regard for their own safety; but it was owing to the 'general's proper management of the Quakers, and other parties in the province.' The withdrawing of the Indians from the French interest by negociating a peace, is all ascribed to the general, and not a word said to the honour of the poor Quakers, who first set those negociations on foot, or of honest Frederick Post, that compleated them with so much ability and success. Even the little merit of the Assembly's making a law to regulate carriages, is imputed to the general's 'multitude of letters.' Then he tells us, 'innumerable scouting parties had been sent out during a long period, both by the general and Col. Bouquet, towards fort Du Quesne, to catch a prisoner if possible, for intelligence, but never got any.'—How happened that?—Why, 'it was the *provincial troops*, that were constantly employed in that service,' and they, it seems, never do any thing they are ordered to do.—*That*, however, one would think, might be easily remedied, by sending *regulars* with them, who of course must command them, and may see that they do their duty. *No; The regulars are afraid of being shot by the provincials in a panic*.—Then send all regulars.—*Aye; That was what the colonel* resolved *upon*.—'Intelligence was now wanted, (says the letter-writer) colonel Bouquet, whose attention to business was [only] very considerable [that is, *not quite so great* as the general's, for he was not of the *northern latitude*] was *determined* to send NO MORE provincials a scouting.'—And how did he execute his determination? Why, by sending 'Major Grant of the Highlanders, with *seven* hundred men, *three* hundred of them Highlanders, THE REST Americans, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians!'—No *blunder* this, in our writer; but a *misfortune;* and he is nevertheless one of those '*acute sharp*' men who are '*fit for learning!*'—And how did this major and seven hundred men succeed in catching the prisoner?—Why, their 'march to fort Du Quesne was *so conducted* the *surprize* was *compleat*.'—Perhaps you may imagine, gentle reader, that this was a surprize of the enemy.—No such matter. They knew every step of his motions, and had, every man of them, left their fires and huts in the fields, and retired into the fort.—But the major and his 700 men, *they* were *surprized;* first to find no body there at night, and next to find themselves surrounded and cut to pieces in the morning; two or three hundred being killed, drowned, or taken prisoners, and among the latter the major himself. Those who escaped were also *surprized* at their own good fortune; and the whole army was *surprized* at the major's bad management.—Thus the *surprize* was indeed *compleat;*—but not the disgrace; for *provincials were there* to lay the blame on. The *misfortune* (we must not call it *misconduct*) of the major was owing, it seems, to an un-named, and perhaps, unknown provincial officer, who, it is said, 'disobeyed his orders and quited his post.' Whence a formal conclusion is drawn, 'that a planter is not to be taken from the plough and made an officer in a day.'—Unhappy provincials! If *success* attends

where you are joined with the regulars, they claim all the honour, though not a tenth part of your number. If *disgrace*, it is all yours, though you happen to be but a small part of the whole, and have not the command; as if regulars were in their nature invincible, when not mixed with provincials, and provincials of no kind of value without regulars! Happy is it for you that you were neither present at Preston Pans nor Falkirk, at the faint attempt against Rochfort, the rout of St. Cas, or the hasty retreat from Martinico. Every thing that went wrong, or did not go right, would have been ascribed to you. Our commanders would have been saved the labour of writing long apologies for their conduct. It might have been sufficient to say, *provincials were with us!*

A NEW-ENGLANDMAN."

May 9, 1759.

(NOTE K. p. 168.)

With respect tothe character of the royal governors, See Franklin's piece on the Causes of the American Discontents, Burke's Speech on Am. Taxation, and most of the English Histories passim, in which our colonial affairs are introduced. The royal governors were, in several instances, detected in the grossest peculation, and almost universally involved themselves, by their spirit of tyranny, religious bigotry, or rapacity, in quarrels with the provinces over which they were placed. The frequent and sudden prorogation, or dissolution, of the colonial assemblies, by which they vainly endeavoured to worry the people into submission, was one of the causes of those quarrels. They transmitted to the British ministry, accounts of their provinces, either entirely false, or miserably imperfect. "Governments," says Smith, the historian of New York, addressing the earl of Halifax, 1756, "have been too often bestowed upon men of mean parts, and indigent circumstances. The former were incapable of the task, and the latter too deeply engrossed by the sordid views of private interest, either to pursue or study our common weal. The worst consequences have resulted from this measure, &c. All attempts for conciliating the friendship of the Indians, promoting the fur trade, securing the command of the lakes, protecting the frontiers, and extending our possessions far into the inland country, have too often given place to party projects and contracted schemes, equally useless and shameful. If the governors of these plantations had formerly been animated by generous and extensive views, the long projected designs of our common enemy might have been many years ago supplanted at a trifling expense," &c. I should suggest another source of oppression and disaffection, akin to that of the conduct of the governors, which is thus stated by Stokes, a zealous royalist, in his View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in America, (1 vol. 8vo. Lond. 1784:) "There was a fatal practice, from the first establishment, which greatly weakened the king's cause in all the American colonies, I mean the bestowing almost every lucrative office in America, that could be exercised by deputy, on some person residing in Great Britain, who employed a deputy, with a slender allowance, to execute the office for them: this deputy had neither weight in the province, nor any interest in the government under which he lived," &c.

The altercations between Lord Cornbury, as governor of New Jersey, and the legislature of that state, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, may be cited as examples of the treatment to which the colo-

PART I. nial assemblies were exposed, as well as of the spirit with which the character and station of the American freeman were maintained. Cornbury attempted encroachments and oppressions; the assembly resisted and complained. In their first strong remonstrance, they hold this language: "Liberty is too valuable a thing to be easily parted with; and when such mean inducements procure such violent endeavours to tear it from us, we must take leave to say, they have neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that are not moved with the miseries of their country, and are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress them. We conclude, by advising the governor to consider what it is that principally engages the affections of a people, and he will find no other artifice needful than to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what belongs to them of right; and a wise man, that despises not his own happiness, will earnestly labour to regain their love."

The remonstrance, which ended with this passage, was presented in form to the governor, by Samuel Jennings, the speaker of the house of assembly. Smith, the historian of New Jersey, gives an amusing account of the interview.*

"Jennings was undaunted, and Lord Cornbury, on his part, exacted the utmost decorum; while, as speaker, he was delivering the remonstrance, the latter frequently interrupted him with a *stop, what's that?* &c. at the same time putting on a countenance of authority and sternness, with intention to confound him. With due submission, yet firmness, whenever interrupted, he calmly desired leave to read the passages over again, and did it with an additional emphasis upon those most complaining; so that, on the second reading, they became more observable than before; he at length got through; when the governor told the house to attend him again on Saturday next, at 11 o'clock, to receive his answer. After the house was gone, Cornbury, with some emotion, told those with him, that *Jennings had impudence enough to face the D—l.*"

The governor produced his answer, after some days; and, as he ascribed the resistance which he experienced, to the Quakers, he assailed them with a grossness of invective, which that society could hardly have expected to hear from any mouth, and much less from that of a chief magistrate, bred at the court of St. James. "I am of opinion," said his lordship, "that nothing has hindered the vengeance of just heaven from falling on this province long ago, but the infinite mercy, goodness, long suffering, and forbearance of Almighty God, who has been abundantly provoked by the repeated crying sins of *a perverse generation among us*, and more especially by the dangerous and abominable doctrines, and *the wicked lives and practices* of a number of people; some of whom, under the pretended name of Christians, have dared to deny the very essence and being of *the Saviour of the world.*

"We find, by woful experience, that there are many men who have been permitted to serve on juries here, who have no regard for the oaths they take, especially *among a sort of people*, who, under a pretence of conscience, refuse to take an oath; and yet many of them, under the cloak of a very solemn affirmation, dare to commit the greatest enormities, especially if it be to serve *a friend*, as they call him.

* See his "History of the Colony of New Jersey, to the year 1721," for the entertaining details of the controversy between the governor and the assembly. The early history of this state is as edifying as that of any other of our confederacy. It yields the most animating lessons of energetic freedom and philanthropic liberality. It deserves to be more read than I presume it to be, and to be better digested than it is in the work of Smith.

"Of all the people in the world, the Quakers ought to be the last to complain of the hardships of travelling a few miles, who never repine at the trouble and charges of travelling several hundred miles to a yearly meeting, *where it is evidently known, that nothing was ever done for the good of the country, but, on the contrary, continual contrivances are carried on for the undermining of the government, both in church and state.*" PART I.

The courteous governor railed passionately at the assembly itself; gave them the lie direct, and signalized the speaker, and another member, as men "known neither to have good morals, nor good principles:" "mean and scandalous, seditious, fraudulent, &c."—The assembly did not omit to reply, and to repay his excellency without stint. It was a noble spirit of independence, that, under the circumstances of the colony at that period, dictated such language as the following; which, strong as it is, does not convey an adequate idea of the keenness and energy of the whole address.

"We are apt to believe, upon the credit of your excellency's assertion, that there may be a number of people in this province, who will never live quietly under any government, nor suffer their neighbours to enjoy any peace, quiet, nor happiness, if they can help it; such people are pests in all governments; have ever been so in this; *and we know of none who can lay a fairer claim to these characters than many of your excellency's favourites.*" "Our juries here are not so learned or rich as, perhaps, they are in England; but we doubt not, full as honest." "Notwithstanding those *soft, cool, and considerate terms,* of malicious, scandalous, and frivolous, with which your excellency vouchsafes to treat the assembly of this province, they are of opinion, that no judicious or impartial man will think it reasonable that the inhabitants of one province should go into another to have their wills proved."

"It is the general assembly of the province of New Jersey that complains, and not the Quakers, with whose persons (considered as Quakers) or meetings, we have nothing to do, nor are we concerned in what your excellency says against them; they, perhaps, will think themselves obliged to vindicate their meetings from the aspersions which your excellency so liberally bestows upon them, and evince to the world how *void of rashness and inconsideration* your excellency's expressions are, and *how becoming it is for the governor of a province to enter the lists of controversy, with a people who thought themselves entitled to his protection of them in the enjoyment of their religious liberties;* those of them who are members of this house, have begged leave, in behalf of themselves and friends, to tell the governor, they must answer him in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat, contained in the 8th verse of the 6th chapter of Nehemiah, viz. '*There are no such things as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.*'

"These bold accusers of your excellency, the members of this assembly, are a sort of creatures called *honest men,* just to the trust reposed in them by the country, who will not suffer their liberties and properties to be torn from them by any man, how great soever, if they can hinder it."

(NOTE L. p. 187.)

Lord George Germain is said to have left the ministry, still persuaded (after the capture of Cornwallis), of the practicability of subduing America in another campaign. General Lloyd, the great tactician, had suggested a plan of operations, by which this might be easily done! The deceptive assurances quoted in the text, from lord George Ger-

PART I. main's speech, were rivalled in the speeches of the other members of the government. The following extracts from the debates of the House of Lords, of 1778, belong to the same blind system of ministerial tactics.

"The Earl of Suffolk said, that it had been strongly relied upon in debate, that America would spurn the offers held out in those bills (American conciliatory bills). For his part he was of a very different opinion. He had the most undoubted information, that the Americans were in the greatest distress, and would therefore embrace any reasonable propositions of peace and civil security."

"Viscount Weymouth said—with regard to what the Duke (of Grafton) had thrown out respecting a treaty between France and America, the most convincing way of reply would be not to argue upon it, but to come immediately to the point, for which reason he would fully and fairly speak to it; he did therefore in the plainest and most precise manner, assure their lordships, that *he knew not of any such treaty having been signed or entered into, between the court of France and the deputies of Congress and he hoped their lordships would not fail to remember, that it was on the 5th of March* (1778), likewise, that he stood up in his place, and declared he knew nothing of any such thing, nor had any authentic information of any such treaty being either *in contemplation* or existence."*

(NOTE M. p. 191.)

The charge of *cowardice* against the Americans was discussed, pro and con, with considerable earnestness, in both houses of parliament. With a view to the *amusement* of the American reader, and the more complete development of my subject, I propose to insert here a collection of loose quotations from the debates of that body, respecting this topic of cowardice, and the employment of Indians and European foreigners in the British service.

Lord Chatham said (1777)—"Ministers have been in error; experience has proved it; but what is worse, they continue in it. They told you in the beginning that 15,000 men would traverse America without scarcely the appearance of interruption; two campaigns have passed since they gave us this assurance; treble that number has been employed; and one of your armies, which composed two thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you call cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and in the midst of victory, and flush of conquest, have set ministers the example of moderation and of magnanimity worthy imitation.

"My lords, no time should be lost, which may promise to improve this disposition in America; unless, by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection, which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to be entirely extinguished. While, on one side, we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. Burgoyne, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of ministers, we are as strongly impelled, on the other, to admire and applaud the generous, magnani-

* The Treaty of Alliance was signed a month previous—the 6th of February, 1788.

mous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection, and humanity of the victors, who, condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre and devastation to their true authors, supposed that, as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the general, nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the first cause of these diabolical orders to their source, and by that wise and generous interpretation, granted their professed destroyers terms of capitulation, which they could only be entitled to as the makers of fair and honourable war."

"His grace, the Duke of Richmond, turned his attention (1775) to what a noble earl (Sandwich), early in the debate, had said respecting the cowardice of the Americans. He begged leave to remind his lordship, that he did not speak conditionally; there was no *if* at the time the charge was made, it was a positive one, and could not now be explained away by conditions introduced for the first time; yet, however positive the noble lord might have been then, or guarded he might be now, he could inform his lordship that the New England people were brave; that they had proved it; that the general who had commanded at Bunker's Hill had confessed it; that another (General Burgoyne), no less celebrated for his talents than zeal for the cause, had confirmed it; that an officer, a particular friend of his, on the spot had united in the same opinion."

Col. Barré said—"The Americans have been branded in this house with every opprobrious epithet that meanness could invent—termed cowardly and inhuman. Let us mark the proof. They have obliged as brave a general as ever commanded a body of British troops to surrender; such is their cowardice! And, instead of throwing chains upon these troops, they have nobly given them their freedom; such is their inhumanity! I only wish, from this single circumstance, to draw this fair conclusion, that, instead of a set of lawless, desperate adventurers, we find them, by experience, to be men of the most exalted sentiments; inspired by that genius of liberty which is the noblest emotion of the heart, which it is impossible to conquer, impracticable to dismiss."

Mr. Burke observed—"The Americans had been always represented as cowards; this was far from being true; and he appealed to the conduct of Arnold and Gates towards General Burgoyne, as a striking proof of their bravery. Our army was totally at their mercy. We had employed the savages to butcher them, their wives, their aged parents, and their children; and yet, generous to the last degree, they gave our men leave to depart on their parole, never more to bear arms against North America. Bravery and cowardice could never inhabit the same bosom; generosity, valour, and humanity are ever inseparable. Poor indeed the Americans were, but in that consists their greatest strength. Sixty thousand men had fallen at the feet of their magnanimous, because voluntary poverty."

The Duke of Richmond said (1775)—"The transportation of 20,000 Russians would cost government 500,000*l*. An equal number of British troops should be sent at the same period, or ministry might find, that the Russians, instead of conquering America for England, would take possession of it themselves, in virtue of that law of conquest, acknowledged by all freebooters. That the Russians would gladly emigrate to America, no person could doubt, who was in the smallest degree acquainted with the dispositions of those people. Shoals of Cossacks were continually deserting their country, to seek more comfortable settlements in the north of China. Seventy thousand of these Cossacks proceeding on such a plan, had lately bidden adieu to the Russian empire. It could not, therefore, be imagined, that twenty thousand Russians would have the least objection to be sent, free of expense,

PART I. to America; but there was much reason to suspect, that, when there, they might think the advantages resulting from submitting to the American congress preferrable to those they could derive from defending the measures of a British parliament.

The Earl of Shelburne, (1775)—With respect to the 20,000 Russians, his lordship addressed the ministers in the following terms: There are powers in Europe who will not suffer such a body of Russians to be transported to America. I speak from information. The ministers know what I mean. Some power has already interfered to stop the success of the Russian negotiation. As for expecting neutrality from France, that was idle.

The Earl of Sandwich said (1775)—"If Russian auxiliaries were necessary in the former war, as he was convinced they were, they might be so now, they might be so on any future occasion."

The Earl of Chatham said (1777)—"Your ministers have gone to Germany; they have sought the alliance and assistance of every pitiful, beggarly, insignificant, paltry prince, to cut the throats of their legal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers, for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my lords, this is not all; they have entered into other treaties. They have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent, unoffending brethren; loose upon the weak, the aged, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; on the very babes upon the breast; to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, broiled, roasted; nay, to be literally eat. These, my lord, are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation, and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her newly adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at the German shambles; and with the barbarians of America, with the merciless torturers of their species; where they will next apply, I cannot tell. Was it by setting loose the savages of America, to imbrue their hands in the blood of our enemies, that the duties of the soldier, the citizen, and the man, came to be united? Is this honourable warfare, my lords? Does it correspond with the language of the poet?—'The pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, that make ambition virtue.'"

The Duke of Richmond said (Nov. 18, 1777)—"But, my lords, I wish you to turn your eyes to another part of this business. I mean the dreadful inhumanity with which this war is carried on; shocking, beyond description, to every feeling of a Christian, or of a man. When we have heard of the cruelties of other civil wars, we used to rejoice, not to have the age, or the country we lived in, the scene of such misery; but, to see England, formerly famous for humanity, coolly suffering the worst of barbarities to be exercised on her fellow subjects, and appearing untouched by the woes she causes, because they are at a distance, and she does not experience any of them herself, must be truly mortifying to any man who is in the smallest degree possessed of national pride. If ever any nation shall deserve to draw down on her the Divine vengeance of her sins, it will be this, if she suffers such horrid war to continue. To me, who think we have been originally in the wrong, it appears doubly unpardonable: but even supposing we were right, it is certainly we who produce the war; and I do not think any consideration of dominion or empire sufficient to warrant the sacrifices we make to it. The best rights may be bought too dear; nor are all means justifiable in attaining them. To arm negro slaves against their masters, to arm savages, who we know will put their prisoners to death in the most cruel tortures, and literally eat them, is not, in my opinion, a fair war against fellow subjects. When we are unfortunately obliged to war with other nations, mutual esteem soon takes place between the troops, and reciprocal humanity prevails, which greatly alleviates the

too many miseries of all wars; but, in the present contest, every mean artifice has been used, to encourage the soldiery to act with asperity, or alacrity, as it is now the fashion to call it.

"Instead of taking prudent measures to restrain the military within the closest bounds of discipline; instead of making them sensible, that, as they were to act against their countrymen, every possible means of saving their lives, and sparing their property, should be used, and every degree of compassion shown to men who only erred from mistaken notions, and were still to be considered as subjects of the same king,—they have been encouraged, by authority, to look upon their opponents as cowards, traitors, rebels, and every thing that is vile; and their property has been, by law, declared lawful plunder. The natural effects have followed. A military thus let loose, or rather thus set on, have given vent to that barbarity which degrades human nature, and a total want of discipline and good order is said to prevail."

The Earl of Suffolk said (Nov. 18, 1777)—The noble earl, the Earl of Chatham, with all that force of oratory for which he is so conspicuous, has charged administration as if guilty of the most heinous crime, in employing Indians in General Burgoyne's army; for my part, whether foreigners or Indians, which the noble lord has described by the appellation of savages, I shall ever think it justifiable to exert every means in our power to repel the attempts of our rebellious subjects. The congress endeavoured to bring the Indians over to their side; and if we had not employed them, they would most certainly have acted against us; and I do freely confess, I think it was both a wise and necessary measure, as I am clearly of opinion, *that we are fully justified in using every means which God and nature has put into our hands.* I think it was a very wise and necessary step, on many accounts; nor can I ever be persuaded, whoever was the adviser, but his conduct will stand the full test of public enquiry."

Lord Lyttleton said, (Dec. 5, 1777,) "he was much astonished at the great parade the noble earl had made respecting *the tomahawk and scalping knife:* was an Indian's knife a more dreadful weapon than an Englishman's bayonet? In the present war, the chief of the blood that had been shed, was shed by the point of the bayonet; yet, who talked of the bayonet as a savage instrument of war?"

The earl of Dunmore declared, (Dec. 5, 1777,) that "the Virginians finding themselves disappointed in obtaining the aid of the Indians, *had dressed up some of their own people like the Indians, with a view to terrify the forces under him;* and his lordship declared, he heartily wished more Indians were employed; that they were *by no means a cruel people;* that they never exercised the scalping knife, or were guilty of a barbarity, but by way of striking terror into their enemies, and by that means *putting an end to the further effusion of blood.*"

Mr. Burke said (1778)—"The savages were now only formidable from their cruelty; and to employ them was merely to be cruel ourselves in their persons: and thus, without even the lure of any essential service, to become chargeable with all the odious and impotent barbarities which they would inevitably commit, whenever they were called into action.

"No proof whatever had been given of the Americans having attempted an offensive alliance with any one tribe of savage Indians. Whereas the imperfect papers already before the house demonstrated, that the king's ministers had negotiated and obtained such alliances from one end of the continent of America to the other. That the Americans had actually made a treaty on the footing of neutrality with the famous Five Nations, which the ministers had bribed them to violate, and to act offensively against the colonies. That no attempt had been made in a single instance on the part of the king's ministers, to

PART I. procure a neutrality; and, *that if the fact had been, (what he denied it to be,) that the Americans had actually employed those savages yet the difference of employing them against armed and trained soldiers, embodied and encamped, and employing them against the unarmed and defenceless men, women and children, in the country, widely dispersed in their habitations, was manifest; and left those who attempted so inhuman and unequal a retaliation, without a possibility of excuse.*"

(NOTE N. p. 211.)

Whoever has read the dissertation of Talleyrand, upon the advantage of forming colonial establishments for the French, after their late revolution, will be at once aware of the acknowledgments which England owes to the first emigrants, who prepared this continent for the reception of that portion of her population, whom she could not retain with safety, or who could not exist with comfort or freedom, at home. The enlightened author of the European settlements in America readily discerned and recognized the benefit. "In the various changes which our religion and government have undergone, which have in their turns rendered every sort of party or religion obnoxious to the reigning powers, this American asylum, open in the hottest times of our persecutions, has proved of infinite service, not only to the present peace of England, but to the prosperity of its commerce, and the establishment of its power."

Dr. Davenant had taken a similar view of the subject in his Tract on the Plantation Trade.

"Such as found themselves disturbed and uneasy at home, if they could have found no other retreat, must have gone to the Hans towns, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, or Holland, (as many did before the plantations flourished, to our great detriment,) and they who had thus retired to the European countries, must have been forever lost to England.

"But Providence, which contrives better for us than we can do for ourselves, has offered in the new world, a place of refuge for these, peradventure, mistaken and misled people, where, (as shall be shown by and by,) their labour and industry is more useful to their mother kingdom, than if they had continued among us.

"And as to malcontents in the state, perhaps it is for the public safety, that there should always be such an outlet or issue for the ill humours, which, from time to time are engendered in the body politic."

(NOTE O. p. 219.)

At the instigation of Franklin, a society was instituted in Philadelphia, in the year 1743, which took the name of *The American Philosophical Society.* It pursued, modestly and privately, for the improvement of the members, of whom Franklin and Rittenhouse were the most active and distinguished, enquiries into most branches of physical science. In 1766, another society was formed in the same city, with the title of *The American Society for promoting and propagating useful knowledge.* It was composed of unpretending men of all professions, anxious to increase the stock of their own information, and to be in-

strumental in enlarging that of their country. The *test* which they established, does them the highest honour, for the liberality and purity of the principles of which it enacted the acknowledgment. They confined themselves to the discussion of practical questions, and the investigation of matters of immediate utility. The perusal of their Minutes must inspire every unprejudiced person with a high idea of their intelligence and zeal; I might say, with admiration, when the range of their study and research, is considered in connection with the attention and drudgery, required by the active professions, in which they were universally engaged. Points of social economy and general politics were often discussed at their sittings, and determined upon the broadest principles of reason and humanity. The following question, for example, was taken up by them on the 3d September, 1762, "Is it good policy to admit the importation of negroes into America?" Their views of the subject were in conformity with the true theory of national welfare and moral obligation. PART I.

They could show, in the list of their foreign correspondents, who did justice to their enlightened character and benevolent aims, British philanthropists and statesmen of the first rank. I might name Sir George Saville, as one of the several distinguished whigs with whom they carried on a commerce of enquiry and speculation, creditable to the sense, patriotism, and catholic spirit of both parties.

The two Philadelphia associations were amalgamated by common consent in 1769: and, in 1780, incorporated, as the American Philosophical Society, by an act of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

I have admitted by implication in the text, to give greater force to the charge of illiberality against the Reviewers, that the Transactions of the present institute are not of much intrinsic worth. They deserve, however, a higher character; and have never been decried any where but in Great Britain. The astronomical papers of the first volume drew lofty compliments and eager enquiries, from several of the most celebrated savans of Europe. Dr. Maskelyne bore, in letters preserved in the records of the society, the strongest testimony to the genius of Rittenhouse, and to the merit of his Observations on the Transit of Venus, which were republished in the Transactions of the Royal Society. I happen to have now under my eyes, a communication to the American Society, from Zach, Director of the Observatory of Saxe Gotha, and an eminent astronomer; in which compliments are paid to its labours, indicating a sense of their value, somewhat different from that of the Edinburgh Review. A short extract from Dr. Zach's communication may not be unacceptable here.

"Last year I received the 3d. vol. of the Transactions of the A. P. Soc., which I perused with great satisfaction. The observation of the annular eclipse of the sun, April 3, 1791, made at Philadelphia by Dr. Rittenhouse, has given me great pleasure, and was of very great use in ascertaining the true diameters of the ☉ and the Moon; and also of the *inflexion* and *irradiation* of light: several astronomers of Europe have inferred by it very satisfactory results; so has the celebrated French astronomer, M. de la Lande found, that the observed duration of the ring 4′ 17″ agrees perfectly well, with his diameter ☉ ☾, assumed in his Astronomical Tables, (iii. edit. 1792.)

The American Philosophical Society has always been more studious of doing good within itself, than ambitious of publishing volumes for the approbation of the world. A much more favourable idea of its industry, learning, and usefulness, is conveyed by the private records of its proceedings, than by the six quartos of its Transactions, reputable as these are, and must be confessed to be, when impartially considered. It was early marked by public spirited designs. Witness the appointment in 1763, of committees of its members to make, in different

PART I. places, observations on that rare phenomenon, the transit of Venus over the Sun's Disk. The expense of this undertaking it defrayed, though possessed, as at present, of no other regular funds than those arising from an annual contribution of two dollars from each of its resident members. It has given a particular and steady attention to the resources open to us in the three kingdoms of nature, and to plans of improvement in our physical economy. Its functions were suspended necessarily during the revolution, as all of its members were more or less ardent in the cause of independence, and fitted to act a serviceable part in the struggle. There has not been displayed since, the degree of vivacity and earnestness in its proper career, which could have been wished; but, as much, perhaps, as was reasonably to be expected under all the circumstances of the country, and in the absence of all pecuniary patronage. The hopes to be entertained of it now, are considerable, from the numbers, particularly among the rising generation, who have imbibed a relish for scientific studies, and from the greater importance which it is likely to acquire in the public estimation, as education and knowledge spread and ripen over the land. Its library consists of about four thousand volumes, comprising the best elementary treatises in science and the technical arts. It has exchanged Transactions with most of the academies of Europe, and has been enriched with many valuable works, bestowed spontaneously and with expressions of lively esteem, by their authors, such as the Buffons, the Lavoisiers, the Hunters,* whose vision was either less distinguishing, or less clouded, (I leave the world to decide which,) than that of the British reviewers. Its Museum of Natural History, though not extensive, contains a number of rare specimens, chiefly in mineralogy. Its "*meeting house*," to use the language of the Edinburgh Review, where, according to this liberal and courteous journal, its "transactions are *scraped together*," is a commodious and handsome edifice, and the room in which it assembles, is, certainly, styled "Philosophical Hall." The remark of the Review, that this denomination is in the *genuine dialect of tradesmen*, bespeaks as much of effrontery as ill nature; since the Reviewers must have known, that the place of assembling of most of the learned societies and professions of Great Britain bears the same title of Hall; and that a term exactly correspondent is used respectively by almost every one of the Academies of Europe: Salle de l'Institut, &c.

The imagination of these critics might be supposed to be affected with regard to "tradesmen." It will be recollected, that in their first review of Franklin's Works, they complained of his indulging, in his Memoirs, in too many details and anecdotes concerning that class of persons—"obscure individuals." In Zenophon's Memorabilia, we read the following as part of one of the dialogues: "Critias, interrupting Socrates, said—'And I, Socrates, I can inform thee of something more thou hast to refrain from; keep henceforth at a proper distance from the carpenters, smiths, and shoemakers, and *let us have no more of your examples from them*.' 'Must I likewise give up the consequences,' said Socrates, 'deducible from these examples, and concern myself no longer with justice and piety, and the rules of right and wrong.' Thou must, by Jupiter, replied Charicles.'" &c.

* I might add the names of Ingenhauz, Haüy, Humboldt, De la Lande, Cuvier, Ebeling, Adelung, Maseres, Biot, Delambre, Campomanes, &c.

(NOTE P. p. 225.) PART I.

A just account of the character of General Marshall and of his work, is given in the Letters of Inchiquin, (letter 8). The following parts of it I could wish to be read in connexion with my text.

"During the war of the revolution, the present chief justice accompanied the American forces in the capacity of deputy judge advocate, which situation afforded him the best means of becoming practically conversant with the details of that contest, its difficulties and resources; the character and views of those on whom it mainly devolved; and the construction, movements, and engagements of the armies. In process of time he attained to situations of more importance, and successively filled several of the first offices. Possessed with these advantages, endowed with a masculine, versatile, and discriminating genius, and holding a place, calculated to give weight to whatever he should publish, he was selected to compile from the manuscripts of Washington, and from the public records and papers, the joint annals of Washington and his country.

"The objects of the work were to furnish a correct and honourable memorial of national events, and to immortalize Washington. His biography is therefore prefaced with a full account of the discovery and advancement of North America, down to the period when he appears upon the scene. After which period, till his death, it is naturally interwoven with the transactions of the revolution, which his achievements so largely contributed to effect, and with the formation of the government, at the head of which he was placed.

"The public documents of which the chief justice had the disposition, would be inestimable, even if arranged by inferior hands, without any attempt at shaping them into a connected narrative. But wrought as they have been by him, into a clear, manly, systematic and philosophical history, without a grain of merit on the score of composition, they would outweigh the most beautiful composition that ever was formed. There is not another national history extant, which is composed entirely of authentic, public materials, by a cotemporary and a participator.

"Nor is the composition so unworthy of the subject. The commentaries and reflections are simple, natural and just. The style plain, nervous, unaffected; perhaps too bare of ornament, and sometimes liable to the imputation of verbosity, but never rough, irksome, or inelegant.

"As great expectations were entertained of this performance, considerable disappointment has been expressed at some of its alleged defects: particularly by those who, vitiated by the malevolent system of criticism that prevails in England and this country, are never satisfied with nature and plain sense, but incessantly crave the amazing and romantic. In every department of letters, standards are erected, to which fresh publications are referred for their estimate. But is it fair to condemn an American historian to oblivion, because he is less entertaining than Hume or Gibbon, or an epic poet, because he falls short of Milton?

"The American historian had neither anomalies nor miracles to deal with. The recent discovery of a new world; the still more recent struggles of an infant people to shake off the trammels of colonization; late events, of little except moral interest; partial, procrastinated, and seldom signalized warfare; the adjustment of treaties and formation of republican institutions; though highly interesting to modern contemplation, are much less malleable, than remote and doubtful traditions of astonishing transactions, into the magazine of entertainment, which seems to be looked for in modern history. But whatever the present age may desire, facts soon become vastly more important than disserta-

PART I. tions; nor can moral results ever be fairly taken, unless readers may implicitly rely on the truth of the details.

"The narrative of the Life of Washington might perhaps, have been enlivened with more biographical and characteristic sketches. But it must be remembered, that to draw living characters is an arduous and invidious task. And when the whole subject matter is well considered, the author will be found well entitled to our approbation for the caution he has exercised in this particular. As to Washington himself, the uniformity of his life, and taciturnity of his nature, precluded any sufficient funds for this minor scene: though I cannot refrain from observing that his unaffected and warm piety, his belief in the Christian religion, and exemplary discharge of all its public and private duties, might have been enlarged upon with more emphasis and advantage.

"At such a period as the present, when the press is converted into a powerful engine of falsehood, proscription and confusion; when letters are perverted to the most treacherous and unworthy purposes, it behoves every American, who admires the history of his country, it behoves, indeed, every man who loves truth, to uphold an authentic national work, like Marshall's, against its malign enemies and lukewarm friends, and to cherish it as a performance whose subject and authenticity alone, independent of any other merits, should preserve and magnify it for ever."

(NOTE Q. p. 228.)

It is curious to find a journal published *in Scotland*, complaining of the Americans as a "scattered, *migratory*, and *speculating* people," and attributing to them as such, a system of manners and morality below the European standard. M. Brougham lately asked in Parliament a question which we may repeat—in what part of the world is it in which *Scotchmen* are not to be found in numbers? and, we may add, in which they do not appear as *adventurers and speculators?* We do not, however, tax them, on this account, with having "great and peculiar faults," but on the contrary, we respect in them that spirit of enterprise, and pride of independence, which prompt them to incur all the hazards and hardships of distant emigration, rather than groan in poverty, and crouch under hereditary superiors, at home. I think it would be difficult to show the process by which the *sense of honour* improves, as "the spirit of adventure is deprived of its object, and as population thickens and becomes crowded." It is in this state of things that poverty and servility are engendered; that crimes multiply from the impulses of desperation; that turpitude and brutality are kept in countenance by the multitude of examples. The operation of hope upon the mind; the very career itself of seeking and compassing a more comfortable, independent condition, are favourable to the manners and morals. The sense of honour improves with the sense of personal importance, which grows out of self-reliance, and equality of rank.

The second number of "The Old Bachelor," a work which, in general, is creditable to our literature, contains a keen retort for the paragraphs of the Edinburgh Review, to which this note refers. "They exhibit," says the Virginian essayist, "a palpable and ludicrous struggle between the object and the conscience of the critic; between the conflicting purposes of lashing Mr. Ashe, for lampooning the Americans, and at the same time of inflicting the lash on them himself." See No. 2, 1st volume of Old Bachelor, for a full exposition of the absurdity of those paragraphs.

(NOTE R. p. 251.)

The whole concentrated reproach of this and the succeeding page of the text is capable of being fully refuted; and will be so, I trust, by the simple annunciation of facts, in my intended exposition of the actual state of this country. It may be also *retorted*, and this is the proper mode of dealing with it at present. We shall convict the English writer of the most hardy disingenuousness, in describing, as peculiar to the United States, dispositions and practices which notoriously prevail around him, in England, to an unparalleled extent; which had their origin there; and are almost daily aggravated in amount and malignity.

The determination on the part of the Reviewer to calumniate the Americans, is immediately betrayed by the preposterous and arbitrary refinement of distinguishing between their feeling in getting drunk and that of the European. The pleasure of the one is sensual and brutal, while that of the other is liberal-minded and somewhat sentimental! And *hence* it is, according to the critic, that the Americans decide their quarrels in ways which, we are given to understand, are unknown in Europe,—rough and tumbling; *biting* and *lacerating*, &c.

I will not refer to the Parliamentary statements respecting the quantity of whiskey, licensed and unlicensed, consumed in Ireland; and the prevalence of intoxication in that unhappy country. The vice there is not merely "social hilarity betrayed into excess," but the desperation of want and abjection, springing from selfish misgovernment by the ruling kingdom. We will confine ourselves to England, and leave it to the common sense of the reader to determine whether she is entitled to boast of her superior sobriety; and whether there is much that is sentimental and generous in the process of intoxication with the topers mentioned in the extracts which I am about to offer. I take the following from the late Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis.

"Question put to one of the most respectable witnesses—

"Do you think there has been an increased consumption of gin within these few years? I have no doubt of it, as the increase of beggars is visible: almost all these persons about the streets drink, and they train up their children in drinking. I have seen them at the door of the gin-shops, giving their children in arms the draining of a glass. There are five large gin-shops, or wine-vaults, as they are called, close to the Seven Dials, which are constantly frequented. There is one where they go in at one door and out at another, to prevent the inconvenience of their returning the same way, where there are so many. A friend of mine, who lived opposite, had the curiosity to count how many went in in the course of one Sunday morning, before he went to church, and it was 320."

Statement of another respectable witness.

"On a Sunday morning, from April to Michaelmas, on Holburn Hill, there is nothing but riot and confusion, from Hatton Garden to the Market, from four o'clock in the morning till eight; the gin-shops open so early that they get drunk, and are rioting and fighting about. I should think that there must be two, or three, or four hundred—it is quite like a market—loose, disorderly people of both sexes—I have seen as much as three or four fights on a Sunday morning. Thompson's gin-shop is what they call the best. I should not wonder if there were a *thousand customers on a Sunday morning*, before the time of service—the place is full from four in the morning till eleven."

These are simple specimens, which do not, by any means, convey an adequate idea of the enormity and diffusiveness of the evil. It is to Colquhoun's Treatises on the Police of the Metropolis, and on Indigence,

PART I.

that I would refer on this head. His statements, in those works, are made for 1806; and the late Parliamentary reports do not merely confirm them, but show an increase of the vice of tippling in a ratio far greater than that of the population. He bears the following testimony.

"The quantity of beer, porter, gin, and compounds, sold in public houses in the metropolis and its environs, has been estimated, after bestowing considerable pains in forming a calculation, at nearly 3,300,000 pounds sterling a year, a sum equal to double the revenue of some of the kingdoms and states of Europe."

"In the year ending July 1st, 1806, the quantity of porter, strong ale, and small beer brewed in London by 20 principal, and 126 lesser brewers, amounted to 68,228,432 gallons, valued, at the sale price, at 4,440,384*l.* The annual consumption of this beverage must now exceed 12,000,000*l.*, and of home-made spirits about 5,000,000*l.* There are about fifty thousand licensed ale-houses in England and Wales, furnishing facilities not only for intoxication, but every other kind of brutal excess. In the whole of the metropolis and its environs, it is calculated that there is about one public house to every thirty-seven families. The prevailing habit among the labouring people, in every district in England and Wales, is to spend the chief part of their leisure time in ale-houses. In vulgar life, it is the first ambition of the youth, when approaching towards an adult state, to learn to smoke tobacco. When this accomplishment is acquired, he finds himself qualified to waste his time in the tap-room. But the evil does not rest here. Numerous families of labourers lodge with their wives and children in common ale-houses, in the metropolis, and probably in most of the large cities and towns in different parts of the kingdom; while, of late years, the females indiscriminately mix with the males, and unblushingly listen to all the lewd, and often obscene discourse which circulates freely in these haunts of vice and idleness."

The duties upon the liquor brewed by the eleven principal porter breweries of London, amounted, in 1818, to 900,000*l.* sterling. The excise upon malt, beer, and British spirits, throughout Great Britain, to nine millions sterling; to which two millions have been added in the late addition to the general taxation.

Mr. Bennet, in asking leave, at the beginning of the last year (1818), in the House of Commons, to bring in a bill for the better regulation of ale-houses, made the following statement. "A large proportion of the vice and immorality which prevails may be traced to the bad system acted upon at present in licensing and regulating public houses. It would be seen by the evidence in the report of the committee on the subject, not only that houses of the most nefarious kind were permitted to exist, but that they existed with the full countenance and concurrence of some of the police officers, who frequented them, and who had a fellow feeling with the persons assembled in them. There were above *two hundred* houses of that description in London, in which a nightly and promiscuous assemblage took place, not only of men and women, but of boys and girls of eight, nine, ten, and eleven years of age. In some of them there was established a sort of regular court of justice, at the head of which a Jew presided; before whom was brought all the pillage and profits of the day and night, and who superintended their regular distribution. He knew one instance of a boy, not thirteen years old, who, in the course of one night, disposed of property to the amount of 100*l.*"

Lest it should be still supposed that London has a monopoly of the gentry whom "social hilarity betrays into excess" of potation, or that the race may be extinct, I will quote a passage on the subject from a very recent work of unquestionable authority—the "Observations of William Roscoe, Esq. of Liverpool, on Penal Jurisprudence." "In taking a sur

vey of society around us," says this eye witness, and zealous patriot, "one of the most striking objects which attracts our attention, and which particularly excites the observation and surprise of every stranger, is the shocking habit of *intoxication*, which is exhibited, not only in the metropolis, but *in most other parts of the kingdom*, and which if not actually encouraged, is openly permitted to the *most alarming and incredible extent*. Let the reader who doubts this assertion examine the reports of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the police of the metropolis; he will there find such a representation of the dreadful effects of this vice, as cannot fail to call the public attention to a subject, in which, not only the interests of morality and religion, but the personal and individual safety of every member of the community is in some degree involved. It is principally to this source that the committee have traced up the increased depravity of the present times; and they have shown, by the most authentic evidence, that most of the horrible crimes which have of late been committed, in and about the metropolis, have been occasioned by the 'brutalizing effect of spirituous liquors; by which the criminal is rendered insensible to the milder feelings of his nature, and regardless of all consequences, whether as affecting this world or another.' To the same cause a very respectable witness attributes the spirit of insubordination and sedition, which has manifested itself in some districts, and the murders to which it has given rise."

As for the practice of *gambling* which the Quarterly Review, with monstrous injustice, charges upon "all orders of men, *clergy* as well as laity" in the United States, I will again refer to Colquhoun's book,* for a sketch of the sins of the British metropolis on this score. The details are such, both in that work and in the Parliamentary Reports, as I do not wish to repeat; but no one who has read them, and who knows America, will deem me extravagant, when I assert, that the *gambling* of London alone far exceeds that of the whole United States, whether as to the variety and odiousness of its forms; the depravity of spirit with which it is pursued; the knavery with which it is accompanied; the crimes and miseries to which it leads; or the amount of the sums staked within the year. Colquhoun estimated this amount at 7,225,000*l.* sterling, besides 3,135,000*l.* for *fraudulent insurances in the lottery*.† M. Roscoe, in the work of his which I have just quoted, alledges that one of the principal causes of the unexampled frequency of crimes in the present day, in England, is *the open and unrestrained practice of gambling*, which, originating in the higher classes, has infected the lower, till it has become the habitual occupation even of children of the lowest ranks, who are seen in the streets of the metropolis, on the Sunday particularly, in gaming parties, fifty or sixty in a gang."‡

Let us now attend to the pretended effects of the anomalous inebriation of the Americans:—their rough and tumbling; their biting and *lacerating* each other, and their *gouging*. The last named practice is the thrusting out of the antagonist's eye in a pugilistic combat. No instance of it has ever been known in the states north of Maryland; it has occurred in some of the southern; but is now rare, and become dishonourable even among that class of persons, the vulgarest and most licentious, to which it was confined. But, admitting it to be a ground of national reproach, is it in itself more savage or disgraceful than the

* P. 142. 3d sec. Police of the Metropolis.

† In his Treatise on Indigence, Colquhoun estimates at 10,000, the class of persons whom he calls *lottery vagrants*, employed in London in procuring insurances during the lottery drawings.

‡ Page 30.

PART I. *knobbing*, *fibbing*, *milling*, and all the other modes of injury in fight, for which the English have invented a technical vocabulary? Is there any thing worse in it, than what we read in almost all the accounts of the set and mercenary battles, at which the English of all ranks attend in thousands with the keenness of passion—to wit: that such a one, and such a one, "the champion of England," "the cock of the nation," after having demolished one of his antagonist's eyes, "made continual play at the other!" Is the spectacle which the *gouged* combatant may be supposed to offer, indicative of more ferocity in the combat, or more shocking to the memory, or more offensive to the sight, than that of the vanquished party in the affair described in the following extract from Bell's Weekly Messenger, of Dec. 7, 1818.

"The great battle between Turner and Randall, at Copthorn, on Saturday.

"This match for one hundred guineas a side was fought on Saturday at the above spot, amidst thousands of spectators.

"Turner from the seventh round exhibited a head like a red night-cap, not a slice of flesh, (for it was hit in all directions) but what was covered with blood. There was no knock down till the fourteenth round, when Randall, after a hit in every round, to keep the blood in motion, floored him by a clean right handed body hit."

Gouging is abhorred by every man of this country who pretends to character: seeking to witness it as *an entertainment* is not imaginable in the habits or tastes of any such person. But the head *like a red night-cap*; the fainting pugilist covered with blood, blinded and mangled, and finally, when incapable of all further offence or resistance, deliberately laid senseless, perhaps lifeless, with "a clean right-handed body hit"—This is the exhibition in which men of rank and fashion in England delight; over which they preside, and which can draw together twenty thousand spectators of all classes, as to a festival not only yielding gratification, but furnishing an opportunity for gambling speculations.* Horrible as these prize fights are, they are thought worthy of encouragement as a substitute for the modes in which the English peasantry and populace were and are wont "to decide their quarrels." In the volume for 1806, of Nicholson's Philosophical Magazine, there is a dissertation written by Dr. Bardsley, of Manchester, "On the Use and Abuse of popular Sports and Exercises;" which discloses to us what, doubtless, the Quarterly Review must have considered as a secret, that those modes are precisely the *rough and tumbling*, *biting and lacerating* which it would represent as peculiar to the Americans. Even the *gouging* is included, virtually, if not by name, and very frequently *manslaughter*, a term sufficiently familiar in England. We are outdone by the very models of civilization, as will appear by the following statements of the Manchester writer.

"Even in France, and most parts of Germany, the quarrels of the people are determined by a brutal appeal to force, directed in any manner, however perilous, to the annoyance or destruction of the adver-

* (Boxing.) Bell's Weekly Messenger, May 10th, 1819.

"The match between Randall and Martin, took place on Tuesday, on Crawley Downs, more than *thirty miles* from London, and the spectators were at least twenty thousand in number; they fought nineteen rounds in about fifty minutes, when Martin resigned the contest. Randall was matched 150*l.* to 100*l.*, betting was seven to four upon him.—Spring and Carter next entered the ring. A worse fight has not been seen for many years, Spring won it in an hour and three quarters. *There was very little money betted on this fight in London.* Many were of opinion that the whole was a trick upon the *knowing ones*."

sary. Sticks, stones, and every dangerous kind of weapon, are resorted to for the gratification of passion or revenge. But the most common and savage method of settling quarrels upon the continent is the adoption of the Roman pancratium. The parties close, and struggle to throw each other down; at the same time the teeth and nails are not unemployed. In short, they tear each other like wild beasts, and never desist from the conflict till their strength is completely exhausted; and thus, regardless of any established laws of honour which teach forbearance to a prostrate foe, their cruelty is only terminated by their inability to inflict more mischief."

"The mode of fighting in Holland, among the seamen and others, is well known by the appellation of snicker-snee. In this contest sharp knives are used; and the parties frequently maim, and sometimes destroy each other. The government deems it necessary to tolerate this savage practice."

"It is a singular though striking fact, that in those parts of the kingdom of England where the generous and manly system of pugilism is least practised, and where, for the most part, all personal disputes are decided by the exertion of savage strength and ferocity—a fondness for barbarous and bloody sports is found to prevail. In some parts of Lancashire, bull-baiting and man-slaying are common practices. The knowledge of pugilism as an art is, in these places, neither understood nor practised There is no established rule of honour to save the weak from the strong, but every man's life is at the mercy of his successful antagonist. The object of each combatant in these disgraceful contests, is, to throw each other prostrate on the ground, and then with hands and feet, teeth and nails, to inflict, at random, every possible degree of injury and torment. This is not an exaggerated statement of the barbarism still prevailing in many parts of this kingdom. The country assizes for Lancashire afford too many convincing proofs of the increasing mischiefs arising from these and other disgraceful combats."

"A disgusting instance of this ferocious mode of deciding quarrels was not long since brought forward at the Manchester sessions. It appeared in evidence, that two persons, upon some trifling dispute, at a public house, agreed to lock themselves up in a room with the landlord and 'fight it out' according to the Bolton method. This contest lasted a long time, and was only terminated by the loss of the greatest part of the nose and a part of the ear, belonging to one of the parties, which were actually bitten off by the other, during the fight. The sufferer exhibited at the trial part of the ear so torn off; and upon being asked by the counsel what had become of that part of his nose which was missing—he replied with perfect naiveté—'that he believed his antagonist had swallowed it!' It has happened to the writer of these remarks to witness, in more than one instance, the picking up in the streets, lacerated portions of ears and fingers, after these detestable and savage broils."

"The judges, on the occasions above mentioned, have frequently declared in the most solemn and impressive charges to the grand jury, that the number of persons indicted for murder, or manslaughter, in consequence of the bestial mode of fighting practised in this country, far exceeded that of the whole northern circuit; and that, in future, they were determined to punish with the utmost rigour of the law, offenders of this description—But, alas! these just denunciations have little availed—at one assize, no less than nine persons were convicted of manslaughter, originating from these disgraceful encounters."

The reader would fain believe, I presume, that these "diabolical practices," recited from Bardsley, have ceased; but I cannot give him this consolation, or in any way disguise the truth, as long as the principal London Journals present paragraphs like the following:

PART I.

Courier, Jan. 18th, 1819.

"MIDDLESEX SESSIONS.

"D. Donovan was found guilty of biting off the nose of M. Donovan, in a fight which they had. J. J. Wakeman was sentenced to six months imprisonment, having been found guilty of seizing R. Cotton by the throat, and forcing out his tongue, half of which he bit off, and the next day bragged of having eaten."

Bell's Weekly Messenger, May 31, 1819.

"EPSOM RACES, Friday—Third day, May 28. 1819.

"Several races of minor importance took place this day, and afforded considerable amusement and interest to the sporting gentry. When the races were concluded, they endeavoured to amuse themselves by a view of a *ruffianly sort of fight* between *Oliver*, and a black by the name of Kenrich, in which the former obtained the victory."

Sporting Magazine, April, 1819.

"A pugilistic combat for 100 guineas a side, and 10 guineas, took place on Forest Heath, a few miles from Stony Stratford, on Wednesday, April 7th, between George Dunkeley, a giant of 17 stone, and 6 feet 4 inches in height, and Harry Foreman, a miner from Oxfordshire, of nearly equal weight. Many thousand spectators were present. They fought nine rounds in the most slaughtering and ferocious manner, and in the latter Dunkeley broke his adversary's left jaw, and was declared the victor. Dunkeley was so much injured by body hits, that he was carried off the ground in a dangerous state."

Sporting Magazine, May, 1819.

"PUGILISM.

"Battle between Carter and Spring, on Crawley Downs, 30 miles from London, on Tuesday, May 4.

"It is supposed if the carriages had all been placed in one line, they would have reached from London to Crawley. The amateurs were of the highest distinction; and several noblemen and foreigners of rank were upon the ground.

"The signal was given for stripping, and a most extensive ring was immediately beat out; and among the crowd numbers of females were to be seen, anxious to get a peep at these famous heroes," &c.

Sporting Magazine, May, 1819.

"COCKING—CHESTER.

"During the races, a main of cocks was fought between the gentlemen of Cheshire, (Gilliver, feeder,) and the gentlemen of Lancashire, (Partridge, feeder,) for ten guineas a battle, and two hundred guineas the main."

"The great main of cocks, between the gentlemen of Norwich and Cambridge, was fought this month, at the Swan Inn, in Norwich, and was won by the former—one battle a-head."

"On Monday, May 3, and two following days, the match of cocks between the gentlemen of Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, took place at the cockpit, Holywell, in Oxford, when the former were victors, three in the main, and six in the bye battles," &c.

"Pugilistic contest, near Barnesley, Yorkshire.—This battle was for sixty guineas a side, between John Wike, the champion of the latter place, and an amateur of the name of Green, a pupil of the scientific George Head, on Wednesday, April 14. This contest excited consi-

derable interest for miles round Barnesley, and the battle took place at the Full-dews, about four miles from Barnesley, in the presence of some thousands of spectators. For one hour and fifty-two minutes the heat of battle raged, and during which period 94 rounds were severely contested.

"Wike's head was materially changed, one of his ogles was closed, and the other fast verging to darkness. In the 94th and last round, Wike was floored from a tremendous hit upon his throat," &c.

The Sporting Magazine, April, 1819.

"PUGILISM.

"Between Purcell and Warkley, for a purse of 50*l.* given by the amateurs of Norwich, on Thursday, April 1.

"The above contest excited considerable interest among the provincial fancy, and no less than 10,000 persons assembled on the above spot to witness the battle.

"ROUNDS.

"7. Warkley got Purcell's head under the rope, and made some heavy hits with his right hand. Purcell's head appeared truly terrific, being one mass of blood.

"8. Purcell showed a severe cut under the before contused eye which appeared closed, and bled profusely."

"17. After retreating to his old corner, he fought most dreadfully, and no feature of Purcell's face could be distinguished from the flowing of blood," &c.

I have had occasion to remark, in the second Section of this volume, that the legislators of New England prohibited the vulgar sports common in the mother country. Bull and bear-baiting, horse-racing, and cock-fighting, have never been practiced in our northern States; in the middle, they have not, with the exception of horse-racing, often occurred; and it is only in the south that bull and bear baiting is now known; even there it occurs but very seldom. The baiting of horses, of which I have quoted an instance, in the text, from the Memoirs of Evelyn, appears to have been a favourite sport in the mother country. Strutt has recorded it in his amusing volume on "the Diversions and Pastimes of the people of England," and given a plate of the manner in which it was performed. Asses were treated with the same inhumanity. With respect to this useful animal, and the more noble one the horse, the Americans are altogether free from the reproach of having followed the ignominious example of torturing and destroying them at the stake. Nor do our annals afford an instance of the British refinement of whipping a blinded bear. This popular practice consisted, to use the language of Strutt and Bardsley, "in several persons at the same time scourging with whips, a blind-folded bear round the ring, whose sufferings and awkward attempts at revenge highly gratified the noble as well as ignoble spectators." The *duck-hunting* described by Strutt, is equally without example in this country, and so I believe to be the favourite English amusement of *throwing at cocks*, of which he treats in his third book. But the English traveller, Fearon, has discovered that the Kentuckians have a pastime called *gander-pulling*, that is, twisting off at full gallop the head of a gander tied to a tree. Fearon does not allege that he saw it himself. There are, certainly, very few Kentuckians who have even heard of it. It is, however, eagerly seized upon by the Quarterly Reviewers, who affect to shudder, and to be scandalized infinitely, as if the feelings of an Englishman at home were virginal in respect to acts of brutality towards animals. Dr. Bardsley shall inform us specifically whether this be the fact. The following

PART I. passages of his Dissertation might have taught the Reviewers a little caution.

"If the Romans set us the example in devising these sports, (the baiting and torturing of animals.) it must be confessed, we have 'bettered the instructions.' For to English refinement and ingenuity, may be ascribed the noble invention of the gaffle or spur; by the aid of which, the gallant combatants of the cockpit mangle, torture, and destroy each other; no doubt to the great satisfaction and delight of admiring spectators. Another instance of our barbarous ingenuity must not be omitted No other nation but the British has contrived to put in practice the battle-royal and the Welch-main. In the former, the spectator may be gratified with the display of numbers of game-cocks destroying each other at the same moment, without order or distinction. In the latter, these courageous birds are doomed to destruction in a more regular, but not less certain manner. They fight in pairs, (suppose sixteen in number,) and the two last survivors are then matched against each other; so that out of thirty-two birds, thirty-one must be necessarily slaughtered.

"*Throwing at cocks*, is another specimen of unmeaning brutality, confined solely to our own country. After being familiarized to the barbarous destruction of this courageous bird in the cockpit, it was only advancing one step further in the progress of cruelty, to fasten this most gallant animal to a stake, in order to murder him piece-meal.

"Bull-baiting, during the 16th and early part of the 17th century, was not confined within the limits of a bear garden, but was universally practised on various occasions, in all the towns and villages throughout the kingdom. In many places the practice was sanctioned by law, and the bull-rings, affixed to large stones driven into the earth, remain to this day, as memorials of this legalized species of barbarity.

"Numbers of bulls were, and still continue to be, regularly trained and carried about from village to village, to enter the lists against dogs bred for the purpose of the combat. To detail all the barbarities committed in these encounters would be a disgusting and tedious task. All the bad passions which spring up in ignorant and depraved minds, are here set afloat.

"At a bull baiting in Staffordshire, in 1799; after the animal had been baited by single dogs, he was attacked by numbers, let loose upon him at once. Having escaped from his tormentors, they again fastened him to the ring; and with a view either of gratifying their savage revenge, or of better securing their victim, they actually cut off his hoofs, and enjoyed the spectacle of his being worried to death on his bloody and mangled stumps."

"The practice of bull-baiting," says the author of Espriella's Letters, "is not merely permitted, it is even enjoined by the municipal law in some places. Attempts have twice been made in the legislature to suppress this *barbarous* custom: they were baffled and ridiculed; and some of the most distinguished members were absurd enough, and hard-hearted enough to assert, that if such sports were abolished, there would be an end of the national courage. The bear and the badger are baited with the same barbarity; and, if the rabble can get nothing else, they will divert themselves by worrying cats to death."

The boldness of the traveller Fearon, and of the Quarterly Review, in attempts to degrade the American character, by stories of gander pulling in Kentucky, and bear-baiting at New Orleans, must be apparent from the quotations I have just made; but I wish to show further, to what they expose the British nation by authorizing requital. In opening by accident, the English Monthly Magazine, for Sept. 1803, I fell upon the article which I am about to transcribe. The character of the

author is unknown to me; but he is not a foreign witness, and cannot be suspected of a wish to disparage his own country.

"To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

"SIR,

"It has been remarked by some author, that the English nation is more addicted to cruelty than any other enlightened people of Europe, and though we must naturally be reluctant in admitting a charge of so disgraceful a nature, yet a little attention to what is passing around us, particularly in respect to our own indifference to the sufferings of the brute creation, will, I fear, rather corroborate than refute the assertion. I shall confine my remarks to two instances of diabolical cruelty.

"A gentleman of my acquaintance was eye witness to an instance of this horrid propensity, near Buxton; a fellow exhibited a bear which was tied to a stake, with a small length of chain allowed; the bear was not, however, attacked by dogs, as usual, but by monsters in human shape, who diverted themselves by trundling a wheel barrow at it—if this machine struck the animal, the bear-ward paid 6d. to him who twirled the barrow, and if it missed, (which was oftener the case, as the poor bear, from woeful experience, had acquired considerable dexterity in avoiding the blow,) then the bear-ward received 6d.

"The other instance, which fell within my own observation, seems to me to combine more associations of a kind disgraceful to human nature, than any other I remember ever to have heard of.

"As I passed through a lane, a few days before last Shrove Tuesday, I observed a considerable crowd in an adjoining field, enjoying some game, in which a number of boys were busily engaged; on a nearer approach, I saw ten or twelve boys, with their hands tied, pursuing a cock, the wings of which had been previously clipped, to retard its escape; on enquiry, I learnt this poor creature was to be the prize of him who could carry it off to a certain part of the field, in his teeth; this, unfortunately for the object of their pursuit, was no easy task, and the scene I withessed in its prosecution was such, as surely was never equalled in the annals of brutality.

"The cock, as in most such sports, had a little start allowed, when on a signal, all its pursuers gave chace; the first who came up with it, endeavoured to stun it with his foot, and if that failed, his next resource was to fall upon it with his body, full length, in which position he contrived to *fix his teeth in some part*, but the head was usually preferred, as the animal could not easily retaliate in this situation! sometimes all these *bloodhounds* were down upon or near the poor cock at the same time, one pulling it by the feet, another by the wings, and a third tugging at its head, till the weakest part gave way, and the strongest teeth bore away the prize in triumph; whilst the poor creature struggled so violently, as at times, by its convulsions, to escape for a moment, the *monster's jaws;* but if the conqueror proved too strong to prevent this momentary escape, his triumph was of very short duration, for by the rules of this game, the unsuccessful followers were permitted to trip the heels of the hero who was thus bearing away the prize, which they generally contrived to do, and before he could arrive at the goal, he was usually overthrown by his pursuers, who, falling upon him and each other, with the wretched animal in the midst of them, resumed this inhuman struggle.

"To the disgrace of human nature, most of the less cruel diversions which I have mentioned, are conducted by *men;* but in their refinements upon all former species of cruelty, boys are selected, and encouraged by the men, and taught to make use of their teeth like cannibals."

(Signed,) "EGERTON SMITH,
"of Liverpool."

PART I. We may suppose Mr. Fearon, but not the Quarterly Review, to be ignorant of the speech of Lord Erskine, on the bill which he introduced into the House of Lords in 1809, respecting cruelty to animals. The Reviewers ought to have recollected also, the fate of that bill in the House of Commons, where, notwithstanding the disclosure of the most horrid barbarities, a quorum could not be kept to secure a decent rejection in the forms. The speech of Lord Erskine to the Peers, furnishes a kind of evidence which cannot be got over; for the facts adduced to demonstrate the necessity of his bill, are vouched upon the highest responsibility. The humane mover said,

"He could bring the most unexceptionable testimony to their lordship's bar, to prove the existences of such practices as were a disgrace to humanity, to a civilized nation; one barbarous practice was, the cutting and tearing out the tongue of so noble an animal as the horse."*

I will confine myself to an extract in addition, from this speech, in relation to the treatment of that "noble animal, the horse," which treatment, generally, I believe to be more savage in England, than in any other country on earth. The following statement of lord Erskine, will illustrate also, what kind of *meat* it is such of the poor of England as aspire to that luxury, usually obtain.

"A very general practice prevails of buying up horses still alive, but not capable of being further abused by any kind of labour. These horses, it appeared, were carried in great numbers to slaughter houses, but not killed at once for their flesh and skins, but left without sustenance, and literally starved to death, that the market might be gradually fed. The poor animals in the mean time, being induced to eat their own dung, and frequently knawing one another's manes in the agonies of hunger."†

I cannot refrain from noting here a circumstance connected with the treatment of horses in England, which I find stated thus in one of the principal newspapers of London.

* See the number of the English Sporting Magazine, for June, 1819, for an atrocious instance of this practice.

† Some humane person has returned to this subject, in the Sporting Magazine, for April, 1819, and given the following account of the same hideous abomination:

"Let me most earnestly, and with a heart affected by sadness and melancholy, and indignant with sensations of shame, call the attention of *men* to the last and dreadful stage of the life of the laborious horse, which has spent the whole of his strength, and wasted his spirits and his blood in the most painful, perhaps the most excruciating services. He is, in the metropolis more especially, sold in his aged, worn out, and unpitied state, to a set of brutal, unfeeling—infernal savages! as any that disgrace and shame the bosom of their mother earth—the *nackers*, or horse butchers: men whose fierce and hardened features, and blood stained hands and bodies, are an appalling representation of their horrid calling. Their places are dens of famine, animal misery, and torture, which might make humanity weep tears of blood! Here are seen horses worn out with age and labour, in every possible state of decrepitude and disease, kept alive as long as possible for the convenience of market, lingering under all the horrors of famine, to the degree of devouring each other's manes, from excessive hunger, and at last sinking to the earth, one after the other, from emptiness and weakness! Some of them may have been purchased in the country, and driven long journies, with barely food enough, and that of the most sordid and worthless kind, to enable them to stand upon their legs."

"December 29th, 1818. This day were *shot* at the Queen's stables, *five* horses belonging to her late majesty. They had been in the queen's service *between thirty and forty years*, and were now despatched (being no longer able to do *hard work*) to prevent their falling to the work of dust carts, &c. &c." PART I.

Among the ancients (barbarians and pagans!) the beasts that had been employed in the building of certain temples, were ever afterwards released from drudgery, and delicately fed. They were not "despatched to prevent their falling to the work of dust carts." When Julius Cæsar, in passing the Rubicon, devoted a number of horses to the divinity of that river, he set them free to rove in the abundant pastures in its neighbourhood.—Was there no field at Frogmore, in which the five horses which had served her majesty for *thirty or forty years*, could have been permitted to enjoy the remnant of their existence; if not as a debt of humanity to them, at least as a mark of respect to the memory of their mistress? The lines of old Ennius furnish a lesson to her majesty's executors.

Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui sæpe supremo
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu *quiescit*.

(NOTE S. p. 258.)

Dr. Mitchell, of New York, has made the following mention of Governor Colden, in his Anniversary Discourse of 1813, before the New York Historical Society.

"Cadwallader Colden had a large share in the provincial administration of New York. He sent to Sweden, for his correspondent, the distinguished professor at Upsal, a collection of the plants growing in Ulster county of New York, and accompanied the herbarium with descriptions. The great author of the sexual system caused the descriptions to be printed, and in his several publications referred to them as authorities. Colden's Catalogue may be seen in the Upsal Transactions for 1743. This performance displays great industry and skill, and justly places the author among the botanical worthies of North America."

Linnæus named a plant of the tetrandous class, *Coldenia*, in honour of the daughter of Colden. The historian cultivated mathematics with distinguished success, and maintained a correspondence on various branches of science with several of the most eminent savans of Europe. In the year 1743, he suggested and explained in detail, in a letter to Dr. Franklin,* the stereotype method of printing. The process which he recommended, is the same as that practised, and said to have been invented, by Mr. Herhan at Paris.

(NOTE T. p. 266.)

The first steam boat launched in the Hudson was at once crowded with passengers, and in no part of the United States where the same mode of conveyance appeared, did the inhabitants manifest the least hesitation about making immediate use of it. Not so in Great Britain.

* See the letter in the 1st vol. of the New York Medical Register.

PART I. We read in an article on steam boats, in the 45th vol. of Tillock's Philosophical Magazine, the following statement:

"At first, owing to the novelty and apparent danger of the conveyance, when the first steam boat appeared in the Clyde in 1812, the number of passengers was so very small, that the only steam boat on the river could hardly clear her expenses; but the degree of success which attended that attempt soon commanded public confidence."

I take the following additional illustrations of this subject from a masterly review of Colden's Life of Fulton, published in the Analectic Magazine for Sept. 1817.

"To show how little pretensions the English have to this discovery, we lay before our readers the following extracts from the best and most popular of the monthly publications of that country.

In the London Monthly Magazine for October, 1813, p. 244, it is said, "We have made it our special business to lay before the public, all the particulars we have been able to collect relative to the invention of steam passage boats in America, and their introduction into Great Britain; because we consider this invention as worth to mankind more than a hundred battles gained, or towns taken, even if the victors were engaged in a war, which might have some pretence to be called defensive and necessary. It affords us great satisfaction to be able to lay before our readers a correct description of the Clyde steam boat, obligingly communicated to us by Messrs. Woods, ship builders in Port Glasgow. It is but justice, however, to those gentlemen, to state, that they candidly consider the steam boats, as they are at present constructed, (that is, on the Clyde) to be in a very rude state, and capable of great improvement.

"The boat runs in calm weather four or four and a half miles per hour; but against a considerable breeze, not more than three."

In the Monthly Magazine for November, 1813, vol. 36, p. 385, an account is given of the New York steam boats running on an average, with or against the tide, at the rate "of six miles an hour, with the smoothness of a Dutch Streckshute."

In the same page is a wooden cut of the Clyde boat; and a note of the editors, stating, "that the inhabitants of the populous banks of the Thames are not at present acquainted with steam boats, only through our descriptions of them."

In the same Magazine for January 1814, p. 529, is a proposal to erect a company for the purpose of building steam boats to navigate the Thames.

In the Magazine for February 1814, p. 29, is a further description of the American steam boats, as an interesting article of information.

In the same Magazine for April 1814, a further account of American steam boats is given by Mr. Ralph Dodd, engineer, who had visited them in this country. He states that there were then two places in Great Britain where steam boats had been employed, to wit, on the river Braydon, between Yarmouth and Norwich, and on the river Clyde, between Glasgow and Greenock: and at the close of his account, he mentions that he had been urging the use of this mode of conveyance for two years past, and was happy to find his recommendations realized.

By the Monthly Magazine for 1814, p. 358, it appears, that the above named Ralph Dodd had succeeded in forming a company to build steam boats to be used on the Thames; and in the same page it is stated, that the Clyde steam boat had run for eighteen months past: that is, the first steam boat began to run in America under Fulton's direction in 1807, and the first steam boat began to run in Great Britain in or about the month of May, in the year 1813, six years after they had been in full operation in this country; in all probability, if it had not been for Fulton's enterprise and ingenuity, Great Britain would not have had a steam

boat for these twenty years to come. He showed them how to succeed. Yet is the account in Rees's Encyclopædia so drawn up, as if the whole of the invention was owing to English skill and enterprise.

"We hear much (say the editors of the Monthly Magazine for April 1813, vol. 35, p. 243) of the proven success of the steam passage boats against the rapid streams of the great rivers in America: yet nothing of the kind has yet been adopted in Great Britain. Are we to succumb to America in the mechanic arts?' This was true; for the Clyde boat had not begun to run when that paragraph was written, nor, we believe, till at least a month after it was published.

"The general index to the first twenty volumes of the Edinburgh Review, comprehending the month of October 1812, has not an article relating to steam boats. Yet no one can complain that the editors of that work are not sufficiently alive to their national claims."

(NOTE U. p. 275.)

In the Discourse of Dr. Mitchell, of New York, to which I have referred in Note S., there is the following notice of James Logan.

"I have a copy of James Logan's 'Experimenta, et Meletemata circa generationem plantarum.' They were printed at London in Latin and English. He relates experiments made on Indian corn to prove the prolific nature of staminal dust. He quotes Dr. Grew, as ascribing to Mr. Thomas Millington the original idea, as long ago as 1676, that plants have sexes. It is not a little remarkable, that this small tract is more likely to perpetuate the author's fame, than all the judicial acts of his life."

I would observe, on the last phrase of this quotation, that, if the learned author of the discourse meant to disparage the judicial acts of Logan, he has committed a signal injustice, or spoken without due knowledge. Logan's judicial career was one of great integrity, and utility to the state. As Pennsylvania was divided into parties for and against the Proprietary, and as this early friend of Penn took the lead on the side of his family, he became obnoxious to keen enmities, and unsparing detraction. This accounts for the angry proceedings of the House of Assembly towards him from time to time, and for the colours in which he is painted in the Historical Review of Pennsylvania, published in London to counteract the Proprietary interest there. I am well informed that Franklin, the author of the Review, acknowledged, at a distant period, that Logan had been represented in the work pursuant to party feelings and aims, and not in conformity with his real character and services. The charges which Logan delivered, as chief justice of Pennsylvania, to grand juries, are of singular excellence. He appears in them not only as a watchful guardian of the domestic weal, and as a sagacious director, but as a profound moralist, and beautiful writer. Such subtile disquisition, and lofty speculation, such variety of knowledge, and richness of diction, are seldom found in compositions of any kind. Of the practical lessons which he inculcated, I am induced to quote the following, from a charge dated April 13, 1736, because it has a curious appositeness to the present times in this country, and contains maxims of universal and perpetual validity.

"As poverty, and the want of money, has of late been the great cry in this place (Philadelphia); and riches have been shown to be the natural effects of sobriety, industry, and frugality; the true causes of this poverty may justly deserve a more near and strict inquiry: upon which,

PART I. the case, if I mistake not, will appear as follows. It is certainly with a state, as with a private family; if the disbursements or expenses are greater than the income, that family will undoubtedly become poorer. And, in the same manner, if our importations are greater than our exports, the country in general will sink by it. This has been our case for some years past, owing, in a great measure, not only to the badness of the commodity we exported, to the great injury of our credit, (which, notwithstanding, is now in some degree retrieved, by the diligence of one officer, and the country will undoubtedly reap the advantages of it,) but also to our using more European and other goods than we can pay for by our produce, or perhaps really want; and then the balance must be paid (if 'tis ever done) in money.

"These are the open and avowed reasons, that may be given, for our scarcity of coin: but as to our poverty, it may be inquired, whether there be not yet a cause? And every man who complains, may ask himself, whether he has been as industrious and frugal, in the management of his affairs, as his circumstances required? whether credit has not hurt him, by venturing into debt, before he knew how to pay? and whether the attractions of pleasure and ease have not been stronger than those of business? but Solomon says, He that loveth pleasure, shall be a poor man: and he that loveth wine and oil, (that is, high living,) shall not be rich, Prov. 21, 17. He tells us also, elsewhere, who they are that shall come to poverty, and what it is that clothes a man with rags, Prov. 23, 21.; and shows, very clearly, that the ways to get wealth were the very same, near three thousand years ago, that they are at this day, and, probably, they may continue the same to the end of the world.

"If people of substance cannot employ men to build, or by other means to improve the country, but at higher rates than the work will be worth to them when finished, whether 'tis to be let or sold, such workmen cannot expect employment, but poverty must come as one that travelleth, and want as an armed man. And if the same love of pleasure, wine, and oil, still continue under these circumstances, it will not be difficult to find a cause why such are not rich. It is not to be doubted, but that young beginners in the world have mistaken their own condition; have valued an appearance, and run too easily into debt; and that workmen declining labour on practicable terms, to put it in the power of others to employ them, and yet continuing their usual expense; it is not to be doubted, I say, but that great numbers, by these measures, though they may not be the only cause, have been plunged into distressed circumstances, of which they themselves will not see the reason: but being uneasy under them, they repine, and grow envious against those who, by greater diligence and circumspection, have preserved themselves in a more easy and safe condition of life. Such people run into complaints of grievances; cry out against the oppression of the poor, though perhaps no country in the world is more free from it than ours; they grow factious and turbulent in the state; are for trying new politics, and like persons afflicted with distempers, contracted through vicious habits, who are calling for lenitives to their pains, but will not part with the beloved but destructive cause; they are for inventing new and extraordinary measures for their relief and ease; when it is certain, that nothing can prove truly effectual to them, but a change of their own measures, in the exercise of those wholesome and healing virtues I have mentioned, viz. sobriety, industry, and frugality: not by contracting new debts, for this is a constant snare, and a pit, in which the unwary are caught; for the *borrower*, we are told, is a servant to the lender, and the man who gives surety worketh his own destruction: for why (it is said) should he (thy creditor) take thy bed from under thee? or, which amounts to the same, why should he take that from thee.

from which thou must gain thy bread, or the place on which thy bed stands? such relief is but a snare: and I will here be bold to say, that it is not even the greatest quantities of coin that can be imported into this province, (unless it were to be distributed for nothing.) nor of any other specie, that can relieve the man who has nothing to purchase it with; but it is his industry, with frugality, that must ease him, and entitle him to a share of it.

(NOTE V. p. 396.)

The petition which Lord Nugent presented to the House of Commons, during its last session (1819), on the part of the English Roman Catholics, was signed by 10,300 persons, among whom were eleven peers, thirteen baronets, and three hundred gentlemen of landed property. To make the American reader acquainted with the intent of their *disfranchisement*, I offer the following extracts from some of their late petitions and addresses, as preserved in a valuable work published the present year in London, and entitled, "Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics, by Charles Butler, Esq."

"*Several disabling and penal laws still remain in force against English Catholics.* Still are civil and military offices denied them; still are they excluded from many lines in the profession of the law and medicine; still are some avenues to commercial wealth shut against them; still is entrance into corporations prohibited to them; still the provisions for their schools and places of religious worship are without legal security; still they are disabled *from voting at elections;* still they are deprived of eligibility to a seat in the House of Commons; still Roman Catholic peers are excluded from their hereditary seats in the House of Lords; and still Roman Catholic soldiers and sailors are legally subject to heavy penalties, and even to *capital punishment*, for refusing to conform to the religious rites of the established church. Each of these penal laws has a painful operation: their united effects is very serious. It meets the Catholics in every path of life; makes their general body a depressed and insulated cast; and forces every individual of it below the rank in society which he would otherwise hold. Seldom, indeed, does it happen, that a Roman Catholic closes his life, without having more than once experienced, that his pursuits have failed of success, or that, if they have succeeded, the success of them has been greatly lessened or greatly retarded, or that his children have lost provision or preferment, in consequence of his having been a Roman Catholic."

"How injurious the test acts are, both to the public and to the individuals on whom they operate, appeared in 1795; in which year, during the then great national alarm of invasion, Lord Petre, the grandfather of the present lord, having, with the express leave and encouragement of government, raised, equipped, and trained, at his own expence, a corps of two hundred and fifty men for his majesty's service, requested that his son might be appointed to the command of them. His son's religion was objected, his appointment refused, and another person was appointed to the command of the corps. You cannot but feel how much such a conduct tended to discourage the Catholics from exertions of zeal and loyalty:—but, the noble family had too much real love of their country to resign from her service, even under these circumstances. His lordship delivered over the corps, completely equipped, and completely trained, into the hands of government, and his son served in the ranks."

"In the last Parliament, (1816) it was shown, that a meritorious pri-

PART I. vate, for refusing, (which he did in a most respectful manner), to attend divine service and sermon according to the rights of the established church, was confined nine days in a dungeon, on bread and water."

"Thus the English Catholic soldiers are incessantly exposed to the cruel alternative of either making a sacrifice of their religion, or incurring the extreme of legal punishment; than which, your petitioners humbly conceive, there never has been, and cannot be a more direct religious persecution. To an alternative, equally oppressive, the English Roman Catholics are exposed on their marriages; the law requires, for the legal validity of a marriage in England, that it should be celebrated in a parish church; as Roman Catholics believe marriage to be a sacrament, the English Roman Catholics naturally feel great repugnance to a celebration of their marriages in other churches than their own."

With regard to the Irish Roman Catholics, their situation is worse. Their *disfranchisement* is as entire in substance, and much more galling in its operation, than that of the American negroes. In 1812, the number of the Irish Catholics was estimated at 4,200,000; making five-sixths of the whole population of Ireland, and being as 10 to 1, in the proportion of the Protestants. Their clergy amounted to upwards of two thousand. The following representations are copied from a very able and full exposition of their grievances published at the period just mentioned.*

If a Catholic clergyman happens, though inadvertently, to celebrate marriage between two Protestants, or between a Protestant and a Catholic, (unless already married by a Protestant minister) he is liable by law to suffer *death*.

The Catholic clergy are unprotected by any law, prohibiting the disturbance of Divine service, whilst celebrated by them.

The Catholic clergyman, bound by his vows to a life of celibacy, and generally in narrow circumstances, feels the harshness of being held liable to the payment of a modern tax, called *bachelor's tax*.

The Catholic clergy are interdicted from receiving any endowment, or permanent provision, either for their own support, or for that of their houses of worship, &c.

Whilst the members of all other religious persuasions in Ireland are permitted to provide for the permanent maintenance of their respective ministers of worship, and of the establishments connected with their respective tenets, the Catholics alone are denied this permission. Reproached, as they frequently are, with the poverty of their clergy, the misery of their people, and the supposed ignorance of their poor, they are forbidden by law, to resort to the necessary measures for supplying these deficiencies.

In Ireland, the Protestant parishoners actually enjoy the privilege of assembling together, under the name of Parish Vestries, *to the exclusion* of the Catholics, of legislating and of imposing such yearly land tax upon the Catholics as they may think proper, for the alleged purposes of building, repairing, refitting, &c. Protestant houses of worship—and of providing lucrative occupation for each other.

The people of Ireland, already pay (as a plain calculation will show) an average sum, not less than 200*l.* for every family, that frequents the public service of the established church: or in other words, each of these families now costs to the people an average sum of 200*l.* yearly, for its religious worship.

* Statement of the Penal laws, which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland. 2d. Edit. Dublin.

"The Irish parliament, in the last year of its existence, solemnly organized a powerful inquisition, the Commission of Charitable Bequests, vigilant and eager in the pursuit of its prey, and armed with every necessary authority for discovering and seizing the funds destined by dying Catholics for the maintenance of the pious and the poor of their own communion, and appropriating them, when seized, to the better maintenance of the Protestant institutions."

"Suffice it to say, respecting the general conduct of this board, that their zeal and activity in the discharge of their ungracious functions, have completely succeeded in frustrating every attempt of the Irish Catholics to provide any permanent maintenance for the ministers of their worship, their places of education, or other pious or charitable foundations."

"No Catholic can be a guardian to a Protestant; and no Catholic priest can be a guardian at all. Catholics are only allowed to have arms under certain restrictions; and no Catholic can be employed as a fowler, or have for sale, or otherwise, any arms or warlike stores. No Catholic can present to an ecclesiastical living,—although dissenters, and even Jews, have been found entitled to this privilege. The pecuniary qualification of Catholic jurors is made higher than that of Protestants."

"The number of Catholics qualified for seats in the legislature, (if learning, talents, landed estates, or commercial wealth be admitted as a qualification) probably exceeds thirty thousand persons. These men stand personally proscribed by the existing exclusion, whilst their Protestant neighbours find every facility for ready admission."

"Hence, every Protestant feels himself, and really is, more firm and secure in the favour of the laws, more powerful in society, more free in his energies, more elevated in life, than his Catholic neighbour of equal merit, property, talents, and education. He alone feels and possesses the right and the legal capacity to be a legislator, and *this consciousness is actual power*."

"Whatever may be the wealth of the Catholic, his talent, or his services, he is uniformly refused a place upon grand juries within the corporate towns; and even upon petty juries, unless when the duty is arduous, and unconnected with party interests. He more than doubts of obtaining the same measure of justice, of favour or respect, from the mayor, recorder, alderman, tax-gatherer, public boards, &c. that is accorded to his Protestant neighbour. He lives in continual apprehension, lest he or his family may become objects of some pecuniary extortion, or victims of some malicious accusation. Hence he is cringing, dependant, and almost a suppliant, for common justice."

"Thus, the Catholic leads a life resembling that of the *condemned Jew*; of no account personally; but partially tolerated for the sake of outward show; trampled upon individually; preserved collectively—for the uses of others; permitted to practise commerce and agriculture for the benefit of public revenue; gleaning, by connivance, a little money from arduous enterprises and intense labours, which the happier lot of the privileged class enables them to decline; but never to be received cordially as a citizen of the town, which he enriches, and perhaps maintains."

"It will appear, that the gross number of offices and situations, from which the class of penal laws, concerning corporate offices, excludes the Catholics, may be considered as amounting—

"Directly, and by express enactment, to about -	2548
"Consequentially, to about - - - - - -	1200
"Total - - - - - - -	3748."

PART I.

"The judicial situations, controlling the entire administration of justice in Ireland, are at present monopolized by the Protestants; and, under the existing laws and system, they must continue to be occupied by Protestants alone."

"There appears to be a total number of nearly 1500 offices connected with the profession and administration of the laws, which are interdicted to the Catholics, either by the express letter, or by the necessary operation, of the present penal code."

"One hundred and sixty legal offices, of honour and of emolument, are inaccessible to Catholic barristers, and open to Protestants. Thirteen hundred other offices are reserved solely for the ruling class, to the exclusion of Catholic students, solicitors, attorneys, clerks, &c. &c."

"Throughout the entire post office, established in Ireland, for instance, consisting of several hundred persons, there is scarcely a single Catholic to be found in a higher situation than that of a common letter-carrier; and few of even this class. The like may be affirmed of the stamp-office, bank of Ireland, and the other public boards and establishments of Ireland."

"Although not disqualified by an *express* statute, yet the Catholic physicians, surgeons, apothecaries—not inferior in learning, skill, experience or character, to those of any other persuasion—are practically excluded from medical honours and public situations—and especially from medical appointments of emolument or credit, within the influence of the crown, or of the numerous departments connected with the state."

"We do not read the name of any Catholic amongst the physicians, surgeons, druggists, or apothecaries, attached to the military or naval departments."

"The law presumes every Catholic to be *faithless, disloyal, unprincipled, and disposed to equivocate upon his oath*—until he shall have repelled this presumption by his sworn exculpation—in public court."

"That there exist in Ireland numerous splendid establishments, bearing the plausible profession of public education, is sufficiently known. From the extensive scale and pompous exterior of the buildings, from the numerous train of officers and heavy annual charge—a stranger might infer the existence of ample and liberal public instruction in Ireland—but, upon a nearer view, he will be quickly undeceived.

"These seminaries are closed, by law or by usage, against the Catholics. They are founded, generally speaking, upon strict and exclusive Protestantism—upon abhorrence of Popery—and upon the inculcation of doctrines, breathing personal imputation and indirect hostility against the Catholic population."

"Protestant families will not, in general, take Catholic servants. Every newspaper contains advertisements for servants, signifying that they must not be Catholics."

"In yeoman corps, (armed,) with very few exceptions, no Catholics are admitted."

"In the country corps, the bigotry of the captains generally excludes Catholics; and, even when the captains would wish, for the appearance of these corps, to mix a few stout comely Catholics in it, the bigotry of the privates interferes to prevent it—as, in most instances, they would resign, if such a measure were persisted in."

"In many towns in Ireland, there are convivial societies, amongst whom it it a rule to exclude Catholics."

"In many counties, Protestants will not visit a Catholic; and it is the fashion to speak of them in the most injurious and degrading terms."

"The Catholics can feel, and do suffer."

"The very peasantry acutely feel the stigma cast by government upon their sect and their religion. The lowest order even suffer most. The

wealthy Catholics acquire a degree of consideration and legal security from their property; but the peasantry are left naked to the pelting of the storm, to all the jibes and jobs of Protestant ascendancy."

"Not only a Protestant lord looks down upon a Catholic lord, and a Protestant gentleman on a Catholic gentleman, but a Protestant peasant on a Catholic peasant; and, in proportion as the degrading scale descends, the expression of contempt becomes more marked and gross."

(NOTE W. p. 397.)

Mr. Fearon relates a story of negro flagellation, which he pretends to have witnessed in Kentucky, and from which it might be inferred, that the general treatment of the slaves in that state is barbarous. The inference would involve a great injustice; for, their condition is eminently good in Kentucky, as I myself know from personal observation, and as every candid traveller who has had the same opportunity of judging, will acknowledge. They have there, an abundant provision of excellent food; their labour is light; and the recreations in which they are indulged, give a particular hilarity to their carriage. We have another English writer of travels, Lieutenant Hall, who has assigned a chapter specially to the negro slavery of the United States, and passed general sentence, confessing at the same time, that "information as to the condition of the negroes, in point of fact, is little attainable by a cursory traveller." He, it would seem, only traversed Virginia, North Carolina, and a part of South Carolina, rapidly, in the stage coach, and by the main road. As he passed along, in the night, he saw the "fire-light shining through some of the negro huts," from which he inferred, that they were universally without sufficient shelter from the inclemency of the season. Wood, he acknowledges, they might have in plenty; but then "they must have their night's rest perpetually broken by the obligation of keeping up their fires." How happy would be the poor in England, if they were subjected to the same *obligation!*

This traveller moans, too, over the diet of the negroes in the lower parts of South Carolina—rice, Indian meal, and dried fish! He does not deny, that they are amply supplied with the two first articles. Poultry, he says, they may raise; but *we* know that they *do* raise it in abundance, and either consume it themselves, or by the sale of it, procure gratifications untasted by the British labourer. If the subsistence upon rice be so calamitous a lot, there is enough to engross the compassion of an Englishman, in the fate of the vast majority of the population subject to the British power in India. It is only on the rice lands, and generally near the coast, that the negroes of Carolina are stinted as to animal food: in what is called the upper country, it is given to them in sufficient quantity for a daily and plentiful meal. Throughout the slave-holding states, there are differences in the living of the blacks, according to the greater or less productiveness of the soil, the nature of the staple product, &c. But no where are they without wholesome victuals, adequate to the demands of the appetite, and the support of the frame in its full vigour. Lieutenant Hall remained a few weeks at Charleston, and there picked up some stale anecdotes about the oppression of the negroes. He found a *Socrates* in the black cook of a vessel, condemned to death for poisoning the crew; and has made a most ridiculous romance of the affair. Of the kidnapping of free negroes, he heard something, and is moved, of course, to high indignation and rebuke. I do not deny the atrocity of the crime, as odious to

PART I. Americans in general as it can be to foreigners; but it has more than one direct parallel in England, to divert the anger and denunciations of her sons from this unlucky country. Possibly, our traveller may have heard of a practice, which Sir James Mackintosh has described as "a *flourishing* though accursed trade,"* false accusation—the swearing away the life or liberty of an innocent person, for the sake of the reward called *blood money*. I will make the reader further acquainted with it by a few extracts from the debates of the House of Commons.

"Mr. Bennet said, (March 2, 1818,) that he was convinced he was not exaggerating, when he averred, that it had been a long established practice in this country, (England,) for individuals, *day after day, year after year*, to stimulate others to the commission of crime, for the purpose of putting money in their pockets by their conviction."

"Mr. Bennet said, (April 13, 1818,) that in many cases, false evidence was given by police officers, in order to bring the offence within the reach of the remuneration. Mr. Shelton, the clerk of the arraigns at the Old Bailey, stated, that too frequently these officers endeavoured to stretch the point, with the view of sharing in the price of blood. The calendars of the criminal courts established the same conclusion.

"Fixed rewards had long been the great blot in our system of criminal procedure.

"All the persons who were connected with the police acknowledged, that the principle of the present system was bad, and that, from the beginning of it to the end, instead of checking or controlling crime, it operated as a bounty to base and designing men, who went about, not merely to tempt adults to the commission of crime, but (which was the most lamentable fact,) to train up children to be criminals. Children of nine or ten years of age, instead of being indicted, as they ought to be, for picking pockets, were frequently, in hopes of the reward, *indicted for highway robberies*. Not many months ago, two children, one thirteen, the other *nine years of age*, were convicted of highway robbery, one of the witnesses being a child of *six* years of age; although he was as sure as he stood there, that were it not for the system of rewards, their offence would never have been ranked so high.

"The Bank was known to give a reward of 7*l*. on the conviction of persons for passing bad money; and this very circumstance was the cause of a great number of the convictions which took place for that offence. A great many poor Germans, Swedes, and Irishmen, who were ignorant of the English language, were entrapped into the passing of bad coin, by persons whose only object was, the getting of the reward offered in consequence."

"Mr. Alderman Wood expressed his conviction, (April 21, 1818,) that nine out of ten of the prosecutions for forgery in London, originated with persons who were paid for exciting others to commit the crime. This he was enabled to state, from official experience and authentic information."

The kidnapping of children for the purpose of converting them into beggars and thieves, or of *selling* them to those who are engaged in the lowest and most disgusting callings of civilized life, is of more frequent occurrence in England, than the kidnapping of free negroes in the United States. Cases of child stealing, accompanied with circumstances of monstrous barbarity, are daily announced in the English gazettes. I will illustrate the fact and the process, by some quotations from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, concerning chimney sweepers.

"Children are sometimes *sold* by their parents to master chimney sweepers, and oftentimes they are *stolen*. These children are very

* House of Commons, May 4, 1818.

liable to cough and inflammation of the chest, from their being out at all hours, and in all weathers: these are generally increased by the wretchedness of their habitations, as they too frequently have to sleep in a shed exposed to the changes of the weather, their only bed a soot bag, and another to cover them, independent of their tattered garments.

"They are very subject to burns, from their being forced up chimneys while on fire, or soon after they have been on fire, and while overheated; and, however they may cry out, their inhuman masters pay not the least attention, but compel them, too often with horrid imprecations, to proceed. *They are sometimes sent up chimneys on fire.*

"It is in evidence before your committee, that at Hadleigh, Barnet, Uxbridge, and Windsor, *female children* have been employed.

"It is also in evidence, that they *are stolen from their parents, and inveigled out of workhouses;* that, in order to conquer the natural repugnance of the infants to ascend the narrow and dangerous chimneys, to clean which their labour is required, blows are used; that *pins are forced into their feet* by the boy that follows them up the chimney, in order to compel them to ascend it; and that *lighted straw* has been applied for that purpose; that the children are subject to sores and bruises, and wounds and burns on their thighs, knees, and elbows; and that it will require many months before the extremities of the elbows and knees become sufficiently hard to resist the excoriations to which they are at first subject.

"But it is not only the early and hard labour, the spare diet, wretched lodging, and harsh treatment, which is the lot of these children, but, in general, they are kept almost entirely destitute of education, and moral or religious instruction; they form a sort of class by themselves, and from their work being done early in the day, they are turned into the streets to pass their time in idleness and depravity: thus they become an easy prey to those whose occupation it is to delude the ignorant and entrap the unwary; and if their constitution is strong enough to resist the diseases and deformities which are the consequences of their trade, and that they should grow so much in stature as no longer to be useful in it, they are cast upon the world at the age of about sixteen, without any means of obtaining a livelihood, with no habits of industry, or rather, what too frequently happens, with confirmed habits of idleness and vice."

The strong nerves of the English travellers would not tremble at these things. It is the kidnapping of the negro that makes their flesh creep, and disturbs their repose. So too, they are in transports of philanthropic rage, with the *negro driving;* an abominable trade and spectacle, no doubt, but which has its counterpart in England, to be witnessed at all times throughout that land of freedom. "The English," says Mr. Southey, (Espriella's Letters, letter 26) "boast of their liberty, but there is no liberty in England for the poor. They are no longer sold with the soil, it is true; but they cannot quit the soil if there be any probability or suspicion that age or infirmity may disable them. If, in such a case, they endeavour to remove to some situation where they hope more easily to maintain themselves, where work is more plentiful, or provisions cheaper, the overseers are alarmed, the intruder is apprehended, as if he were a criminal, and sent back to his own parish. Whenever a pauper dies, that parish must be at the cost of his funeral: *instances therefore, have not been wanting, of wretches in the last stage of disease, having been hurried away in an open cart, upon straw, and dying upon the road. Nay, even women in the very pains of labour, have been driven out, and have perished by the way side,* because the birth-place of the child would be its parish."

I can furnish more recent, though certainly not more authentic testimony. Mr. Simon, in his "Journal of a Tour in Great Britain," (1815)

PART I. speaking of the Poor Laws, proceeds thus: "Among the necessary consequences of this system, is a multiplicity of vexatious laws repecting *settlements*, by which the right of removing at pleasure, from one part of the country to another, is so abridged, as to attach, in a great degree, the labouring class to the glebe, as the Russian peasant is. Perhaps, being bound to provide each for their own poor, it becomes a matter of importance to prevent new comers from acquiring a *settlement* by removal to a new parish; *and the poor are repulsed from one to the other like infected persons. They are sent back from one end of the kingdom to the other, as criminals formerly in France, de brigade en brigade. You meet on the high roads, I will not say often, but too often,* an old man on foot, with his little bundle,—a helpless widow, pregnant perhaps, and two or three barefooted children following her, become paupers in a place where they had yet not acquired a legal right to assistance, and sent away on that account, to their original place of settlement, in the mean time, by the overseers of the parishes on their way." (Vol. i. p. 224.)

Mr. Sturges Bourne, in proposing to the House of Commons, (March 25, 1819) his bill to regulate the settlement of the Poor, pointed out emphatically, the notorious practice of "sending back old paupers to their original parish, after they had spent their youth and labour elsewhere; tearing them from their friends and neighbours." He dwelt upon "the extreme hardship upon the paupers, who, having resided many years, and formed connexions, were sent home to their parishes, and separated from all their friends and consolations to die in a remote poor-house."*

The American negro may, for aught I know, have much more sensibility than the English pauper; but I should, at first view, think the fate of the latter, thus torn up by the roots, as it were, and transplanted to "a hot bed of vice and wretchedness," as the poor-house is styled in the Parliamentary Reports, quite as severe and barbarous, and as disgraceful to the country in which it is undergone, as that of the "driven" slave. In the history of civilized life, there is nothing more abominable than the warfare carried on by the parishes in England against the poor, (See the ensuing Note).

(NOTE X. p. 411.)

I WISH the American reader to be able to make an immediate comparison between the condition, physical and moral, of our negroes, and that of the labouring poor of England. I will, therefore, place before him a number of paragraphs concerning the latter, drawn from the Treatise of Colquhoun on Indigence, Espriella's Letters, by Mr. Southey, and the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws of the year 1817. I should premise that the statements of Colquhoun and Southey were made in 1806 and 1807, and that a great aggravation of all the evils of which they complain is admitted, on all hands, to have taken place within the few years past.

COLQUHOUN.

"It has been shown that above one million of individuals (1,234,768) in a country containing less than nine millions of inhabitants, have descended into a state of indigence, requiring either total or partial support from the public."

"A very large proportion of this mass of indigence is to be traced to the bad education, and particularly to the vicious and immoral habits of the inferior ranks of the people."

* In 1803, the number of vagrants *removed*, was 194,052.

"A prodigious number among the labouring classes cohabit together without marriage, and again separate when a difference ensues; and their miserable offspring, from neglect, are rarely reared to maturity."

"The morals of the inferior classes of society have been greatly neglected. Vicious habits, idleness, improvidence, and sottishness, prevail in so great a degree, that until a right bias shall have been given to the minds of the vulgar, joined to a greater portion of intelligence in respect to the economy of the poor, one million of indigent will be added to another, requiring permanent or partial relief, producing ultimately such a gangrene in the body politic as to threaten its total dissolution."

"It will be seen also from late publications, that, after making very large allowances, at least 1,750,000 of the population of the country, at an age to be instructed, grow up to an adult state without any instruction at all, in the grossest ignorance, and without any useful impression of religion or morality."

"*Innocent* and *culpable* vagrancy are confounded together, and the virtuous and vicious mendicant are subject to the same punishment. Persons wandering abroad and begging are by law to be *whipped* or imprisoned."

"In many places, the workhouses on a small scale will be found to be abodes of misery, which defy all comparison in human wretchedness."

"To *innocent indigence* they are all *gaols without guilt*—punishment without crime."

"A working man may now go where he pleases, with his family, and exert his labour where it may be most advantageous to him, as long as he can avoid asking parish relief; but if, from sickness, accident, or any affliction, depriving him, even for a short period, of the power of supporting his family, he is compelled to solicit aid from the parish, he is from that moment in a situation to be legally removed, to that from which he came originally; and when so removed, he must never again return to the parish where he was in a situation to gain a subsistence, on pain of being treated *as a rogue and a vagabond*."

"The constant interferences respecting settlements have unquestionably given a most injurious bias to the minds of the labouring people. In the various disputes about who shall afford them an asylum, they have been led to conceive that exertion and industry become less necessary, since the parish to which they belong is, under every circumstance, compelled to maintain them."

"The frequency of these interferences on the part of parish officers, and *the multitudes who have been carted from place to place, with their children*, have tended in no small degree to generate vagrancy, since they are always unwelcome guests in the receiving parishes. With characters thus degraded and rendered doubtful, and often without a single relation or acquaintance in the place which has, through the refinements upon the law, been deemed their settlement, what are they to do? The parish officers have provided no means of employing them; and for their labour, their only means of subsistence, they can find no purchaser, and *yet they dare not return to the parish where they could be useful to themselves and their country*."

"In this situation, unable to exist on the scanty pittance afforded by the parish, and without the means of filling up the chasm by their own industry, their characters assume a new and degraded form, and where not immured in a workhouse, they have no resource but to resort to the miserable alternative of hazarding a more degrading punishment by asking alms, where absolute infirmity does not establish a claim to full subsistence."

PART I. SOUTHEY.

"The dwellings of the labouring manufacturers are in narrow streets and lanes, blocked up from light and air, and crowded together because every inch of land is of such value, that room for light and air cannot be afforded them Here in Manchester a great proportion of the poor lodge in cellars, damp and dark, where every kind of filth is suffered to accumulate, because no exertions of domestic care can ever make such homes decent. These places are so many hot-beds of infection; and the poor in large towns are rarely or never without an infectious fever among them, a plague of their own, which leaves the habitations of the rich, like a Goshen of cleanliness and comfort, unvisited."

"When the poor are incapable of contributing any longer to their own support, they are removed to what is called the workhouse. I cannot express to you the feeling of hopelessness and dread with which all the decent poor look on to this wretched termination of a life of labour To this place all vagrants are sent for punishment; unmarried women with child go here to be delivered; and poor orphans and base-born children are brought up here till they are of age to be apprenticed off; the other inmates are those unhappy people who are utterly helpless, parish idiots and madmen, the blind and the palsied, and the old who are fairly worn out. It is not in the nature of things that the superintendants of such institutions as these should be gentle-hearted, when the superintendance is undertaken merely for the sake of the salary."

"To this society of wretchedness the labouring poor of England look as their last resting place on this side of the grave, and rather than enter abodes so miserable, they endure the severest privations as long as it is possible to exist. A feeling of honest pride makes them shrink from a place where guilt and poverty are confounded; and it is heart-breaking for those who have reared a family of their own to be subjected, in their old age, to the harsh and unfeeling authority of persons younger than themselves, neither better born nor better bred."

"Perhaps the pain—the positive bodily pain which the poor of Britain endure *from cold*, may be esteemed the worst evil of their poverty Coal is every where dear except in the neighbourhood of the collieries; and especially so in London, where the number of the poor is of course greatest. You see women raking the ashes in the streets, for the sake of the half burnt cinders. What a picture does one of their houses present in the depth of winter! the old cowering over a few embers—the children shivering in rags, pale and livid—all the activity and joyousness natural to their time of life chilled within them. The numbers who perish from diseases produced by exposure to cold and rain, by unwholesome food, and by the want of enough even of that, would startle as well as shock you. Of the children of the poor, hardly one third are reared."

"To talk of English happiness is like talking of Spartan freedom, the helots are overlooked. In no country can such riches be acquired by commerce, but it is the one who grows rich by the labour of the hundred. The hundred human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by Nature, gifted with the like capacities, and equally made for immortality, are sacrificed body and soul. Horrible as it must needs appear, the assertion is true to the very letter. They are deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment; of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges; of fresh air by day and of natural sleep by night. Their health, physical and moral, is alike destroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting task-work, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic

or vegetable dust which they are continually inhaling; or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope; without morals, without religion, and without shame; and bring forth *slaves* like themselves to tread in the same path of misery."

"Let us leave to England the boast of supplying all Europe with her wares. The poor must be kept miserably poor, or such a state of things could not continue; there must be laws to regulate their wages, not by the value of their work but by the pleasure of their masters; laws to prevent their removal from one place to another within the kingdom, and to prohibit their emigration out of it.

"The gentry of the land are better lodged, better accommodated, better educated than their ancestors; the poor man lives in as poor a dwelling as his forefathers, when they were slaves of the soil, works as hard, is worse fed, and not better taught. His situation, therefore, is relatively worse."

There is nothing in the foregoing statements which is not fully confirmed in the late Reports of the select committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws. The report dated July, 1817, makes, with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee, a folio of 168 pages. It unfolds a state of society extraordinary and deplorable beyond the utmost stretch of the imagination, in reference to a country, wearing, externally, an aspect of the highest general vigour and prosperity. The passages which I am about to extract, can convey no idea of the impression left by the whole.

"Your committee cannot but fear, from a reference to the *increased* numbers of the poor, and increased and increasing amount of the sums raised for their relief, that this system of poor laws is perpetually increasing the amount of misery it was designed to alleviate.

"The result appears to have been highly prejudicial to the moral habits, and consequent happiness, of a great body of the people, who have been reduced to the degradation of a dependence upon parochial support."

"In 1803, the sum raised, as poor rates, was 5,848,205*l.*; in 1815, 7,068,999*l.* It is apparent, that both the number of paupers, and the amount of money levied by assessment, are progressively increasing, while the situation of the poor appears not to have been improved. In practice, the burden has been imposed almost exclusively on land and houses."

"Of the cultivator of a small farm, it has been said, forcibly and truly, that 'he rises early, and it is late before he can retire to rest; he works hard and fares hard; yet with all his labour and his care, he can scarcely provide subsistence for his numerous family. He would feed them better, but the prodigal must *first* be fed; he would purchase warmer clothing for his children, but the children of the prostitute must *first* be clothed.'"

"The independent spirit of mind which induced individuals in the labouring classes to exert themselves to the utmost, before they submitted to become paupers, is much impaired; this order of persons are every day becoming less and less unwilling to add themselves to the list of paupers."

"In the petition from the parish of Wombridge, in Salop, the petitioners state, 'that the annual value of land, mines, and houses in this parish is not sufficient to maintain the numerous and increasing poor, even if the same were to be set free of rent, and that these circumstances will inevitably compel the occupiers of lands and mines to relinquish them, and the poor will be without relief, or any known mode of obtaining it, unless some assistance be speedily afforded them.' And your committee apprehend, from the petitions before them, that this is one only of many parishes which are fast approaching to a state of dereliction."

PART I.

"In proportion to the aggregate number of persons who are reduced to this unfortunate dependence on parish relief, must be not only the increase of misery to each individual, but also the moral deterioration of the people."

"The casualties of sickness and old age do not constitute the greater proportion of the demands upon the poor's rate which have raised it to its present high amount; a much greater proportion consists of allowances distributed in most parts of England to the labouring poor, in addition to their wages, by reason of the number of their children."

"Not only the labourers who have hitherto maintained themselves are reduced to seek assistance from the rate, but the smaller capitalists themselves are gradually reduced, by the burden of the assessments, to take refuge in the same resource."

"A practice has long prevailed in agricultural parishes, of sending men, out of work, to work for the inhabitants of the parish, according to their share of the rate."

"In 1815, the sums expended in litigation on account of paupers, and in their removal, amounted to 287,000*l*. The appeals against orders of removal, entered at the four last quarter sessions, amounted to 4,700. Great, however, as the inconvenience confessedly is, of this constant and increasing litigation, there are still other effects of the law of settlement, which it is yet more important to correct; such are the frauds so frequently committed by those who are intrusted to prevent even the probability of a burden being brought on their parish; and such are the measures, justifiable undoubtedly in point of law, which are adopted very generally in many parts of the kingdom, to defeat the obtaining a settlement; the most common of these latter practices is that of hiring labourers for a less period than a year; from whence it naturally and necessarily follows, that a labourer may spend the season of his health and industry in one parish, and be transferred in the decline of his life to a distant part of the kingdom."

Minutes of Evidence—Extracts from the Examinations of different witnesses, overseers of the poor, &c.

"What do you consider the capacity for accommodation of the workhouse in your parish; what number ought to be accommodated? It will not accommodate more than 400 well; there are many of them now three and four in a bed, and I believe the boys are *six*; the master told me so. If the house was spacious enough, I think I could write in a hundred families to-morrow."

"Joseph Fletcher, Esq. The poor-house, you say, is overflowing; what is the capacity of the accommodation in that poor-house?—I think the poor-house never was intended to accommodate more than 180, or 200 the outside, and we have in it, I believe, 260 or 270, if not more.

"How many sleep in a bed?—two or three grown persons; grown persons two in all beds, and some three, and some four.

"Have you any means of separating the profligate from those well ordered and well behaved?—Not sufficient means; it is a difficult matter to say which are very bad, and which a little better.

"Joseph Sabine, Esq.—You live in Hertfordshire?—Yes. At one time your poor were farmed? Only those in the workhouse; we now pay our workhouse man five shillings per head per week; he maintains the paupers and has the benefit of their labour.

"From your extensive knowledge of the labouring classes, what do you suppose has been the cause of the general increase of poor's rates, and the decrease of happiness among them? Losing the feeling of independence they had, and their indifference about taking relief."

"The Rev. Richard Vernon.—You are rector of the parish of Bush? Yes. Is your's a purely agricultural parish? Yes. Would a man with

twelve shillings a week maintain four in a family? That must be calculated on the price of bread, or potatoes rather, for they are cheap.

"What are the weekly earnings of your labourers in general? Twelve shillings they call it. We have many families who do not belong to us, and we keep them in the parish for fear of what *a pauper will swear, for to belong to a parish he likes, he will swear any thing.*

"What is your opinion of the workhouses? That they act two ways, one a little good, and a very great evil; the little good is, that they act as goals to terrify people from coming to the parish; the evil is, that when they are in, however loath they were to get there, they soon become used to it, and never get out again.

"You conceive it corrupts the morals of the people? Completely. I believe it impossible to mix the lower orders of mankind without doing mischief.

"Should you not think workhouses, which should be considered as hospitals for the aged, and schools for the young, as beneficial to the individuals, and economical to the parish? Certainly not; as schools for the young nothing can be more shocking, except a gaol; and as for the old, they are more comfortable a hundred times in private houses with their relations and friends.

"Do you see any disposition in the young persons to help their parents, by giving them any of their earnings? No; the poor rate prevents that; they must go to the parish."

"John Bennet, Esq.—In what parish do you live? In Tisbury; a large parish about three miles from Hindon.

"Have you any persons whose wages will not maintain them and their families, to whom you give relief from the poor rates? A vast number, I think *three parts out of four* of our labouring population.

"Do you think the morals of the lower classes have been much deteriorated of late years? Very much.

"Is the custom altered in your county of hiring their labourers short of the year? Yes, we never hire by the year now; we hire *to evade the settlement of the labourer*, for six, nine months, &c.

"I am perfectly convinced the price of labour at present, and for the last three years (7s. per week) has never been repaid to the farmer, including all other things; the farmer has never received a remuneration for the labour, generally including poor rates, taxes, and all other things."

"Mr. William Rankin.—You reside at Bocking? Yes. You say the amount of the poor rates during the last year, in your parish, is about 5000*l.*? Yes. The rate last year was nearly 18s. in the pound; this year it is 23s."

"Mr. Thomas Lacoast, of the parish of Chetsey.—Do you not conceive the labourers, if they were provided for in the house of a farmer, and under the superintendance of a master and mistress, would be more capable of doing work, and at the same time live cheaper than if they provided for themselves?—I certainly think it would be better for the labourers; I am sure that a man who does not live well cannot do the work so well as a man who does. I have a man who is very honest and works very hard, and I pay him long wages for doing it, and he has been at my house not less than nineteen hours out of the twenty-four; and I found he complained that he was not able to do the work, and I gave him his dinner afterwards every day, and since that he has been able to do the work."

"Rev. J. W. Cunningham.—You are vicar of Harrow? Yes. Have you any communication to make respecting 'Friendly Benefit Societies for the Poor.' I have had an opportunity of knowing perhaps sixty or seventy Friendly Societies, pretty accurately, and the general state of those I have observed is of this kind: They are all held at public houses;

PART I. their principle universally is, either to forfeit one-eighth of the whole savings for the benefit of the public house, to spend in beer, or else one-fourth. Among these sixty or seventy, I do not know a single exception to that case; they drink for the benefit of the house, a pot or a pint of beer each person. This morning I was examining into the case of two in which there were sixty members; a member told me there were very rarely twenty who attended; therefore, in each of those cases they drank sixty pots of beer, and of course got to a state in which, if they could, they would drink sixty more; and that principle I believe to be almost universal; it certainly is in my own neighbourhood; in a large number of those societies now, I need hardly say, that the *demoralizing effects of Beneficial Societies*, under their present constitution, is perfectly enormous."

(NOTE Y. p. 413.)

The state of religion in America has been at all times a theme of invective and affected lamentation, in England. As the majority of the American population was composed, from the outset, of dissenters, the established church naturally found them horribly delinquent in respect to Christianity. We have English sermons of an early date, particularly one of the celebrated Archbishop Secker, when Bishop of Oxford, delivered in 1740, before the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in which New England is represented as being without the knowledge of God, and about to return to "entire barbarism." His lordship particularly complained that there were several districts in America of sixty or seventy miles long, having but one minister to officiate in them. The case was undoubtedly the same in some parts of England and Scotland, when the reproof was uttered, and it is so still in the latter country. We read in the history of the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the proposition of Mr. Vansittart, (May 18, 1818,) to appropriate money to the building of new churches, what follows.

"Mr. C. Grant said, that he hoped the House would see the necessity of extending the benefits of the grant for the erection of new churches to Scotland. To his own knowledge, there were several districts in the northern part of the kingdom, some of sixty miles in length, and twenty in breadth, without a church sufficient to contain the one-twentieth part of the population."

The Quarterly Review has acknowledged, within the last three years, that the populace of England are "more ignorant of their religious duties than they are in any other Christian country;" and that "two-thirds of the lower order of English are errant and unconverted Pagans." Nevertheless, it holds itself entitled to commisserate our unhappy lot, in being without an established church. We may fairly, therefore, enquire, by what traits this institution is distinguished in England, apart from the circumstance of its having left so large a portion of her population in the darkness of gentilism.

Before I adduce the extracts which I propose to make from *British* statements, for the illustration of the point, I ought to remind my reader, that the English hierarchy has an immense revenue; but that those who discharge the common parochial duties of the church are miserably provided. In the year 1810, it was proposed by the British ministry to appropriate 100,000*l.* as a temporary relief for the poorer clergy. Some members of the Opposition suggested that instead of laying an additional burden on the people, the higher benefices,

and the livings in the gift of the Crown, should be taxed in favour of those real and almost starving labourers in the vineyard of the Gospel. This plan was contested and rejected. The Report of the Debate in Hansard's volume (xvii.) furnishes the following matter, part of the speech of the Earl of Harrowby (the mover of the grant.) PART I.

"About three-fifths of the livings in England are in lay-patronage, and the advowsons are a part of the estates of the proprietors, bought and sold like other estates, for a valuable consideration.

"Livings in private patronage are usually disposed of to the friends, relations, or private connections of the patron.

"The whole number of livings under 150*l.* a year did not seem to exceed 4000.

"But it had been generally supposed that the poor livings were chiefly confined to the parishes in which the population was inconsiderable, and the duty light; remote villages, where we wished certainly to give the clergyman a better income, because it was not fitting that he should receive less than a day labourer, but where his poverty was out of sight, and did not affect the interests of any considerable portion of the community. If such a supposition had been entertained, the accounts, now open upon the table, would prove its error. Of the whole number of livings under 150*l.* per annum, there were above 600 which (in 1810) had a population of between 500 and 1000 persons, and near 500 livings, with a population of above 1000. Of these 79 had between 2 and 3000—35 between 3 and 4000—17 between 4 and 5000—10 between 5 and 6000—and a considerable number much more; perhaps the strongest instance was in the diocese of Chester. In 15 parishes, of which six were in Liverpool, four in Manchester, three in Whitehaven, two in Oldham, one in Warrington, one in Blackburn, and one in Preston, there was a population of above 208,000 persons. The revenue of the church in these three parishes, was 1,315*l.* amounting to about 1½d. per ann. per soul. In Wolverhampton, Coventry, Sunderland, and Newcastle, there were cases fully as strong. Taking 492 as the number of parishes, of which the population exceeded 1000, and the income did not exceed 150*l.* per annum (exclusive of Birmingham and Halifax, in which the population of the different parishes was not distinguished,) these 492 livings comprehended near 1,200,000 persons, and the aggregate revenue of the church was only 42,046*l.*

"In stating the whole income of the church, in these 492 parishes, to amount to only 42,000*l.* their lordships must be aware, that he had far overstated the actual incomes of those who performed these labours, because half at least of these parishes might be supposed to be held by non-resident incumbents, who would of course leave to *their Curates only a part of the profits of their livings*. The number of livings, under 150*l.* was 3997, and the resident incumbents were 1494."

"Of incumbents, legally resident, in 11,164 parishes, there were, according to the bishop's returns in 1807, *only* 4412. If you added to these, 152 persons, who lived in their own or their relatives houses, within the parish, and 176 who lived near, and did duty, the number of incumbents legally or virtually resident would amount to 5040. There were 340 other persons returned as exempt, on account of cathedral or college offices, many of whom might probably be resident part of the year, although they did not fulfil the conditions of legal residence, and the same observation might apply to many other persons under different classes of non-residents. The number of 5040 was, however, all that appeared upon the returns; of these resident incumbents, those who possessed incomes under 150*l.* per annum, were, 1214; adding those of this class who might be considered virtually resident, the number would be 1494. It was, however, too large an allowance to include as virtual residents, all those who resided near, and did the duty, for

PART I.

many cases must occur in which the parish saw nothing of its pastor, except when he performed the service of church once a week, or once a month, in the course of his morning or evening ride. Of the remaining 2503 parishes, of which the income was not 150*l.* a year, and where the incumbent neither actually nor virtually resided, the income of the officiating clergyman could only be what the incumbent was able to spare out of his own pittance, or rather, generally, it must be the lowest price at which it was possible to get the labour performed. The power of the bishop to raise the salaries of the curates was rarely exerted, and its effect might be defeated by private agreement between the parties.

"This was therefore the state of the church, as it appeared upon the returns; on 11,164 parishes there were 3556 legally, or actually resident incumbents, with incomes of 150*l.* per annum, and 1494 with incomes below that sum. The remaining 6124 parishes were left (subject to the preceding observations) chiefly to the charge of curates. That the non-residence of incumbents existing to so enormous an extent, was a serious evil, he would not stop to argue; the main question was, whether it was an evil which the liberality of parliament, without a revision of the existing laws, repecting non-residence, and pluralities, could alone remedy.

"The present practice, according to which, the non-resident incumbents of livings of 50*l*, 60*l.*, or 70*l.* a year, put into their own pockets a portion of this wretched pittance, and left *much less than the wages of a day labourer for the subsistence of their curates*, appeared to him far from creditable to the parties concerned, and calculated to degrade the character of the church. Many instances came within his own knowledge, in which parishes were served for 20*l.*, or even for 10*l.* per annum, and in which, of course, all they knew of their clergyman was the sound of his voice, in the reading desk or pulpit, once a week, or a fortnight, or a month. This must also be the case where curates are permitted to serve more than two churches.

"In the present state of the law, or at least, according to the present mode of executing it, there was a great difficulty in obtaining permission to erect an additional place of worship, according to the church of England, within the limits of an existing parish. The inhabitants, therefore, had no choice. They might prefer the church of England, but that church shut her doors against them; they had, therefore, no option, but either to neglect divine worship entirely, or to attend it in a form which they did not so well approve."

After Lord Harrowby had finished his statements,—of which that part relating to the non-residence of the reverend usufructuaries of no less than six thousand one hundred and twenty-four livings out of eleven thousand one hundred and sixty-four, is so instructive and extraordinary—the Earl of Stanhope proceeded in this strain:

"However he might in general differ from the noble earl, he had always listened to him with a certain degree of satisfaction, because that noble earl always appeared as contradistinguished to many of his colleagues, to speak really what he meant.

"In his present speech there was much to approve, and he had only to observe, that if from his lips similar observations had fallen, he would be charged as the libeller of the church, as the enemy of our religious interests, and the plague knew what.

"He would venture to predict, that, whether you voted six millions, or sixty millions, whether you built churches or no churches, whether you calumniated Dissenters or otherwise, the number of communicants of the establishment would decrease, and that of Dissenters increase, as long as they saw the church of England made the engine of state policy; as long as they saw its prelates translated and preferred, not for their

religious merits, but their slavish support to the ministers of the day. For he would ask the noble earl fairly to answer, if he knew of no preferments in the higher ranks of the clergy conferred upon such pretensions? When he saw the bishops, according to the injunctions of their religion, voting against wars, when he saw them voting for the liberties of the people, then he would pronounce that the church of England had no reason to fear." PART I.

With the established religion, there exists, strange as it may appear, a vast deficiency of places of worship, so that a great proportion of the British population, greater, I will venture to assert, than the proportion of our own so situated, has no access to public worship. I will offer in proof, the statements made the last year in the House of Commons, on the occasion already mentioned, of a grant for the erection of new churches.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, (March 16, 1818) *that for more than a century*, the want of accommodation for public worship had been felt by the members of the established church as a most serious evil; and an attempt had been made so long ago by parliament to remedy it, so far as respected the metropolis and its immediate vicinity. This attempt, however, though attended with considerable expense, had been very imperfect in its execution, *only eleven churches having been built out of fifty*, which it was proposed to erect. Since that time no farther steps had been taken by public authority, though the evil had been perpetually increasing with the growing population of the country. He had extracted from parliamentary accounts a list of twenty-seven parishes, in which the deficiency of churches was most enormous. The excess of the inhabitants beyond the means of accommodation in the churches exceeds 20,000 in each. Of these, sixteen were in or about London, and eleven in great provincial towns In three of them the excess in each was above 50,000 souls:—in four more from 40 to 50,000;—in eight from 30 to 40,000:—and in the remaining twelve, from 20 to 30,000. In Liverpool, out of 94,376 inhabitants, 21,000 only could be accommodated in the churches, leaving a deficiency of 73,376;—in Manchester, of 79,459, only 10,950, leaving 68, 509; and in Mary-le-bone, of 75,624, no more than 8700, leaving 66,924 without the means of accommodation. It thus appeared, that in three parishes only, there were near 210,000 inhabitants who could not obtain access to their churches.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, (March 18, 1818.) that the population of London and its vicinity, was 1,129,551; of whom the churches and episcopal chapels can only contain 151,536, leaving an excess of 977,915.

"In the dioceses of York and Chester, the disproportion of population to the capacity of churches, was little less than in the district of the metropolis. In the diocese of York there were ninety-six churches, which afford room for 139,163 inhabitants—the whole population amounted to 720,091, so that there was a deficiency of accommodation for 580,928. In that of Chester, there were one hundred and sixty-seven parishes, the churches in which would contain 228,696; but the actual population was no less than 1,286,702, leaving a deficiency of 1,040,006.

"In cases such as these, the impossibility in which the far greater part of the inhabitants were placed, of attending divine service even once a day, was, however, by no means the only evil. There were many other most important functions of his sacred office, which it was impossible for any clergyman, however zealous and laborious, adequately to discharge towards a population of 40 or 50,000 souls, or even a much smaller number.

With respect to the deficiency in the number of places for public worship, Lord Selsey remarked, "the fact was too notorious to require

PART I. explanation. Many parts of the kingdom, he lamented to say, were utterly destitute of any means of acquiring moral instruction."

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, on the same occasion on which we made the statements quoted from him above, that the church of Scotland stood equally in need of assistance. The committee of the church of Scotland has, in fact, lately represented, that, in that country, there are forty-seven parishes in need of churches or chapels, and *eighty-eight* other parishes but ill supplied with religious instruction.

During the discussion, in the House of Commons, of the question of erecting new places of worship, the following, among many representations of like import, were made by members of the highest distinction.

Lord Milton said, that "there was hardly a parish church in the kingdom, in which great encroachments had not been made, by persons of wealth, on that part of the church which was the property of the population of the parish."

"Where tithes exist," said Mr. Brougham, "the pastor is seen in the light of a tax-gatherer. Among the causes of irreligion or lukewarmness, and ecclesiastical feuds and schisms, he believed none to be so prominent as the disputes which arose out of tithes."

"*A large proportion*," said Sir Charles Monck, "of the present endowments of the church are employed in a manner not at all calculated to promote the interests of religion."

The mere fact of non-residence, that is to say, the total personal dereliction of their parishes, by so large a proportion of the holders of benefices, ministers of the Gospel, who had solemnly declared, on entering into holy orders, that they verily believed themselves moved by the Holy Ghost,—the mere fact bespeaks a great perversion of character and functions among the clergy of the established church. It is in a British publication of no inconsiderable note and authority, the Christian Observer, for Nov. 1811, that I find the following details, which could not have been hazarded, if not in great part indisputably true.

"Christianity forms little or no part in the regular plan of instruction at our universities. Contrary to our experience in every other profession, candidates for our ministry are taught every branch of science but that in which they are to practise. Chapel is not attended till it is half over. Many go there intoxicated, as to a kind of roll call: and though the assumption of the Lord's supper is peremptory upon the students, no care is taken to teach them its importance."

"So very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, or religion."

"A great proportion of our clergy are a set of men, wrapt up in secular pursuits, with a total indifference to the spiritual duties of their calling. Many of them seem to consider, that they are appointed to a life of sloth and inactivity, or merely to feed upon the fat of the land; and that, in return for immense and growing revenues, they have only to gabble through a few formal offices."

"Many in the higher offices of the church are distinguished for learning and piety, but, for all this, we may fear that a great proportion of the clergy are the very reverse of these high examples—and betray an indifference of conduct, and dissoluteness of manners, which, whilst it is most shameful to them, would not be borne with in any other state of life."

"A horse race, a fox chase, or a boxing match, is never without its reverend attendants; and the man, who, in the house of God, hurries over the offices of devotion, as beneath his attention, will be seen, the next day, the noisy toast-master, or songster, of a club. Their professional indolence, but one degree removed from positive misconduct

their occasional activity, at a county election, in a cathedral county-town. You have the honour of finding yourself, in such contests, acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries, and minor canons, without number. On such occasions grave, very grave persons are to be seen, shouting the chorus of some election ribaldry, whose zeal, or even common industry, upon important topics, had never been witnessed."

We are not at a loss for still higher authority on this subject. The late Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, wrote thus in his "Memoirs" recently given to the world.

"It has been said (I believe by D'Alembert,) that the highest offices in church and state resemble a pyramid whose top is accessible to only two sorts of animals, eagles and reptiles. My pinions were not strong enough to pounce upon its top, and I scorned by creeping to ascend its summit. Not that a bishoprick was then, or ever, an object of my ambition; for I considered the acquisition of it as no proof of personal merit, inasmuch *as bishopricks are as often given to the flattering dependants*, or to the unlearned younger branches of noble families, as to men of the greatest erudition; and I considered the possession of it as a frequent occasion of personal demerit; *for I saw the generality of the bishops bartering their independence and the dignity of their order for the chance of a translation;* and polluting gospel-humility by the pride of prelacy. I used then to say, and I say so still, render the office of a bishop respectable, by giving some civil distinction to its possessor, in order that his example may have more weight with both the laity and clergy. Annex to each bishoprick some portion of the royal ecclesiastical patronage *which is now prostituted by the chancellor and the minister of the day to the purpose of parliamentary corruption.*"

In a remarkable work, entitled, "The State of the Established Church, in a series of Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Percival," it is said, that the London clergy afford a faint, though laudable exception to the above general description. I am not disposed to question the fact, but I lay before the American reader, that he may judge for himself, the following extract from the proceedings of the British House of Commons, on the 24th March, 1819.

"Sir James Graham called the attention of the house to the situation of the clergy of fifty of the parishes in the city of London. In *thirty* out of the *fifty* parishes, the petitioners performed the duty in person."

"Mr. Harvey said, he was of opinion that the petitioners were endeavouring, by slow, but sure degrees, to accomplish designs which they dared not unfold at once, as they knew *the rapacity which was their characteristic*, would not fail to cause the house to repel them with indignation if those designs were fully known. The Hon. Baronet had endeavoured to awaken the sympathy of the house for these gentlemen, but he (Mr. Harvey) stated almost all of them to have 400*l.* per annum, and some had 600*l.* or more. Above twenty were pluralists, and if they had no residences in the city, it was because they were the best calculators in it, and preferred letting their houses for the sake of the profit that might be thus obtained. Not one of them dared to call on the house to take his individual case into consideration. The value they themselves attached to their own labours, might be collected from the sums they paid to the curates who officiated for them, and who received 50*l.*, 60*l.*, or 70*l.* per annum from those who were in the yearly receipt of 1000*l.*, 1500*l.*, or 2000*l.*"

Now what are the character and situation of the episcopal clergy throughout this country, where the church is divorced from the state? As a body they are unimpeachable in all respects; of the best morals and most regular habits; indefatigable in discharging the most solemn of trusts; ever at the post of duty. One small part of them is not

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endowed with princely revenues, while the majority drag on a life of indigence and abjection. The provision for each member is not ample, but for the most part enough to assure a decent, comfortable, and independent existence. The same remarks may be extended to our regular clergy of every description, among whom non-residence and pluralities are unknown, and whose stipend arises directly as it were, from the esteem and confidence of their parishioners.

The detections lately made in England, respecting the abuse of the public charities, with which the established clergy are so largely connected, furnish additional proof of the state of things implied by the circumstance of "three-fifths of the livings being in lay patronage, and being usually disposed of to the private connexions of the patron." The Bill for enquiring into the malversation of the charities, which Mr. Brougham, as the chairman of the education committee, introduced into the House of Commons, was vehemently opposed in the upper house by the prelates, and destroyed through their influence. There are, it would seem, five hundred free schools in England and Wales, all of which are grossly perverted from their purpose. "It is absolutely necessary," said Lord Eldon, speaking as chancellor, (C. 13. V. 580,) "that it should be perfectly known that charity estates all over the kingdom are dealt with in a manner most grossly improvident, amounting to the most direct breach of trust." The Report of the committee of Parliament on the education of the lower orders, (May 1818,) is still stronger on this head. "It appears clearly from the returns," says the committee, "as well as from other sources, that a very great deficiency exists in the means of educating the poor, wherever the population is thin and scattered over the county districts. The efforts of individuals combined in societies are almost wholly confined to populous places."

"In the course of their enquiries your committee have incidentally observed that charitable funds, connected with education, are not alone liable to great abuses. *Equal negligence and malversation appear to have prevailed in all other charities.*"

Mr. Brougham, the chairman of the committee, said (June 3d, 1818,) "that it had been generally granted, indeed nothing was more manifest to the committee of that house, that abuses prevailed, not alone in the charities connected with education, but in all other public charities, of what description soever. He would pledge himself to prove that of all the charities in which abuses exist, none were greater or grosser than in those where special visitors (to charitable institutions) were appointed. A variety of causes concurred to produce this evil. In some instances these visitors resided at a distance, and never exercised their powers; in others the visitor was the patron of the school, and did not correct abuses to which his system led; in others the visitor was the heir at law of the endower, and had rather pocket the funds than apply them to the proper purposes; and of course he did not visit his own sins very heavily on his own head. Indeed he could say positively that the grossest case of abuse that came before the committee, was of a charity where special visitors have been appointed, but who had never attended to their duties for twenty years."

As a specimen of these abuses, I take the following instance related in Mr. Brougham's admirable pamphlet—The "Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, respecting the Charities."

"The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln have the patronage as well as the superintendence of *Spital* charity; yet they allow the warden, *son of their Diocesan*, to enjoy the produce of large estates, devised to him *in trust for the poor* of two parishes, as well as of *the hospital*, while he only pays a few pounds to four or five of the latter. The Bishop himself is patron and visitor of Mere, and permits the warden, his nephew (for whom he made the vacancy by promoting his predecessor,) to enjoy and

underlet a considerable trust estate, paying only 24*l.* a year to the poor." (P. 25.) PART I.

"The statutes of Winchester College require, in the most express terms, that only "*the poor and indigent*" shall be admitted upon the foundation. They are, in fact, all children of persons in easy circumstances; many of opulent parents. Boys, when they attain the age of fifteen, solemnly swear that they have not 3*l.* 6*s.* a year to spend; yet as a practical commentary on this oath, they pay ten guineas a year to the masters, and the average of their expenses exceed 50*l.* It is ordered that if any boy comes into the possession of property to the amount of 5*l.* a year, he shall be expelled; and this is construed 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* regard being had to the diminished value of money, although the wardens, fellows and scholars all swear to observe the statutes "according to their plain, literal, and grammatical sense and understanding. The infractions of the original statutes are sought to be justified by the connivance of successive visitors, and it is alledged that they have even authorized them by positive orders (injunctions). But the statutes appointing the visitor, expressly prohibit him from altering them in any manner or way directly or indirectly, and declare all acts in contravention of them absolutely null. I must add, that notwithstanding the disregard shown to some statutes and some oaths, there was a strong disposition manifested in the members of the college to respect those which they imagined bound them to keep their foundation and their concerns secret."*

In his speech of May 1818, on this subject, Mr. Brougham stated, "that the whole income actually received by charities of all descriptions, might be between 7 or 800,000*l.*; but the sum which ought to be received by charities was nearer two millions sterling than fifteen hundred thousand;" and his account of the formation of this immense fund, so infamously plundered and dilapidated, is not a little remarkable.

"It is impossible," said the orator, "for me to close these remarks without expressing the extraordinary gratification which I feel, in observing how amply the poor of this country have in all ages been endowed by the pious munificence of individuals. It is with unspeakable delight that I contemplate the rich gifts that have been bestowed—the honest zeal displayed by private persons for the benefit of their fellow creatures. When we inquire from whence proceeded those magnificent endowments, we generally find that it is not from the public policy, nor the bounty of those who in their day possessing princely revenues, were anxious to devote a portion of them for the benefit of mankind—not from those, who having amassed vast fortunes by public employment, were desirous to repay in charity a little of what they had thus levied upon the state. It is far more frequently some obscure personage—some *tradesman* of humble birth, who, grateful for the education which had enabled him to acquire his wealth through honest industry, turned a portion of it from the claims of nearer connexions to enable other helpless creatures in circumstances like his own, to meet the struggles he himself had undergone."

The guardianship of what the honest tradesman had thus nobly appropriated, fell in a great measure to the *established church* as such, and the consequence is the waste of nearly two-thirds by embezzlement and neglect! It is incredible what opposition was made both in and out of parliament to the idea of a parliamentary commission for enquiring into charities having special "visitors, governors and overseers!" "Almost every considerable charity," says Mr. Brougham, "is subject to special visitation. We (the education committee) were severely reproved for pushing our inquiries into establishments destined it was said for the education of the upper classes, while our instructions

* P. 51, 2.

PART I. confined us to schools for the lower orders. Unfortunately, we no sooner looked into any of these institutions, than we found that this objection to our jurisdiction rested upon the very abuses, which we were investigating, and not upon the real nature of the foundation. For as often as we examined any establishment, the production of the charter or statutes proved that it was originally destined for the education of the poor.* The alarms conceived by the members and friends of the church at the prospect of a thorough investigation, and their strenuous, and in part successful, efforts to avert that calamity, are strikingly contrasted, as they are related by Mr. Brougham in his pamphlet, with the fact announced in the following statement.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer said (House of Commons, June 3d, 1818,) that the bill (on the subject of the charitable institution enquiry) exempted the schools of Quakers, and yet he was authorized to say from that respectable body of men, that they had not only no objection to the examination of their few charitable schools, but that they should rejoice at finding them made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry."

The advantage of an *established* church, as regards the cause of Christians, if not imaginary, would be shewn, at least in the greater morality and decorum of the lives of its professors and constitutional supporters. If it failed to make real Christians and exemplary citizens of its immediate allies, its superior influence in this respect with the mass of a nation might well be questioned. We have seen how the case stands as to the Episcopal clergy, in England. Now what is it as to the royal family, the peers, and gentry? Have the princes set a Christian example? In the scandalous debate of the House of Commons (April 13th, 1818,) respecting the marriage of the royal family, lord Castlereagh remarked that "of the seven sons of his Majesty, not one, although the youngest was forty-five years of age, had any lawful issue. To excite some of the members of the royal family to marriage was now an object of consequence. The Prince Regent, sensible of this, had made offers to such of his royal brothers as could reconcile marriage to their feelings."

The open concubinage in which they have lived, without being proscribed by the established church, is sufficiently notorious. On the subject of these misogamists, I need only repeat the phrase of Mr. Wilberforce, uttered in the House of Commons on the day after the debate just mentioned.

"As to the allusion made to the character of the princes, he agreed that we had no right to enter into the discussion of any man's private character. But yet it was impossible to suppress what we saw, and felt, and thought."

To what class of persons belong those flagrant cases of adultery with which the English newspapers are filled? To the nobility and gentry, the hereditary pillars of the *establishment*. Who give the grand dinner parties and concerts, which distinguish the Sabbath in London? Who make a gala-day of it in the Park, and in fact take the lead in its desecration? How is it spent by the high officers of state, the cabinet-ministers, &c.?

The spirit of toleration is not, indeed, the distinguishing trait in the history of the Christian world, but this spirit is, doubtless, one of the ends of Christianity. How far it has been displayed and cultivated by the established church of England, is seen from the contents of a preceding note (V). I will make the case somewhat more plain by a few additional facts stated upon Parliamentary authority. There are very near one hundred and fifty acts on the British statute-book, relative to

* Letter to sir Samuel Romilly, p. 481.

test oaths, of supremacy, allegiance, abjuration, &c. (Mr. Croker, May 3d, 1819, House of Commons.) Catholic emancipation has been now agitated in Parliament since forty years. (Mr. Grattan, May 3d, 1819,) The principal tenets of the Catholic religion—transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the invocation of saints, are still declared *idolatrous* on the British statute-book. Thus, near five millions of the inhabitants of the British Isles, are held and stigmatized by law as *idolaters*. Earl Grey, in the House of Lords (May 17th, 1819,) and general Thornton, in the House of Commons (May 7th, 1818,) moved to expunge from the British code, this insult and injustice to so large a portion of his majesty's subjects; but they could make no impression upon the majority of Parliament. The Earl of Donoughmore, in supporting the Catholic petition, in the House of Peers, in 1818, related the following anecdote:

The Earl of Donoughmore said "a circumstance had happened in the metropolis itself, which he would state. It was a toast given *in a large society of gentlemen*, and which is resorted to by none but persons who, in point of situation and prosperity, are entitled to that denomination. But what was this toast? it was so nauseous and disgusting, that it was with difficulty that he could prevail upon himself to pollute their lordships House by the mere repetition of it. "The pope in the pillory, the pillory in hell—pelted with priests by the devil!"

"But this was not a mean drunken folly;—it was the sober malignity of the bigot which the unguarded sincerity of beastly debauch had indiscreetly brought into open day. And all this took place in the metropolis, as he had already stated, which was the station of a Parliament, and is still the residence of the king's representative."

Thus, in whatever point of view we look at the established church in England, we do not find it accomplishing any thing for Christianity beyond what is effected elsewhere under a different system. It has not produced a better clergy; nor a more moral gentry; nor a more educated and christianized people; it has left a great part of the nation without instruction; without temples of worship; it has tended to degrade the clerical character by the intrigue and competition to which its large livings have given rise; and by the abject poverty and disparity of rank to which those of its professors not so fortunate as to gain the prizes in the lottery, have been condemned. It may be an excellent engine of state; but, as our civil institutions, with which we are perfectly content, do; not stand in need of such aid, we cheerfully leave the honor and profit of it to England.

(NOTE Z. p. 424.)

In addition to the facts respecting the condition and character of the British population and institutions, which I have scattered through the preceding notes; I will present the reader, here, with a miscellany of a similar purport, vouched by parliamentary and other unquestionable evidence. It cannot be thought harsh, if, too, I subjoin a few extracts from British newspapers and journals, in the manner of the English travellers and critics, when they treat of our affairs. The Quarterly Review lays great stress upon scraps picked out of American gazettes, as illustrations of the state and morals of the whole American people. Nec lex ulla æquior est, &c.

HOSPITALS, PRISONS, IMPRISONMENTS, &c.

In 1814, says the Parliamentary Report on the Police of the Metropolis, ninety-eight boys under sixteen were committed to Newgate; four of them of nine years, eight of them of ten years, and twelve

PART I. of them of eleven years of age. In 1815, ninety-eight boys under sixteen were committed; and in 1816, 146 of the same age were committed. In 1816, there were committed 1683 persons under twenty, of these 1281 were of seventeen and under, and 957 of these of seventeen years of age and under, were committed for felonies. From the 25th of August, 1814, to October 1816, 200 boys had been in custody. Of these, twenty-tree had been in custody for the first offence; one aged sixteen had been forty times in custody, and another had been eighty times in custody; and 170 of them had been from three to four times in custody, for different offences. Of these 200 there were convicted 141; 26 of them capitally, the youngest of these was nine and a half years old; 42 were transported, the youngest of them was eleven; and 73 were imprisoned for different terms. Of these 200 two-thirds were under fourteen, and down to eight years of age. The remainder one-third were from fourteen to seventeen years of age. Of these 200 miserable beings, two-thirds could neither read nor write.

"On the subject of transportation, it appeared, that since 1812, 4659 persons had been transported to Botany Bay, of whom 3978 were males, and 681 females. Of these, 1116 were under twenty-one; of whom, 5 were of eleven years; 7 of twelve years; 17 of thirteen years; 32 of fourteen years; and 65 of fifteen years of age. Of these 4659 persons, 2055 were transported for life, 726 for fourteen years, and 1916 for seven years. Of 2038 who were on board the hulks in 1815, there were 111 under twenty years of age, amongst whom one was of eleven, two of twelve, and four of fourteen years of age. The number of boys of seventeen and under, confined in Newgate in 1817, was 359, and in 1818, of persons under twenty-one years of age, six hundred, including males and females."

"On the first day of January, 1817, there were on board the different hulks, two thousand and forty-one prisoners; from which time to the first of January, 1818, two thousand three hundred and sixty-four were received on board from the different goals; one thousand seven hundred and ninety have actually been transported to New South Wales, (being an excess of the preceeding year of seven hundred and eighty-two prisoners) forty-five have died; and four hundred and thirty-seven have been discharged, or removed to other places of confinement; leaving on board the respective ships on the first of January, 1818, two thousand one hundred and thirty-two prisoners." (Official Report to Lord Sidmouth.)

The third Report on the Prisons of the Metropolis, states, that through *three* of the prisons "there passed in 1819, 10,371 persons, all of whom must have gone away more corrupt than they came."

In the Report on Mendicity and Vagrancy, of the House of Commons, it is stated, that in one half of the cases of those who beg, beggary is the effect of real distress.

The number of street mendicants in London, was returned at 15,288, of whom 9218 were children.

Mr. Bennet said, June 5, 1818, "the House of Commons was probably not aware, that, from the year 1816 to 1818, no less than 3600 had been sent to Botany Bay; and that from the year 1798, it had cost the country no less than *four millions* to defray the expense of transportation."

In the three first months of the year 1818—118 persons were tried for forgery of Bank of England Notes—the expenses for which were *L.*19,982 5*s.* 6*d.*

Lord Castlereagh (March 1, 1819,) admitted, that it appeared by the returns, that within the last three or four years, crime had increased to an alarming extent, almost in the proportion of two to one; and comparing the commitments of the last year with those ten years ago, in

some classes of crime they were in the ratio of nearly three to one. Such a view was in some respects appalling. The punishment of death, certainly had increased in frequency in these kingdoms. At the close of the year 1805, the number of capital convictions was 350, and at the termination of the last year 1250."

Alderman Wood observed, (March 1, 1819,) "the great increase of crimes was to be ascribed to the promiscuous congregation of prisoners left without employment. He had, by virtue of an authority from Lord Sidmouth, visited all the goals in the country, and was convinced that it would take *six or seven years* to make an efficient parliamentary inquiry."

Mr W. Wynne, (March 11, 1819.) "He was shocked to find, and every man of humanity would shudder at the idea, that the lunatic seldom or ever obtained his release."

Mr. Bennet, (May 20, 1818,) presented the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Fever in the metropolis. In moving that the report be printed, the honourable member said, "the medical institutions of this city were very defective. In all the Hospitals it was the practice to mix cases of contagious fevers with common instances of indisposition, and the consequence was, that not only patients, but nurses and medical persons fell victims to this want of arrangement. And such was the deficiency of supply of assistance for the sick and diseased poor, that at the principal hospitals *four out of five cases* were weekly refused." The committee recommended these circumstances, and the evidence contained in the Report, to the consideration of his majesty's ministers.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said, (June 26, 1819.) "Their lordships on enquiry would find that deaths had occurred in lunatic establishments, and that it had been impossible for the magistrates after the strictest investigations, to discover in what manner the unfortunate beings had been disposed of. These facts offered strong grounds for their lordships adopting some system of regulation; but another powerful reason in favour of the bill was the situation of pauper lunatics. These unfortunate persons were left too much at the mercy of parish officers. Let their lordships read the evidence of a noble lord, a member of the other House of Parliament, he meant lord R. Seymour, and they would be convinced of the necessity of a remedy for the great abuses in the management of the insane poor. They were often kept in the workhouses till they became furious, and there were instances of their being bled until they became, from weakness, more manageable."

"An official return, printed by order of the House of Commons, presents in one view an accurate representation of the state of crimes made capital by the law, in the several years, from the year 1805 to the year 1818, inclusive. From this it appears, that the total number of persons convicted of burglary in said interval, was 1874, of whom, 199 were executed; of larceny in dwelling houses to the value of 40s. 1119, of whom 17 were executed; of forgery 501, of whom 207 were executed; horse stealing 852, of whom 35 were executed; house breaking in the day time, and larceny, 761, of whom 17 were executed; of murder 229, of whom 202 were executed; robbery on the person, the highway, and other places, 848, of whom 118 were executed; sheep stealing 896, of whom 43 were executed; making, with various other offences of a capital nature within said interval, a gross total of convicted, 8430, of whom 1035 were executed." (Bell's Weekly Messenger, March 29, 1819.)

Sir James Macintosh said, (March 3, 1819.) "The greatest change produced by the revolution of 1688, was what might be termed the establishment of a Parliamentary government. (Hear, hear.) Yet it had been attended with one important inconvenience—the unhappy

PART I. facility afforded to legislation; the ease with which every member of Parliament could indulge his whims and caprices; the little difficulty he found in obtaining measures to augment the number of capital felonies. [*Hear.*] An anecdote, confirmatory of this statement, was told by Mr. Burke, in the early part of his public career. He was about to leave the house, when he was detained by a gentleman who wished him to remain. Mr. Burke pleaded urgent business; and the reply of the individual who held him was, that the subject on which the house was engaged would very soon be dismissed, as it was only upon the subject of a capital felony, without benefit of clergy. [*Laughter.*] Mr. Burke had afterwards stated, that he had no doubt that he could, without difficulty, have obtained the assent of the house to any bill he brought in for capital punishment."

"Mr. Bennet observed, (June 26, 1816,) that the abuse of the system of solitary confinement had exceeded any thing that could have been imagined. For the crime of vagrancy a person had been subject to this terrible punishment for thirteen months, one for seven months, and one for four months.

"Among the cases mentioned in the return was that of a man who had been kept in solitary confinement three months, for destroying a pheasant's egg! That was to say the miserable being who fell under the sentence was kept twenty-three hours out of twenty-four within four small walls, without any kind of employment, either entirely open to the air, or quite excluded from light; and the crime for which this punishment was inflicted was the breaking of a pheasant's egg."

"Mr. Western said, (April 2, 1819,) that in looking at the returns already prepared for the years 1817 and 1818, it would appear that there were two thousand persons in each year, against whom either no bills were found, or who were not prosecuted, and two thousand six hundred who were acquitted. In the period which elapsed between July and the Lent assizes, many persons had been confined, who had remained in prison perhaps fourteen or fifteen months, before they had been tried—an enormous evil."

"Mr. M. A. Taylor asked, (May 26, 1818,) did the house consider it fit and proper that this state of things should continue; that in four counties there should be but one assize in a year; and that prisoners should, notwithstanding all the exertions of magistrates, in disposing of minor offences, lie for so many months in confinement, before they were brought to trial. A man, taken up on suspicion, and sent to the county gaol, must in such a case be ruined, however innocent of the crime imputed to him. We might boast as much as we pleased of our superior laws, and practice of administering them, but there was no country in Europe where so monstrous a defect existed in the judiciary system—a defect equally injurious to individuals and disgraceful to the character of justice. A case of manslaughter had recently occurred, in which the prisoner was acquitted, after lying eleven months in confinement; the whole punishment annexed by law to the conviction of that offence being but twelve months' imprisonment. One man he had known indicted for stealing a game cock, who was closely confined for nine months; and when he was at length brought to trial, there was not a shadow of evidence to prove his guilt."

"Mr. W. Smith said, (May 26, 1818,) that he had been informed by the town clerk of Norwich, that instances had occurred of persons being confined nine or ten months previously to their trial; and a navy surgeon had been confined for twelve months, and then acquitted. By so long an imprisonment, individuals sometimes suffered more than they would have done, if convicted, from the sentence of the law."

"Mr. Bennet said, (May 6, 1817,) that last year there was a wretched individual in the Fleet, who had been confined there, under an order

of the court of chancery, for contempt of court, for no less a time than thirty-one years. The name of that man was Thomas Williams. He had visited him in his wretched house of bondage, where he found him sinking under all the miseries that can afflict humanity; and on the following day he died. There were at this moment within the walls of the same prison, besides the petitioner, a woman who had been in confinement twenty-eight years, and two others who had been there seventeen years."

"It was worthy of remark that eight hundred persons were committed to Clerkenwell prison, in one year, chiefly for assaults."

The following is an authentic list of persons who, in October, 1817, were confined in *the Fleet prison alone*, for *contempt of court*, no other charges being alleged against them: viz. Hannah Baker, confined twenty-seven years; Charles Bulmer, eighteen years; Ann Britner, ten years; Richard Bell, five years; Matthew Bland, five years; Jeremiah Board, three years; Elizabeth Dawson, seven years; David William, six years; Mary Tiuch, three years; Samuel Mansell, four years; John Melson, three years; George Picked, fifteen years; Thomas Pale, three years; Peter Rigby, four years; I. Scribner, eight years; John Watts, four years; John Somax, seven years; William Smith, eighteen years.

"Mr. Bennet said, (March 28, 1817,) that the situation of the prisons in Dublin was miserable in the extreme, and certainly it could not be too much lamented that any human beings should be confined in them."

"Mr. Peele entirely coincided in the opinion of the honourable gentleman, as to the miserable state of the prisons in Ireland, and should be happy to find that any measures could be taken, which would lead to the amelioration of the condition of the wretched inmates."

"The Marquis of Lansdowne said, (June 3, 1818,) from the information contained in the report of the House of Commons on the state of the prisons of the kingdom, it appeared that, in the course of ten years, such had been the progress of crimes, that they had increased to three times their former amount. It was not improbable that, out of the number annually consigned to the prisons, *thirteen thousand* were permitted to return to society, either by being acquitted, or after having undergone the sentence of imprisonment. In what a state of degradation must they, under their present system, return to the duties, or, he was afraid, rather to the vices of civilized men."

"Mr. Buxton said, that from parliamentary documents it could be seen, that it was ten to one that an offender was not taken, fifty to one that he was not prosecuted, a hundred to one that he was not convicted, and more than a thousand to one that he was not executed."

"Alderman Wood rose (House of Commons, March 12, 1819). He said, that the petition which he had to present did not complain of the heavy burdens which the lord mayor and corporation had to bear, in supporting the various persons confined in the different prisons of the metropolis, but of the crowded state of the gaols at the present moment. They were so full, that it was totally impossible to attempt any reformation in their inmates, by classifying them, according to the crimes of which they had been guilty. Newgate was filled to repletion with criminals under different sentences: there were now in it forty-seven individuals condemned to death, besides sixteen individuals for lesser offences, who had been sent there by the magistrates from the Clerkenwell sessions. Of these sixteen he was sorry to observe that fifteen were for abominable and infamous offences, and that from want of space they had all been placed in one room. This was an evil which ought, by all means, to be remedied. There was another, also, which he wished to press upon the attention of the house. There was no

PART I. accommodation, in any of the prisons, for state prisoners; and he thought it rather hard that an individual of respectable rank and character should be compelled to herd with common felons, as he now was obliged to do, if committed by that house. Latterly, Newgate had been so crowded, that in the fifteen condemned cells they had been obliged to place the forty-seven men now under sentence of death, thus giving a proportion of more than three inmates to each cell; which was much greater than it ought to be."

"Men, who see their lives respected and thought of value by others, come to respect that gift of God themselves. Before he sat down, he begged leave to say a few words on a public spectacle, which had been made at Newgate, of a wretched man, who, being accused of murder, had destroyed himself. It was stated in the newspapers of that day, that the mangled and bloody corpse had been exhibited in an elevated situation, with a small gallows erected over it, to which was appended the fatal instrument of destruction. Such a horrid exposition, he was persuaded, was calculated to produce the most mischievous consequences on the men, women, and children by whom it was beheld." (Sir Samuel Romilly, ib. Feb. 25, 1818.)

"Mr. Buxton said, (March 3, 1819,) with respect to the effect which an execution was supposed to have upon the minds of the criminals, he could assure the house that it was next to nothing; and if any gentleman would expose his feelings to the pain of seeing one of these dreadful exhibitions, the truth of his assertion would immediately appear.

"He believed there was not a single instance of an execution having taken place, without some robberry being committed at the same time, under the gallows. Indeed, it had been admitted by one of the light-fingered gang, that an execution was their harvest, as, while people's eyes were open above, their pockets were loose below.

"There was a fact within his recollection, which, if possible, would place the matter in a stronger light. A man was executed in this metropolis for selling forged bank-notes: his body was given over to his family, and it was taken home. The first feeling would be that of compassion towards his afflicted children, and a disconsolate widow; but the house would be shocked to hear that this unhappy family and mourning friends were actually seized by the police-officers, in the act of selling forged notes, over the dead body. It was evident, therefore, that something ought to be done."

"From the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Police of the Metropolis, it appears that many thousands of boys are daily engaged in the commission of crime: that in one prison only (Clerkenwell), where young and old are all mixed indiscriminately together, three hundred and ninety-nine boys, under twenty, were confided for felonies in the last year; of whom was one of nine, two were of ten, seven of eleven, fourteen of twelve, and thirty-two of thirteen years of age!

"Nor is it possible to pass over, in this inquiry, the dreadful state of our infant population, and the alarming increase of *juvenile delinquency*. To no cause whatever can this be attributed to with so much certainty as to the depraved and hardened disposition of the parents, the result of that habit of intoxication, which induces them either to abandon their offspring altogether, or, in order to supply the cravings of their depraved appetites, to incite them to, and instruct them in, every species of theft and depredation. The extent to which this has been carried, not only in the metropolis, but in some of the principal towns in the kingdom, would be as incredible as it is disgraceful, were it not from its almost daily exposure in our judicial proceedings."

Roscoe's Observations on Penal Jurisprudence, 1819.

COURTS OF LAW AND CHANCERY.

[Mr. Brougham, June 3d, 1818.] A number of the objections which had been made to the bill (for a committee to enquire into the education of the poor) were grounded on the confidence which those who made them reposed in courts of law, as affording the means of correcting abuses. He confessed that he himself had not any reliance on courts of law in that respect, especially with reference to expedition and cheapness. He allowed those courts the possession of learning without stint. He allowed them great copiousness, great power of drawing out written argument. The faculty of caring nothing for the time and patience of suitors, and the hundreds of thousands of their clients' money they enjoyed in a perfection which the wildest sallies of imagination could not go beyond. But as to expedition and cheapness, and attention to the comfort of those who were involved in the business of those courts, they were qualities by which they were certainly not distinguished.

Notwithstanding all the good qualities on the part of the noble and learned lord (Chancellor,) it was his (Mr. Brougham's) duty to say, that there was something in the court of chancery that set at defiance all calculations of cost and time, and rendered the celebrated irony of Swift, when he made Gulliver tell the worthy Hynynhmn, his master, (what he says, his honour found it hard to conceive,) that his father had been wholly ruined by the misfortune of having gained a chancery suit, with full costs, not only not an exaggeration, but a strictly correct description of the fact.

Sir John Newport stated (June 2d, 1818,) "To show the enormous nature of the fees in the Court of Chancery, he might mention that in one case, the fees for docketing, enrolling, exemplifying, and registering a decree, amounted to upwards of 800*l.*"

The Marquis of Lansdowne observed (March 6th 1818,) "That no source of revenue operated to produce greater mischief to the poorer classes, than the stamps on law proceedings. The expense they occasioned was an obstacle to the attainment of justice.

"As to the present measure, he continued, it went merely to relieve unfortunate poor persons from paying the fees on pardons, which amounted on each to about 60*l.*, and therefore it could operate in a very slight degree towards the reduction of the revenue."

"The bill of the solicitor of the excise, in the prosecution of *Weaver*, for the offence of selling a certain drug to a brewer, amounted to nearly 250*l.* In this case, there were five counsel employed for the Crown, and the penalty ultimately recovered from the delinquent was 200*l.*"

The following return has been laid before the House of Commons, of the amount of property locked up in the Court of Chancery in England; viz. in 1796, upwards of fourteen millions of pounds sterling; in 1806, upwards of twenty-one millions; in 1816, upwards of thirty-one millions; in 1818, upwards of thirty-three millions.

Mr. Hume (March 1814,) begged to call the attention of the House of Commons particularly to the police in India. Persons were frequently taken up, and months elapsed before any information was exhibited against them. In the interval, they were confined in crowded and unhealthy prisons, where death not unfrequently overtook them, or after enduring the aggravated misery of imprisonment, nothing whatever appeared against them, and they were liberated. The whole system of police at Bengal was conducted by a set of spies, who were generally composed of bands of robbers; these, when once discharged, were let loose to ravage the surrounding country. By a minute of the Bengal government, dated the 24th of November, 1810, it appeared that the pro-

PART I. fession of a spy, in India, took its rise upon the order issued in 1792, for the encouragement of head money. Every police-office had its regular and organized set of spies, who shared the reward or head money with the chief of the decoits (a species of robbers) Much had been said by an honourable member (sir W. Burroughs) as to the economy observed in the appointment of legal men in India, affecting the administration of justice. So far from there being any thing like economy in this respect, the whole of Europe, put together, was at less expense for law officers than India alone—(Hear.) The whole revenue of India was estimated at 11,000,000*l.*; the charges of the law altogether were no less than 1,785,000*l.* sterling, above one-eleventh of that revenue.

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BANKRUPTCY.

"In Scotland," (said lord Archibald Hamilton, 1818,) "the burgh of Aberdeen had been declared bankrupt for 230,000*l.* sterling, attended with extensive ruin. It had dissolved in its rottenness."

"Sir William Curtis remarked, (Feb. 24th, 1818,) that rich men can go to the King's-bench prison, and drink their burgundy: They first rob their neighbours and then get whitewashed."

"Up to the 1st of March, 1817, (said Mr. Waithman, Feb. 12th 1819,) 9000 persons were discharged under the debtors' insolvent act, whose united debts amounted to nine millions sterling; whilst the property which they had given up to their creditors would not, on the average, pay a dividend of one half a farthing in the pound."

"Sir S. Romilly observed, that every man conversant with the bankrupt laws must know, that not a year passed without the occurrence of a great number of fraudulent bankruptcies." (Ib. Feb. 25th, 1816.)

Mr. Lockart rose (Feb. 17th, 1817,) according to notice, to move for the introduction of a bill to amend the bankrupt laws.

The evil of which he complained was the multiplication of fraudulent bankruptcies to an extent which threatened the most frightful consequences to the commerce and morals of the country.

By late returns to Parliament it appears, that the aggregate number of insolvent debtors discharged since the last return in 1815, up to 1st of February, 1819, was 13,291; the amount of their debts 9,506,837*l.* 16*s.* 11½*d.*; and the amount of dividends but sixty thousand pounds.

"Every one who heard him," said Mr. Buxton, (House of Commons, March 3d, 1819,) "certainly must know how many fraudulent circumstances were connected *with almost all the bankruptcies that now take place;* and after a more careful examination, it had been declared, on the highest authority, that of the bankruptcies which occurred, by far the greater number were of a fraudulent description."

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FINANCIAL MATTERS.

Mr. Baring said, (1817,) "there could be no doubt, notwithstanding the delicacy which had been professed on the subject of touching the sinking fund, that to all practical purposes, it was completely swept away."

Mr. Ricardo (June 10, 1819,) had already opposed the grant of three millions towards a sinking fund, because he did not wish to place such a fund at the mercy of ministers, who would take it whenever they thought urgent necessity required it. He did not mean to say that it

would be better with one set of ministers than another, for he looked upon it that all ministers would be anxious, on cases of what they conceived emergency, to appropriate it to the public use. He thought, therefore, the whole thing a delusion upon the public, and on that account he would never support a tax to maintain it. PART I.

The evil of the national debt ought to be met. It was an evil which almost any sacrifice would not be too great to get rid of. It destroyed the equilibrium of prices, occasioned many persons to emigrate to other countries, in order to avoid the burden of taxation which it entailed, and hung like a millstone round the exertion and industry of the country. He therefore, never would give a vote in support of any tax which went to continue a sinking fund; for if that fund were to amount to eight millions, ministers would on any emergency give the same account of it as they did at present. The delusion of it was seen long ago by all those who were acquainted with the subject; and it would have been but fair and sound policy to have exposed it long ago.

Mr. Brougham said, (June 8, 1819) "How stood the circumstances with respect to this fund? In 1786, it amounted to one million, and an addition of 200,000*l.* was made soon after. In 1792, it was increased by so much of each loan, as gave assurance that at the end of 45 years such loan would be expunged by the gradual operation of the sinking fund. This pledge continued to 1802, when new arrangements were made by Lord Sidmouth, that did not much postpone the term of payment. The operation of 1813, was to accelerate the liquidation of the debt, towards the close of the period pledged for that purpose, and the fund was then reduced to 15,000,000*l.* instead of 21,000,000*l.* to which it had accumulated. The fund holder was then told that repayment would go on at an accelerated rate from a certain term, and now came the plan by which all this was bid adieu to, and the sinking fund reduced to 5,000,000*l.* Did not this place the public credit on a different footing? and was it not, to all intents and purposes, a breach of faith?

"Lord Holland stated, in a speech sometime since, that the royal family of England, that is to say, the maintenance of the mere state of the crown, cost the country *one million two hundred thousand pounds!* or nearly one-fourth of the whole assessed taxes of the kingdom." (Bell's Weekly Messenger, May 18, 1819.)

"Mr. Tierney stated, (April 5, 1818,) that his majesty's privy purse amounted to sixty thousand pounds. A privy purse of sixty thousand pounds, in the present state of his majesty! [*Hear, hear.*] Out of this sum he admitted that the allowance to the physicians had to be paid; but on the most liberal allowance to them, this would not amount to eighteen thousand pounds a year. There was also received out of the dutchy of Lancaster ten thousand pounds. So that here was seventy thousand pounds that her majesty had, without there being a necessity of rendering an account for any part of it. With the deduction of an allowance to the physicians, and a few pensions, this was a fund for accumulation for somebody. Her majesty's establishment amounted to one hundred thousand pounds a year. These two sums together made one hundred and seventy thousand pounds. But besides this, her majesty was allowed for her Windsor establishment fifty-eight thousand pounds, and an additional allowance of one thousand pounds a year for what was called travelling expenses; and the allowance for the two princesses was twenty-six thousand pounds, making the total of the Windsor establishments amount to no less a sum than two hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds per annum." [*Hear, hear!*]

"Mr. Brougham considered, (1817,) that the amount of the pension list in 1809, a year when the four and a half per cent fell extremely short, was two hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Upon that list were to be found the names of those who had rendered no service;

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persons who belonged to families not more distinguished for their antiquity and rank than for their wealth and splendour, and whose only title to their pensions, he presumed, was their invariable support of the ministers of the crown, whoever those ministers might be."

"The sinecure vacated by the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire had been worse than useless; it had served as a screen to the most shocking abuses, and the most abominable frauds." (Lord Lansdowne, May, 1816.)

"Sir H. Parnell said, (July 13, 1819,) in stating the increase of the civil list, it ought to have been stated to have increased from 900,000*l.* to 1,030,000*l.*"

"Mr. Calcraft expressed his obligations to the honourable baronet for bringing forward his resolutions, and trusted that he would not be deterred from future inquiries by the criticisms which every man who talked of economy was exposed to, from the bench opposite him. The main resolutions had not been grappled with by the right honourable getleman (Mr. Long,) that the revenue was collected at the enormous expense of 5,500,000*l.* Had he shown that it was collected at less? This was the key to the popularity and consequence of the present administration. So long as they had these 5,500,000*l.* to distribute, so long would they hear, from those who received it, of their popularity."

"The credit of the custom house tables (said Mr. Brougham, in his speech of June 16, 1812,) would be but small, after the account of them which appears in evidence. But the evidence sufficiently explains on which side of the scale the error is likely to lie. There is, it would seem, a fellow feeling between the gentlemen at the custom house, and their honoured masters at the board of trade; so that when the latter wish to make blazing statements of national prosperity, the former are ready to find the fact. The managing clerk of one of the greatest mercantile houses in the city, tells you that he has known packages entered at 500*l.* which were not worth 50*l.*—that those sums are entered at random, and cannot be at all relied upon. Other witnesses, particularly from Liverpool, confirm the same fact; and I know, as does my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was present, that the head of the same respectable house, a few days ago mentioned at an official conference with him, an instance of his own clerks being desired at the Custom House, to make a double entry of an article for export. After such facts as these, I say it is in vain to talk of Custom House returns, even if they were contradicted in no respect by other evidence."

The consumers of tea, said Mr. Ellice, (June 18, 1819,) paid not only 3,500,000*l.* to government, but 2,000,000*l.* to the monopoly of the East India company.

Civil Contingencies Bill—March 19, 1819—3191*l.* for expense of furniture for one room in the Royal Yatcht—13,300*l.* expences of grand duke Nicholas. 22,500*l* for snuff boxes to foreign ministers. 10,897*l.* for fees and presents to German Barons, &c.

Mr. Tierney said, (1819,) that the amount of pensions for England and Scotland, independently of those founded on parliamentary grants, was 250,000*l.*

LOOSE EXTRACTS FROM ENGLISH JOURNALS.

"After the bodies of the criminals, Chennel and Chalcraft, had been cut down, they were received into the waggon, which conveyed them to the place of execution, and extended on the elevated stage which had been constructed in the vehicle. The procession of officers, con-

stables, &c. was then re-formed, and the remains of the murderers were conveyed in slow and awful silence through the town of Godalming, until they arrived at the house of the late Mr. Chennel. Here the procession halted, and the bodies of Chennel and Chalcraft were removed from the waggon into the kitchen of the house, one of them being placed on the very spot where the housekeeper, Elizabeth Wilson, was found murdered. After this the surgeon proceeded to perform the first offices of dissection, and the bodies in this state were left to the gaze of thousands, who throughout the day eagerly rushed in to view them. (Bell's Weekly Messenger, 1818.)

"The country assizes," said the London Courier of April 4, 1817—"now just terminated, have presented a list of criminals quite unparalleled for magnitude in the history of this country. At no former period have they amounted to more than a fourth or a third part of their present number. *From fifteen to fifty capital convictions have taken place in almost every county.* At Lancaster assizes *forty-six persons received sentence of death.* In October last it was proved in a court of law, that a club of conspirators (Halters) at Manchester, perjured themselves by wholesale, to *the amount of one hundred and thirty at a time;* and now it is just proved that a knot of assassins can be as easily hired in England, as in Italy. Three hundred of Messrs. Bodin's workmen, at Loughborough, having conspired against their employers about wages, subscribed a fund, and hired, at five pounds each man, a squad of assassins well skilled in the art of house burning, and murder, who destroyed their master's premises in revenge."

Revolt in Winchester College.—"We are happy to state, that tranquillity has been restored at Winchester College, that the business of the school has been resumed with order, and that the young gentlemen have since shown perfect resignation to the will of their able teachers. About ten of the gentlemen commoners have been allowed to resign. There were only six (out of 230) who did not join in the revolt, the two senior and four other college prefects. (Bell's Weekly Messenger, May 18, 1818.)

We are happy to announce that prosecutions have been brought against a number of grocers for the manufacture and sale of a pernicious substitute for tea, composed of the leaves of the black and white thorn, boiled, dried on copper plates, and coloured with logwood, verdigrease, and Dutch pink. The facts were proved at great length, and verdicts found in the Court of Exchequer, on Saturday, against no fewer than ten dealers in the metropolis, for this fraud. Several of them submitted to conviction without resistance, and thus the important fact is established, that this deleterious mixture is imposed on the fair trader.

There are other articles of human consumption, equally exposed to similar frauds. Porter and ale, it has frequently been proved, have been mixed with drugs of the most pernicious quality. Port wine, as it is called, and especially that sold at very low prices, it is known, has been manufactured from sloe juice, British brandy, and logwood. Gin, in order that it may have the grip, or have the appearance of being particularly strong, is known to be adulterated with a decoction of long pepper, or a small quantity of aquafortis. Bread, from public convictions, is known to have been made of a mixture of flour, ground stone, chalk, and pulverized bones. Milk to have been adulterated with whitening and water. Sugar to have been mixed with sand. Pepper with fuller's earth and other earths. Mustard, with cheap pungent seeds. Tobacco, with various common British herbs. There is scarce an article of ordinary consumption, which is not rendered destructive by the infamous and fraudulent practices of interested persons. (Bell's Weekly Messenger, May 13, 1818.)

"The practice of adulterating flour with bones becomes more com-

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"The *contraband trade* of *Great Britain* is estimated at about fifteen millions sterling a year, by which the revenue is annually defrauded of about two millions."

"December 1, 1818. *Lord Ranelagh* indicted, convicted and fined fifty pounds for extorting money (for the use of his servants) from three young men who took shelter on his grounds on the banks of the Thames in a thunder storm."

"Dec. 3, 1818. A *British naval officer* connected with the dock yard at Chatham, is condemned (at St. Omer's) to five years labour in chains for uttering forged bank of England notes in the neighbourhood of St. Omer, Dunkirk and Calais."

"Feb. 26, 1819. Bartholomew Broughton, an officer in *His Majesty's navy*, was brought before Mr. Alderman Cox, as sitting alderman, charged with felony in stealing bank notes and other property at the White Horse, Fetter Lane, and the Swan with two necks, Lads Lane, where he had at different times slept."

"Old Bailey, 26th Feb. 1819. Edward Lawrence Colman, *late purser in His Majesty's navy*, was convicted on an indictment for embezzling his employers money—Mess. Lewis and Company, Oxenden street."

"March 18, 1819. A naval court martial was held a few days ago on board His Majesty's ship Northumberland, at Chatham, for the trial of capt. W. E. Wright, *of the navy*, for smuggling. He was convicted and sentenced to be dismissed the service."

(The foregoing cases, it will be observed, occurred within a few months of each other. They are collected by a casual reader, and are probably not all, of the same nature, that took place during the same time.)

"June, 1819. *The Earl of Morton* having lately occasion to call on Mr. Geo. Moncrieff, manager of the Union Canal Company in Edinburgh, gave him the *lie*. A *boxing match ensued*, and blue eyes and bloody noses were the results on both sides. Lord Morton was high commissioner of the general assembly which sat only a few weeks ago."

"Dec. 1818. It is a fact that Chief Justice Abbott, (the Lord Chief Justice of England) lately threatened to adjourn the court of King's bench, because *tallow candles* had been produced, instead of wax lights."

"It is also a fact, that the late Justice Gould, when on the circuit, once threatened to remove the Essex Assizes from Chelmsford to Colchester, because no *good small beer* could be found in the former town."

"In a debate which took place in the House of Commons, April 2, 1819, on the circumstances attending the arrest of general Gourgand, sir George Cockburn threw out an accusation, *whilst speaking in his place*, against Gourgaud, by relating what he had heard from him at St. Helena, *in the hasty and unguarded moments of private conversation*. "The general," said sir George Cockburn, "stated to me that he had great reason to complain of that scoundrel Bertrand, for so these persons were in the habit of speaking of each other."

FINIS.



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